FOLK-LORE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM

BEING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

And Incorporating THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW *and* THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL.

VOL. XXI.—1910



Alter et Idem

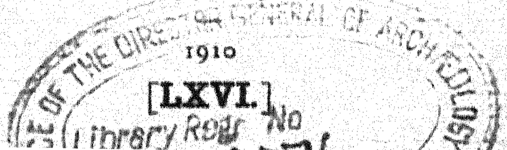
LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY BY

DAVID NUTT, 57—59, LONG ACRE

1910

[LXVI.]



GLASGOW: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.

X

CONTENTS.

I.—(March, 1910.)

II.—(June, 1910.)

III.—(September, 1910.)

IV.—(December, 1910.)

GLASGOW: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.

CONTENTS.

I.—(March, 1910.)

II.—(June, 1910.)

III.—(September, 1910.)

IV.—(December, 1910.)

SHORT NOTICES :—

ERRATA.

P. 131, l. 6, *for* J. L. Freeborough *read* G. W. Ferrington.
P. 183, l. 3, *for* Nonghaval *read* Noughaval.
P. 183, l. 12, *for* Lisfarbegnagommaun *read* Lisfearbegnagommaun.
P. 195, l. 24, *for* Leskeentha *read* Liskeentha.
P. 195, l. 28, *for* Tobesheefra *read* Tobersheefra.
P. 259, l. 23, *for* lower *read* Lower.
P. 344, l. 21, *for* Teermicbrain *read* Tirmicbrain.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXI.] MARCH, 1910. [NO. I.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 20th, 1909.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. R. H. Anderson, Major H. R. Brown, Mr. J. A. Fallows, Mr. W. Mitchell, Mr. R. H. Stephenson, and the Rev. J. H. Weeks as members of the Society was announced.

The death of Mr. J. B. Andrews and the resignations of Mr. I. Abrahams, Miss Jackson, Mr. G. P. Sneddon, and Mrs. J. G. Speakman were also announced.

Mrs. M. French-Sheldon, F.R.G.S., read a paper entitled "Some Secret Societies and Fetishes in Africa," and a discussion followed in which Miss A. Werner, Mr. A. R. Wright, Mr. Tabor, and the President took part. Mrs. French-Sheldon exhibited numerous objects illustrative of her paper, amongst which were:—the coat worn by the executioner of King Prempeh of Ashanti; a burial casket

of gold, brass, and copper taken from a royal tomb; a nail fetish; a harvest fetish; a Janus-headed fetish cup from the Congo; a horn and necklace from the Mangunga people; and a mask from the upper Aruwimi river. The meeting concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. French-Sheldon for her paper.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17th, 1909.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. W. G. Sullivan as a member of the Society was announced.

The deaths of Mrs. C. E. Levy and Mr. J. Tolhurst, and the resignations of Mrs. Cartwright, the Rev. F. C. Lambert, and Mr. A. E. Swanson were also announced.

Dr. W. H. R. Rivers read papers entitled "The Father's Sister in Oceania" (pp. 42-59) and "Some Notes on Magical Practices in the Banks' Islands," and in the discussion which followed Mr. A. R. Wright, Dr. Gaster, Mr. A. R. Brown, Mr. Tabor, the Rev. T. Lewis, and Mrs. French-Sheldon took part. The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Rivers for his paper.

The following objects illustrative of the folklore of Oceania were exhibited by Mr. A. R. Wright:—Sorcerer's book from the Batta tribe (Sumatra); two carved-wood deities and a medicine-man's silver mirror from Nias Island; a dugong amulet from New Guinea;

a charm ornament and a canoe ornament from New Britain; a carved fly-whisk carried as insignia by a chief, Hervey Island (Cook's Islands); a Janus-headed amulet from Mortlock Island; a neck ornament and necklace of tridacne shell from Santa Cruz Island; and internodes of the kurman vine used in magic in Mabuiag Island (Torres Straits).

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 15th, 1909.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. T. C. Hodson as a member of the Society was announced.

The death of Mr. A. Macgregor was also announced.

Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited and described a number of horse ornaments and amulets connected with the horse, and gave an account of some British horse charms and superstitions.

Mr. E. Lovett gave a lecture on "Horse Charms and Superstitions Abroad, and the Early Legendary History of the Horse," which was illustrated by lantern slides.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By Mr. A. R. Wright:—A collection of 76 different brass horse ornaments from London, Winchester, and Scarborough; horse-shoes and horse-shoe nails used as charms; horse-shoe motor mascot; Servian double boar's tusk horse pendant; Tibetan horse tassel ornamented by dragons.

By Mr. E. Lovett:—Two pairs (large and small) of brass sea-horses fixed to gondolas, Venice; toy horses and chariot, carved out of single block of wood, from Vologda, Russia.

By Mr. Tabor:—Horse trappings from Christiania.

In the discussion which followed Mr. G. L. Gomme, Dr. Hildburgh, Mr. F. Fawcett, Mr. P. G. Thomas, Mr. Major, Miss Broadwood, Mr. Tabor, and the President took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Messrs. Wright, Lovett, and Tabor for the papers and exhibits.

THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19th, 1910.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report, Statement of Accounts, and Balance Sheet for the year 1909 were duly presented, and upon the motion of Dr. Gaster, seconded by Mr. H. B. Wheatley, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

Balloting papers for the election of President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and officers having been distributed, Mr. A. A. Gomme and the Acting Secretary were nominated by the President as scrutineers for the Ballot.

The President then delivered her Presidential Address on "The Value of European Folklore in the History of Culture" (pp. 13-36), and at its conclusion a very hearty vote of thanks to her was moved by Mr. Crooke, seconded by Mr. Clodd, and carried with acclamation.

At the request of the President the Acting Secretary then announced the result of the Ballot, and the following ladies and gentlemen were declared duly elected, viz.:—

As *President*, Miss C. S. Burne.

As *Vice-Presidents*, The Hon. John Abercromby; The Right Hon. Lord Avebury, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.; Sir E. W. Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A.; E. Clodd, Esq.; J. G. Frazer, Esq., LL.D., Litt.D.; M. Gaster, Ph.D.; G. Laurence

Gomme, Esq., F.S.A.; A. C. Haddon, Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S.; E. S. Hartland, Esq., F.S.A.; A. Lang, Esq., M.A., LL.D.; A. Nutt, Esq.; Prof. Sir J. Rhys, LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A.; W. H. D. Rouse, Esq., Litt.D.; The Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, M.A., LL.D., D.D.; and Prof. E. B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S.

As *Members of Council*, G. Calderon, Esq.; W. Crooke, Esq., B.A.; M. Longworth Dames, Esq.; A. A. Gomme, Esq.; W. L. Hildburgh, Esq., Ph.D.; T. C. Hodson, Esq.; Miss E. Hull; A. W. Johnston, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.; W. F. Kirby, Esq.; E. Lovett, Esq.; A. F. Major, Esq.; R. R. Marett, Esq., M.A.; W. H. R. Rivers, Esq., M.D.; C. G. Seligmann, Esq., M.D.; C. J. Tabor, Esq.; E. Westermarck, Esq., Ph.D.; H. B. Wheatley, Esq., F.S.A.; and A. R. Wright, Esq.

As *Hon. Treasurer*, Edward Clodd, Esq.

As *Hon. Auditors*, F. G. Green, Esq.; and A. W. Johnston, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

As *Secretary*, F. A. Milne, Esq., M.A.

Upon the motion of Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, seconded by Col. W. Hanna, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the outgoing Members of Council, Miss Eyre, the Rev. H. N. Hutchinson, and Mr. W. W. Skeat.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By the President:—Old print of St. Oswald's Well, Oswestry; funeral hood from Edgmond, East Salop; stones from Woolston Well, Shropshire, supposed to be stained by the blood of St. Winifred; ashen faggot from Devonshire.

By the Rev. J. H. Brooksbank:—Photograph of pews in Castleton Church, Derbyshire, erected at the Restoration.

By Mr. W. Wells Bladen:—Views of the Horn Dance at Abbot's Bromley, Staffordshire.

By Mr. A. R. Wright:—Bayberry candle burnt for luck on Christmas Night, Baltimore, U.S.A.

By Mr. E. Lovett:—Holed stones and Neolithic flint arrowheads and celt, used as amulets in Antrim; belemnite "thunderbolt" from Surrey; peasants' love tokens of the early fifties; fossil teeth "cramp stones," Whitstable; rudely shaped "hands" of amber, Lowestoft; mole feet and ash-tree concretions carried as cures for cramp, Sussex; hag-stone and sheep-bone amulet, Whitby; badger's snout carried as protection against mad dogs, Minehead; potatoes and bone ring carried against rheumatism, Brandon (Suffolk); and various amulets for luck from costers' barrows in North London.

THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council are glad to be able to report that the numbers of the Society are well maintained at over 410. Twenty new members have been elected, and five libraries added to the roll of subscribers. But they have to announce with regret the deaths of five members, among them that of Mr. J. B. Andrews, who had been actively associated with the Society since its foundation in 1878, and Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, assistant collector at Nasik in the Bombay Residency, who was assassinated in December last. There have been fifteen resignations, and the names of a few members who were in arrear with their subscriptions have been struck off the list. The Council again appeal for greater regularity in the payment of subscriptions. They are informed by the Secretary that he has found it necessary to send out more reminders than in any previous year, and a considerable number of subscriptions are still unpaid.

The papers read during the year have been as follows:

Jan. 20. The Presidential Address. (*Folk-Lore*, 1909, pp. 12-31.)

Feb. 17. "Head-hunting among the Hill Tribes of Assam" (illustrated by lantern slides). Mr. T. C. Hodson.

March 17. "The Religion of the Andaman Islanders." Mr. A. R. Brown.

April 21. "Personal Amulets (European)." Miss Lina Eckenstein.

May 19. "The Bantu Element in Swahili Folklore." Miss A. Werner.

June 16. "Folk-tales of the Lushais and their neighbours" (illustrated by lantern slides). Lieut.-Colonel J. Shakespear.

October 20. "Some Secret Societies and Fetishes in Africa." Mrs. M. French-Sheldon.

Nov. 17. "Two Notes from the Banks Islands." Dr. W. H. R. Rivers.

Dec. 15. "British Horse Ornaments and Superstitions." Mr. A. R. Wright. "Horse Charms and Superstitions Abroad, and the Early Legendary History of the Horse" (illustrated by lantern slides). Mr. E. Lovett.

At the April meeting Mr. W. L. Hildburgh and Mr. E. Lovett exhibited a number of amulets from Naples and elsewhere; at the June meeting, Mrs. Shakespear exhibited and explained the use of a number of objects collected among the hill tribes of Assam, and more particularly the Lushais, the Manipuris, and the Hakka Chins; at the October meeting Mrs. French-Sheldon exhibited a number of objects illustrating her paper, including the coat worn by the executioner of King Prempeh of Ashanti, a fetish cup from the Congo with head looking both ways, and a mask from the upper Aruwimi river; at the November meeting Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited a number of interesting objects from Oceania; and at the December meeting Mr. A. R. Wright, Mr. E. Lovett, and Mr. C. J. Tabor exhibited a fine collection of charms, amulets, and trappings. Other objects exhibited during the session were two "St. Bridget's crosses" from County Antrim by the President, and a helmet of riveted mail covered with amulets from the field of Omdurman by Mr. A. R. Wright.

The Council have arranged a programme of exhibits coördinated as far as possible with the papers to be read at each meeting, and they hope that members and friends of the Society possessing objects of folklore interest, and especially any bearing on the subjects of the papers announced for reading, will offer them for exhibition. Anyone kind enough to send exhibits should communicate with Mr. A. A. Gomme, 12 Dryden Chambers, 119 Oxford St., W., who will supply appropriate labels.

The attendance at the evening meetings has been good. No meeting has been crowded, but the room has been often quite full. The papers illustrated by lantern slides have, as usual, proved the most attractive.

A list of additions to the library will be found appended to the minutes of the June meeting (*Folk-Lore*, 1909, p. 386).

The Society has issued during the year the 20th volume of *Folk-Lore*. In their last report the Council were unable to announce who would succeed Miss Burne as Editor of the journal. They have been so fortunate as to secure the services of Mr. A. R. Wright, under whose able editorship in collaboration with Mr. Crooke this volume has been produced. The Council have also to thank Mr. Wright for the service he has so ungrudgingly rendered to the Society in compiling the Index.

The Annual Bibliography for the year 1908, compiled in accordance with the arrangement made with the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1907, is in course of preparation, and will be issued during the coming year.

The additional volume for 1908, the collection of *Lincolnshire Folklore from Printed Sources*, by Miss M. Peacock and Mrs. Gutch, has been issued. The additional volumes for 1909 and 1910 will be *Primitive Paternity*, Parts I. and II., by Mr. E. S. Hartland. Part I. is nearly ready, and Part II. will, it is expected, be issued before June.

For many years past there has been a growing demand for another edition of *The Handbook of Folklore*, the first edition of which has long been out of print. The Council are glad to be able to announce that the President has undertaken to prepare a revised edition of the book, and that substantial progress has already been made with the work. The Council have not yet decided upon what terms the book will be issued to members and subscribers.

The meeting of the Congress of Archaeological Societies was held as usual in July, and was attended by Dr. Gaster and Mr. Longworth Dames as delegates from the Society.

The Society was represented at the meeting of the British Association at Winnipeg by Mr. E. S. Hartland and Professor J. L. Myres.

The Council regret to announce that four-fifths of the Society's stock of bound and unbound volumes were damaged by water during a fire which took place early in October at the warehouse in Little Guildford Street, Southwark, in the basement of which it was stored. The stock was insured in the Westminster Fire Office for £1500, and Mr. C. J. Tabor kindly undertook on behalf of the Society the negotiations for the settlement of its claim against the Office. The claim was finally settled for £1100 and the whole of the salvage. The sincere thanks of the Council are due to Mr. Tabor for his exertions, and the Society is to be congratulated on the successful result arrived at.

The Council submit herewith the annual Accounts and Balance Sheet duly audited.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE,
President, 1909.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1909.

RECEIPTS.

To balance carried forward from 1908:—		
On Deposit at Bank,	£150 0 0	
On Current Account at Bank,	100 1 0	
In hands of Secretary,	1 5 11	
		£251 6 11
,, Subscriptions, 1910 (16),	£16 16 0	
,, ,, 1909 (352),	369 12 0	
,, ,, 1908 (18),	18 18 0	
,, ,, earlier years (15)	15 15 0	
		421 1 0
,, Contribution to cost of Printing,		0 13 6
,, Interest on Money on Deposit,		0 10 0

PAYMENTS.

By Printing Account (Publications):—		
R. MacLehose & Co.		
Folk-Lore, xix., Part 4,	£61 3 0	
,, xx., Parts 1 and 2,	81 7 10	
The Grateful Dead (G. H. Gerould),	49 15 8	
Lincolnshire Folklore (Peacock and Gutch),	114 12 9	
		£306 19 3
,, Miscellaneous Printing (Matthews, Drew & Co.),		10 18 0
,, Engraving Blocks, etc., for Illustrations in *Folk-Lore*,		36 3 8
,, Binding Account (Simpson & Co.),		34 5 5
,, Warehousing Stock,		12 0 6
,, Insurance of Stock,		1 10 0
,, ,, MSS. and Books,		0 5 6
,, Cost of Editing *Lincolnshire Folklore*,		15 0 0
,, Expenses of Meetings:—		
Hire of Rooms,	£8 13 0	
Advertising,	2 16 0	
Refreshments,	4 4 0	
Hire of Lantern,	2 10 0	
		18 3 0
,, Subscriptions:—		
Congress of Archaeological Societies,	£1 0 0	
London Association for Protection of Trade,	1 1 0	
		2 1 0
,, Secretary's Salary and Poundage,		58 11 0
,, Petty Cash Expenses—Secretary,	£6 19 6	
Bank and other Discounts and Allowances,	2 16 1	
		9 15 7

		,, Balance in Bank on Current Account,	£161 18 7	
		,, ,, in hands of Secretary,	5 19 11	167 18 6
	£673 11 5			£673 11 5

Examined with Vouchers and Pass Book and found correct.

F. G. GREEN,
A. W. JOHNSTON, } *Auditors.*

January 11*th*, 1910.

EDWARD CLODD, *Treasurer.*

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31ST, 1909.

LIABILITIES.			
Printing of Publications;—			
Folk-Lore, xx., Parts 3 and 4 (say),	£100 0 0		
Additional Volume, 1909, *Primitive Paternity*, Vol. i.,	87 10 0		
Secretary's Poundage, 1909,	22 15 0		
Messrs. Nutt (Advertising, Postages, Despatch of Volumes, etc.), 1908,	55 2 9		
Messrs. Nutt (Advertising, Postages, Despatch of Volumes, etc.), 1909.	59 18 5		
Balance to credit of Society,	24 10 8		
	£349 16 10		

ASSETS.		
Balance on current account at Bank,		£161 18 7
,, in hands of Secretary,		5 19 11
Subscriptions for 1909 and earlier years outstanding,	£46 4 0	
Less paid in advance,	16 16 0	29 8 0
Messrs. Nutt—Sale of Publications, 1908,		86 9 3
Do. do. 1909,		66 1 1
		£349 16 10

F. G. GREEN,
A. W. JOHNSTON, } *Auditors.*

January, 11*th*, 1910.

In addition to the above, the Assets of the Society include the stock salved from the recent fire at the warehouse in which it was stored.

EDWARD CLODD, *Treasurer.*

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

THE VALUE OF EUROPEAN FOLKLORE IN THE HISTORY OF CULTURE.

THIS is, to the best of my belief, the first time,—at all events in the Old World,—that the duty of delivering the Annual Presidential Address to a learned Society has been entrusted to a woman. I am old-fashioned enough to feel considerable diffidence in occupying a position of so much responsibility, and one which has previously been filled by so many of greater note. But I regard the honour you have done me in placing me in this chair less as a compliment to myself individually, than as one to my sex in my person. I look on it as another pleasant token of the manner in which a generation brought up under the sovereignty of a woman has learnt to appreciate woman's help and counsel. So I am going to speak out frankly, knowing that whatever I may say will receive serious consideration at your hands.

Over thirty years,—the lifetime of a generation,—have elapsed since our Society was founded. The Report that is presented to you to-night is our thirty-second: one can hardly realise the different conditions that prevailed when we issued our first,—the different position then held by all anthropological study, and especially by studies bearing on Religion and Sociology. The patriarchal theory prevailed in Sociology, and the sun-myth, disease-of-language theory in the sphere of Mythology and Religion. We had

Primitive Culture and the *Early History of Mankind* to set our faces in the right direction, our feet in the right path. But *Custom and Myth* did not appear till 1884, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* till 1887, the *Golden Bough* only in 1890, the *Science of Fairy Tales* in the same year, and the *Legend of Perseus* not till 1895. There was all the charm of the discoverer about those early days, twenty and thirty years ago, and perhaps we who groped our way through them need not altogether envy the highly-trained and carefully-instructed young students of the present.

Discussions in the *Folk-Lore Journal* in 1885-87 led to the delimitation of the scope of the study of folklore. The boundary was drawn in accordance with Mr. Thoms's original coinage of the word, to *in*clude all branches of "folk's learning,"—all that concerns the intellectual and social life of the folk,—and to *ex*clude arts and crafts,— "technology," as they now begin to be called. In 1890 the *Handbook of Folklore* set forth a simple and practical scheme of work and study, framed on this principle, and the next year, 1891, saw the gathering of a Congress of Folklorists in London. This not only brought the Folk-Lore Society into closer touch with students in America and on the Continent of Europe, but also, as I must believe, brought home to the minds of English scholars in general the fact that here was a definite subject of study, hitherto neglected, and worthy of their serious attention.

One very practical outcome of the Congress was to establish, beyond dispute, the importance and interest of children's games, a bit of woman's work on which I may be permitted for a moment to dwell. A young woman from the specially musical parish of Madeley, in Shropshire, went to live as nurse in the family of my sister in Derbyshire. She had a large repertory of singing-games, some of which she taught to her charges. My sister, who was continually under the necessity of organising parish festivities, caused the maid to teach her games to some of

the village children for performance at one of these entertainments, and the result was a great success. Mrs. Gomme, hearing of this from me, took up the idea with characteristic energy, trained a party of children at Barnes (teaching them games from other places in addition to those they already knew), overcame the anxieties of the Committee of the Congress, who sent a solemn deputation down to Barnes to inspect and report on her doings, and, finally, when the games were performed at the conversazione, she had *the* success of the Congress. Following it up, she compiled the *Dictionary of British Traditional Games*, which must always rank beside Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes* as a standard work on the subject with which they both deal. How the revival of traditional games and dances has progressed since its appearance we all know.

Perhaps nothing has done more to bring home to us the reality and importance of the phenomenon of "Survival in Culture" than have that little *Handbook* and those childish games. It is pleasant to reflect that these two foundation-stones were laid by a man and a woman working in partnership, a husband and wife, the founders of our Society, Mr. and Mrs. G. Laurence Gomme.

In the twenty years that have passed since then, the claims of the early history of culture on the attention of anthropologists have gained general recognition, and the study has advanced all along the line. The older Universities have taken it up, each *more suo*. Cambridge, the scientific, has sent out exploring expeditions commissioned to report not only on physical anthropology and technology, but on the "manners and customs of the natives," chronicled with a thoroughness and exactitude never attempted before. The whole standard of scientific research in the fields of ethnology and culture has been raised by the work of the Cambridge explorers. Oxford, the philosophic, approached the study of culture from the side

of the philosophy of religion, and, coming to perceive that systems of religion cannot be studied apart from culture, nor culture from anthropology as a whole, she has instituted a diploma in anthropology, and has succeeded in awakening a real interest in the subject among the young men from whose ranks the future rulers of the native races of the British Empire are likely to be drawn. Of the younger Universities, London has established two Professorships of Sociology and a Lectureship of Ethnology, and Liverpool a Chair of Social Anthropology. The names differ, but the early stages of the history of culture are dealt with under them all.

In other quarters, the barrier once existing between students of physical anthropology and students of culture may now be said to have been thoroughly broken down. The Royal Anthropological Institute has silently and gradually enlarged its borders, and now welcomes cultural studies as freely as the physical or technological work which used to be its chief concern. It has progressed by leaps and bounds, and has become a centre of influence, a voice to be listened to, a power not to be disregarded.

Of the progress made in exploration by America and Australia, of the societies founded and the important works produced on the Continent of Europe, I will not now stay to speak. I have said enough to show the difference of our circumstances to-day from those of thirty years ago.

The change being so great,—the phenomenon of savage survivals in culture established, the position of the history and development of culture as an integral part of anthropology vindicated, and the claims of anthropology as a subject of study recognized by the Universities,—the question has naturally been more than once asked,—Is there any further need for the Folk-Lore Society? Has it not done its work? How can it now justify its existence as a separate organization? It is to these questions that I propose to address myself to-night. Sundry criticisms of

our methods of study which begin to make themselves heard will, I think, help to determine the answer.

For here and there it is whispered that our progress is not altogether sound. Voices from across the Channel begin to murmur that English anthropologists are going too fast. Ten years ago Monsieur Henri Hubert[1] warned us against trying to discover the origins of traditional rites before we have ascertained the laws which govern them; in other words, against attempting to go direct to the source and omitting the intermediate history. Others, even among ourselves, tell us that we are proceeding on wrong methods, comparing recklessly, pulling up "items" of folklore by the roots to set them beside other items, similarly uprooted, from other social systems and other stages of culture. More discrimination, they say, is needed, more close examination of definite areas, more study of variations, and more enquiry into causes. The complaint against us amounts to this,—that we pay too much attention to similarities, and not enough to differences, and, further, that we confine our attention to the incident, ceremony, or saying itself, without taking environment into consideration. The following seems to be a case in point:—

In 1902, a correspondent writing to *Folk-Lore* (xiii., p. 171) recorded an Oxfordshire proverbial saying applied to a lazy man in the hayfield or harvest-field, or to "one as wouldn't work," viz.—"He's got the little white dog." On the strength of parallel expressions used in the north-east of France, he hastily added this saying to the vast memorial cairn of folklore erected to the honour of the Corn-spirit. But take the environment into consideration. This is one of the obscurely-worded metaphorical sayings in which country people delight. The metaphor is one of disease. "He's got the little white dog,"—as if it had been, he has got the yellow janders, the brown typhus, the

[1] *L'Année Sociologique*, 1900, reviewing A. F. Scot, *Offering and Sacrifice.*

Harry's slippers, the wólf, or any other of the occult diseases the folk tell you that their friends are suffering from. What malady could be likened to, or symbolized by, a little white dog? Well, what place does the actual little white dog hold in the economy of English agricultural life? I say nothing about French country life, because I have no acquaintance with it; but in an old-fashioned English farmhouse the only creature that is not kept for profit is the little white dog. There are no pet animals, no tame rabbits, white mice, or canaries,—no sporting-dogs, because there is (or was) no sport. The sheep-dog, if there is one, and the big house-dog tied up in the yard both have their uses and duties. They "earn their living," as the people say. Only the little white terrier has no duties or responsibilities, and may play about all day long at his own sweet will. What he typifies is *idleness.* He is a "lazy dog," and the man who has "got" him is the one who has been infected by his laziness. This is sufficiently shown by the parallel expression given by the country informant in explanation,—"the Lawrence has got him,"—"Lazy Lawrence," the personification of the idle fellow.

(Even since these lines were written, a country-woman incidentally said to me, a propos of a license for a pet dog,—"It's waste of money, ma'am, for 'e don't earn 'is living." This casual remark in itself shows the point of view from which the "little dog" is regarded.)

I cannot put the whole matter better than it has been put by Mr. Gomme:[2]—"Similarity in form does not necessarily imply similarity in origin. It does not mean similarity in motive. Customs and rites which are alike in practice can be shown to have originated from quite different causes, to express quite different motives, and cannot, therefore, be held to belong to a common class, the elements of which are comparable." In evidence of this he adduces the custom of the inheritance of the youngest

[2] *Folklore as an Historical Science*, p. 171.

son. In Europe this appears to arise from migration, from the Teutonic fashion of letting the adult sons go out into the world to found families elsewhere, so that the youngest, remaining longest at home, was naturally the one who inherited the paternal homestead. But in South Africa the inheritance of younger sons, where it occurs, is due to polygamy and wife-purchase. In the struggling days of his youth a man cannot always afford to give much for a wife, and the "great" or chief wife, whose son will be his successor, may not be acquired till, in his mature and prosperous years, his means and position enable him to look higher for an alliance. In such a case, the younger children inherit before their elder brethren, the sons of her humbler predecessors. Thus a superficial likeness of effect may be produced by two entirely distinct causes.[3]

How important it is to study differences as well as likenesses, history as well as environment, I shall now endeavour to show by an examination of some annual customs still observed in England.

In 1901 Mr. S. O. Addy published in *Folk-Lore* (vol. xii., p. 394) a detailed and very interesting account of a May festival, celebrated at Castleton in the Peak of Derbyshire, and known by the name of "Garland Day." On the 29th of May in each year, the bellringers of Castleton make an enormous "garland" of flowers, which is carried round the village on the head and shoulders of a man on horseback, in costume, accompanied by a band playing a special traditional air and followed by a party of morris-dancers, while another man on horseback, dressed in woman's clothes, brings up the rear. After perambulating the place, they hoist the garland to the top of the church-tower, and fix it on one of the pinnacles. The day is kept as a general holiday. The dancers now are girls, dressed in white and carrying wands adorned with ribbon streamers, but formerly they were men, and it is remembered that the

[3] *Ibid.*, citing the Rev. James Macdonald in *Folk-Lore*, vol. iii., 338, *q.v.*

ringers themselves used once to perform the dance, and also that a man with a "besom" (broom) used to lead the procession, sweeping the crowd out of the way. The villagers call the riders the King and Queen, but the ringers themselves speak of "the man that carries the garland" and "the lady." The "garland" is neither a simple wreath or circlet, nor the combination of transverse circles which is the ordinary form of May-garland in England. It is a dome-shaped crown with seven arches, and the apex is formed by a nosegay called the "queen" (or "quane"), of which more anon. The crown is so large that it covers the wearer down to the hips as he sits on horseback. His appearance naturally suggested to Mr. Addy a comparison with the German spring-festivals, in which a "Grass-King," or "Green George," or other such character, is escorted round the town or district encased in a covering of leaves and branches.

Now dressing up a man in greenery is not the usual type of May-celebration in England, except among the chimney-sweeps. Nor is it common to the whole of the Peak district. Far from that, May Day is there observed only by the most conservative part of the population, the children, who keep it in the characteristic old English fashion, by setting up a Maypole and dancing round it, (cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi., p. 461); and, whether the 29th of May is observed or the 1st, it is kept in the same way, and by the children only. Why should Castleton differ from its neighbours, and why should its festival resemble a German rather than an English rite? Is there anything in the circumstances of the place to account for these peculiarities?

We may reasonably look for traces of extreme antiquity in the folklore of the Peak District. The evidence of barrows, roads, and other remains shows that it was already inhabited in Roman and even in pre-Roman times, and it seems to have retained a continuous existence

through the Saxon and Danish invasions, for the inhabitants at that time are always spoken of as a distinct people,—the Péc-sætas, or dwellers in the Peak. But, as it is obvious that we have to do with a case of the transference of a festival from one date to another (May 1st to May 29th), we must begin by enquiring into the circumstances of the locality at the time of the change.

The 29th of May was, as we all know, made a public holiday by Act of Parliament in 1660 (12 Car. II.), in memory of the restoration of the monarchy. A special service was provided for it in the Prayer Book of 1662. But the day does not appear to have been universally or even generally observed.

Derbyshire took the side of the Parliament during the Civil Wars. That is to say, the county town was garrisoned for the Parliament, and overawed the surrounding country, but the miners of "Derby hills so free" cared little for the opinion of the county town. They were a rough and independent folk, accustomed (as Mr. Addy shows) to manage their own affairs and fight out their own quarrels. Within living memory fights were arranged between neighbouring villages, traditional taunts were exchanged, and visitors to the rival "wakes" were "aggravated" and insulted. The king stood in a special relation to them. As Duke of Lancaster he was Lord of the Peak,—their landlord as well as their sovereign; and there is plenty of evidence that Derbyshire men leaned for the most part to the Royalist side. They mustered 300 horse to fight for Charles I. at Tissington just before Naseby; they rioted for Charles II. in Derby streets under Richard Cromwell. In religious matters too, the Peaklanders were accustomed to act for themselves. Not ten years before the outbreak of the Rebellion the parishioners of Castleton built a district church in the parish, and retained the right of patronage in their own hands. At Chapel-en-le-Frith (or Forest) the

freeholders were the patrons. They presented a Royalist to the living in 1648. A few years later, under Cromwell, Peak Forest Chapel was built, and was dedicated to King Charles the Martyr,—one out of only four such dedications in England. Such was the state of popular feeling in the Peak at the eve of the Restoration.

Anxious to find out something of the circumstances of Castleton parish itself at the time, I paid a visit to the place last summer. It is a little, old, decayed market town, overlooked by the ruins of the famous Castle of the Peak. The lines of a rampart that surrounded the town and connected it with the fortifications of the castle may still be traced. The houses are built close together,—on the waste of the manor, I was told,—without gardens. They line rectangular streets that remind one of Winchelsea, and suggest definite "town-planning."[4] The place is situated on level ground at the farther end of one of the highest dales of the Peak, at the spot where the valley becomes a pass. Two miles below it, at the mouth of the dale, is Hope, a village of which the local proverb says,—"There's many a one lives in Hope as never saw Castleton," so little 'through traffic' is there in the valley. The present vicar, the Rev. J. H. Brooksbank, received me with the utmost kindness. He is deeply interested in the local history, and from the parish registers and other data in his possession I obtained the information I wanted.

Through all the ups and downs of the period the Reverend Samuel Cryer was vicar of Castleton. Appointed in 1644[5] by I know not whom, (the patronage was in the hands of the Bishops of Chester), the Parliamentary Commissioners found him there in 1650, and left him in possession. He was re-instituted on the eve of "Black Bartholomew" in 1662, and died vicar under William and Mary, in 1697, after fifty-three years' unbroken ministry. Such a length of time could hardly help leaving some

[4] See Note I., *infra*. [5] The year of Marston Moor.

trace of his personality in the parish, and, in fact, the present vicarage-house, a building of the seventeenth century, is still called Cryer House. That he and his people welcomed the Restoration we may feel sure, for on its accomplishment the re-pewing of the church was immediately taken in hand. It was filled with fine carved oak pews with book-rests and wooden candlesticks, and holes in them to receive the sprigs of holly with which it is still decorated by the ringers at Christmas. Mr. Cryer's own pew bears his name in full, and the date 1661. Other initialled pews are dated 1662 and 1663. Wood-carving was a local trade, and these pews must have been carved in the village, for the special pattern favoured by the Castleton people occurs on them. (The last old wood-carver, who died only last year, so Mr. Brooksbank informed me, would not have used a Hope pattern.)

Now it is of course open to anyone to call Mr. Cryer a Vicar of Bray,[6] but it may equally well be maintained that to live peaceably with all parties through such troublous times implies the possession of no little tact and judgment and power of conciliation, and I suggest that to this we owe the institution of the Castleton Garland in its present form. The principles of a Church-and-King man of the seventeenth century were in favour of public sports and holidays, and we know from the evidence of the pews that Mr. Cryer and his parishioners pulled together in Church matters. But, even if his own principles allowed him to countenance a complete revival of the May-games prohibited under the Commonwealth, a prudent man would not give offence to Puritan neighbours or visitors by restoring that "stinckyng ydoll," the Maypole, with the rowdy expeditions to "bring it home," and the dancing of both sexes about it, to which they took such exception So the whole festival is turned into a loyal celebration of

[6] One who "whatsoever King might reign would still be Vicar of Bray, Sir!"

the restoration of "Church and King." Instead of the old garlands adorning the Maypole on May Day, a floral crown is hoisted to the steeple on the new authorised holiday. The dancing is decorously performed by skilled and selected dancers. Women take no part in it, (though children have lately begun to do so), and the whole affair is carried out by responsible Church officials, the ringers, whose beloved bells the Puritans would have silenced. The thirty-seven years which Mr. Cryer's incumbency lasted after the Restoration would be long enough to allow his reforms to take root. Before his death a new generation would have grown up to whom the reorganized festival would seem part of the natural order of things, and the ringers, who were responsible for it, would have begun to keep it up as a matter of course. It is thus that I would account for the peculiar features of the Castleton Garland Day. Its resemblance to the German spring festivals seems to me to be merely accidental.

Two points in the rite seem to be survivals from the older May festival. First, the man in woman's clothes, who can be no Queen of England, nor of the May. Her crown is a recent innovation; she used to wear a bonnet, and "the oldest shawl that could be found;" and her place is not beside the "King," but at the fag-end of the procession. She is, in fact, that mysterious, but invariable, attendant on the morris-dance, the "Molly" or "Bessy." Second, the nosegay, or "queen," which surmounts the garland, which, before it is hoisted, is taken off and presented to a woman, the latest comer to the parish;[7] just as the harvest-queen, harvest-dolly, or kern-baby is presented to the mistress of the farm. From what dim background of antiquity, from what primitive stages of society, these two features descend, I will not attempt to decide. But the point I want to emphasise is this, that local peculiarities

[7] So Mr. Brooksbank tells me: the point escaped Mr. Addy. The "queen" was given to Mrs. Brooksbank in the first year of her residence at Castleton, 1904.

should be observed and possible local reasons enquired into, before parallels are sought for farther afield.

To take another example,—the Horn Dance at Abbot's Bromley in Staffordshire takes place every year on the Monday after September 4th.[8] Six men carrying horns,—*reindeers'* horns,—and accompanied by a hobby-horse and a man carrying a cross-bow, and also (as usual) by a fool and a man in woman's clothing, dance a morris-dance in the streets of the town, and before the principal houses in the neighbourhood, after which money is collected from the spectators in an ancient wooden ladle. The "properties,"—horns, hobby-horse, cross-bow, and ladle,—are kept in the church tower from year to year. (The present leader, or, as they call him, the "father" of the band, is a man named Bentley. It gives an idea of the unchanging ways of the place to learn that a Bentley is entered as Constable of Abbot's Bromley in the Muster Roll of Henry VIII., 1539.)

The first notice we have of this dance is from Dr. Plot, the historian of Staffordshire, who wrote in 1686. In his time the horns were painted with the arms of the lords of the three manors included in the parish. He adds this curious information,—"To this Hobby Horse dance there also belong'd a Pot, which was kept by Turnes *by 4 or 5 of the cheif of the Town, whom they call'd Reeves*, who provided Cakes and Ale to put in this pot." Every householder contributed "pence a piece" to the expenses, and the fund raised by this means and by the contribution of "forraigners that came to see it" was applied to the repair of the church and the relief of the poor; in other words, it supplied the place of church-rate and poor-rate.[9]

[8] The date is now popularly supposed to be that of the Wake or Dedication Feast, but is noted in the Staffordshire Directory of 1861 as being that of the local fair. Henry III. granted the Abbots of Burton a fair at Abbot's Bromley on the Eve, Day, and Morrow of St. Bartholomew (August 24th). This is doubtless the same fair, reckoning the date by Old Style. The dedication of the Church is St. Nicholas (December 6th).

[9] See Note III., *infra*.

I first drew attention to this performance in 1896 (*Folk-Lore*, vol. vii., p. 382), and at once a comparison was made between it and the Buffalo Dances of the North American Indians, and the suggestion was advanced that it must have had a magical import, and have been primarily intended to secure success in hunting. I myself supposed that it was a mock hunt, probably instituted to commemorate some right of the chase, some privilege of annual hunting in the preserves of the lord of the manor, or the like. I was wrong. But, before giving you the evidence lately brought to light, I must say something about the locality itself. The parish consists of two townships, Abbot's Bromley itself, and Bromley Hurst (or wood), together with the extra-parochial liberty of Bagot's Bromley.[10] It lies a little to the north of the Trent on the banks of its tributary the Blythe, hemmed in on the further side by Needwood Forest. There is no trace of any pre-Saxon, or rather pre-Anglian occupation, and the name Bromley, the *broomy ley*, or pasture, seems to indicate that the Anglian settlers of the seventh century, or thereabouts, found it an open space covered with nothing higher than brushwood. (The oaks of Needwood were famous; some still remain.) We first hear of the place in 1002, in the midst of the worst time of the Danish invasions. In that year Wulfric, surnamed Spot, Ealdorman of Mercia, gave it to his new foundation of the Benedictine Abbey of Burton-on-Trent. Up to that time it must, like most of the surrounding district, have formed part of the posses-

[10] Bagot's Bromley is first mentioned in the twelfth century, when it was already the property of the lineal ancestor of Lord Bagot, the present owner. It contains a woodland tract of some 1200 acres, called Bagot's Park, probably already enclosed from Needwood Forest in the same century and preserving its natural features untouched. In it are some wonderful old oaks, (among them the Beggar's Oak, under which tradition says any beggar has a right to a night's lodging), a herd of deer, and a herd of wild goats, on the preservation of which the existence of the Bagot family is popularly supposed to depend. They are said to have been given by King John to the Bagot of his day.

sions of the Ealdormanship, and before that no doubt of the Mercian kings. It continued to belong to the Abbey till the Dissolution, when it passed to the Paget family, ancestors of the present Marquis of Anglesey, who is still Lord of the Manor of Abbot's Bromley itself.

My nephew, Mr. S. A. H. Burne, following the lead of his father's sister as dutifully as if he had been a native of the Banks' Islands,[11] determined to go further into the history of the place, and what I have now to tell you is the result of his investigations.

The Chartulary of Burton Abbey contains a document drawn up circa 1125, in the reign of Henry I., from which it appears that the rents of the manor of Abbot's Bromley were then farmed by five men,—Aisulf the Priest, Godwin, Bristoald, Leuric, and Orm,—but the wood the Abbot kept in his own hands. He also received three shillings rent from Edric the Forester. The "wood" referred to is evidently the township of Bromley Hurst, and the "five men" must be the predecessors of the "4 or 5 of the cheif of the Town, whom they call'd Reeves," of Plot's account. I need not remind you that the Reeve was the ancient elected headman and representative of the township, as the Sheriff (shire-reeve) was of the county. But this is not all. A postcript in another hand follows this entry. It may be translated thus:—"Nevertheless, later on, Edric ceased to make this payment, and on their petition the Abbot granted to them his enclosures (*hayes*) with the grazing thereof to feed their cattle on, at a rent of 10s. per annum, and they" (*i.e.* the tenants) "acknowledge themselves to be the foresters and keepers of the woods (*forestarii et custodes silvarum*)."

I will give my nephew's conclusions in his own words. "If this means anything, it means that the Abbot relieved his tenants at Abbot's Bromley from the unwelcome presence of the forester, and allowed them, for a consideration, the grazing in his "hayes," which were small

[11] See *infra*, p. 42.

parks. But he still had the right of hunting, and these five men mentioned above undertook to safeguard his rights in this respect. (The Abbot seems to have held the modern belief that no gamekeeper is as good as an old poacher!)"

"The substitution of themselves for Edric would be a great gain for the tenants. They evidently recognized it to be so. Not only would the absence of a troublesome official be a matter for congratulation, but the recognized forester's perquisites,—such as dead wood, windfalls, and an occasional deer,—would be regarded as worth having. The more one looks into the economy of a forest manor such as this, the more clear is it that this concession of the Abbot's was one to which the villeins would cling most tenaciously. Now a parade, or, in modern terminology, 'a demonstration,' was in the Middle Ages the recognized way of asserting and keeping alive privileges and customs. I believe the Horn Dance served this purpose. No doubt from time to time the Abbots sought to detract from their predecessor's grant, and the villagers took themselves horns,—the natural emblem of a forester,—and paraded the village every year in assertion of their right to be themselves 'forestarii et custodes silvarum.'"[12]

I think there can be little doubt that it was in fact this feature of the local economic system that led to the institution of the local Horn Dance. But to every beginning there is a yet earlier beginning, and if anyone should maintain that the reindeers' horns,—for reindeers' horns they are beyond dispute,—came to Abbot's Bromley up the Trent and the Blythe in Viking galleys from the far north, I should not have a word to say to the contrary. Nor will I venture even to guess what memories of elk-hunts in the snow, of earlier dramatic dances and disguises,

[12] S. A. H. Burne, *Transactions North Staffs. Field Club*, 1908-9, p. 143. Not impossibly, in King Stephen's time, they had some difficulty in getting their rights acknowledged by the defaulter Edric.

may have crossed the seas with them. But that any more direct relationship than this can have existed between a rite practised by a settled agricultural and pastoral people[13] and one practised by nomadic tribes of hunters, can hardly, I think, be maintained.

One more example, of a more general kind. I mean the annual hunts of creatures not usually killed, either for food or for sport. These at once suggest the idea of totemism to the folklorist mind, and, in the case of Hunting the Wren on St. Stephen's Day, I would not attempt to contest the point. That custom is confined to the "Celtic fringe" of our islands, the parts where invasions have been fewest, where the oldest existing stocks of the population are to be found, and where, if anywhere, totemism may be supposed once to have flourished. But the annual hunts of owls and squirrels noted in various parts of England (and included by Mr. N. W. Thomas among relics of totemism, *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi., p. 250), differ from the wren-hunt in several important points. The species of creature hunted is not held specially sacred at other times, the dead body of the victim is not the subject of any subsequent rite, and the pursuit (wherever any definite details are forthcoming), is carried on in some particular spot, not visited or accessible on other occasions. The likeness to the wren-hunt is in fact only the superficial one of the annual recurrence of the chase.

The origin of the squirrel-hunt must be looked for, I think, in the history of enclosures. From the time of the Statute of Merton in 1235, which empowered the lords of manors to enclose the waste lands of their manors, down to the final settlement come to by the local Enclosure Acts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the question of enclosures was a source of chronic dispute and

[13] Cattle pastures were a special feature of Needwood Forest at the time of Domesday, and remain so to this day.

litigation in practically every parish in England. The Assize Rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries teem with actions for trespass, for thefts of wood from parks, or fish from ponds, in reply to which the offenders pleaded ancient customary rights. The records of the Privy Council in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are full of petitions containing complaints and counter-complaints of illegal enclosure and illegal fence-breaking; when the incensed owners, like Justice Shallow, "made a Star Chamber matter of it." Often it is plain that the invasion of private enclosures was made simply for the purpose of testing or asserting a customary right of common. Now this, I submit, was the probable object of the owl and squirrel hunts. Observe that the incursions are not undertaken in pursuit of game birds or beasts. That would have rendered the hunters amenable to the game-law or forest-law. The quarry is worthless when captured, and nothing is recorded of its eventual fate. But the annual entry of a crowd into an enclosed park would be sufficient to prevent any customary right-of-way from lapsing. Conversely, owners of private roads sometimes still lock their gates once a year, to prevent a right-of-way from being acquired.[14]

It is in this way that I would explain the Good Friday squirrel-hunt in Shervage Wood, on the slope of the Quantock Hills (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xix., p. 41), and the similar hunt at the November Wake by Duffield men in Kedleston Park, enclosed no one knows when or by what authority from the Forest of Duffield Frith. In the latter case the raiders were accompanied by "rough music,"—clanging of pots and pans, as in that well-known form of popular legal demonstration, "riding the stang," (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., p. 185.)

[14] A particular date is often chosen for this. An old gentleman in Cheshire, who died in 18—, always locked his gates on All Fools' Day, April 1st. I have myself been stopped on New Year's Day by a locked gate, in Shropshire. Staple Inn in London is always closed to casual wayfarers on Ascension Day.

With these, I think, should be classed the septennial Whitsuntide Ale held at the entrance to Blenheim Park. Here the surrounding district was nominally subject to forest law (as part of Wychwood Forest), as late as 1704, and the object of the festival is expressly said to have been a right-of-way. If it were not kept up, so the people said, a turnpike could be put up across the road from Woodstock to Bladon, which, they declare, was actually done as soon as it was discontinued. The people "claimed certain portions of wood from Wychwood Forest for use on the occasion," and the owner of the park, the Duke of Marlborough, provided a Maypole, and evergreens for the "Bowery," or open shed, erected for the sports. From the roof of this shed were hung two cages containing an owl and a hawk, which were supposed to be the pets of the burlesque "lady" of the feast, but it is not stated how they were procured. Burlesque ceremonies resembling the "Mock Mayor" rites were practised with regard to them, and the festival included a procession, morris-dancing, festival cakes, and other details into which I cannot now enter, (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., pp. 171-75).

No one, I think, will accuse me of wishing to undervalue survivals, but it is needful to distinguish between one survival and another, between survivals from mediæval days and survivals from totemic days, between local variations and radical differences. It is the possibility of doing this that constitutes the special value and importance of European (and Oriental) folklore, as compared with that of peoples which have no recorded history.

We may ask, (as was asked at a recent meeting), why a given people should change from the matrilineal to the patrilineal method of reckoning descent, what are the causes of the varying forms assumed by totemism in different countries (as numerous in Melanesia as the variants of *Cinderella* or as the islands of the South Seas), why it should flourish in one place and die out in another,

and so on. But in such cases we can do little more than speculate on the external influences, the psychological ideas, which may from time to time have caused change, development, decay, or survival of belief or custom. On the other hand, where historical records are forthcoming, we can go a good way towards actually ascertaining these things. We can say with tolerable confidence that the special form of the May festival at Castleton was caused by the political leanings of the people and the special idiosyncrasy of their clerical guide, at a time of political and religious stress; that the special form and continued existence of the morris dance at Abbot's Bromley is due to the local form of land tenure; that the effect of centuries of struggle between communal and individual rights in land may be traced in the jealous maintenance of perfectly useless privileges which takes shape in the squirrel-hunts. The analogy of this and other such evidence should assist our judgment as to the varied forms assumed by the institutions of savagery. Thirty years ago, we studied savage customs to explain European survivals; now we need to study European survivals to understand the developments of savage customs.

This is a point which I do not think has hitherto been sufficiently recognized. Sociology is the coming study of the immediate future, but sociologists seem not yet to realize that European folklore is the missing link, the bridge over the gulf, between savagery on one side and culture on the other. As was feelingly observed in my hearing not long ago, it is a far cry from the slums of East London to the Australian marriage system, and it is difficult to get young sociologists, eager to remedy the evils of the former, to spend time and patience in mastering the intricacies of the latter. The folklore of Europe shows the bearing of the one branch of study on the other, if only it is considered, not as a set of barren facts, but as the rungs of the ladder by which we

have climbed, the landmarks of the successive stages through which we have passed, to reach our present level, a level to which others have yet to ascend.

The preference of savage to European folklore has also, as it seems to me, affected the progress of anthropology among classical students. The classical scholar, standing amazed before the spectacle of a civilization such as in some respects has never since been equalled, recoils from a comparison between the philosophers, the poets, the legislators, the empire-builders, to whom he looks up with veneration, and the half-naked savages of Australia or New Guinea. But to compare their actions with such "last infirmities of noble minds" as Lord Bacon "salving the weapon and not the wound," or Dr. Johnson touching every post as he passed, might not seem to them so bizarre and irreverent.

Yet what body, what organization in England, outside our own, takes more than a passing cognizance of such matters? Much is being done in the way of direct study of the rudimentary culture of the lower races, little in the study of the folk-learning of the more advanced. Yet the latter, as I have tried to show, is needful in the best interests of the former.

And herein lies the answer to the question with which I set out:—How can the Folk-Lore Society justify its continued existence? What is now its proper sphere? *This* field of labour is ours to go in and occupy. No one disputes it with us. Let us enter in and possess it.

Hitherto we have generalized, have taken up work now in this direction and now in that. "The pages of *Folk-Lore*," as one of the Council remarked the other day, "are strewn with the débris of abandoned projects." This is inevitable in the vague and formless period of beginnings. Experiments must be tried, and attempts be made, now in this direction, now in that. Some will prove failures; some, too successful, will be taken up by others better equipped

for the task. Only gradually does the right path unfold itself. Now, after the unorganized labour of a whole generation, the time for concentration of energies has come, for concentration on the methodical study of the folklore of our own country.

I do not appeal to the dilettante, nor even to the local antiquary. I appeal to the serious anthropologist, the sociologist, the philosopher, the historian of culture. The French, led by Monsieur Sébillot, have already gathered and synthetized the folklore of France; most of the principal countries of Europe have formed schemes and societies for dealing with theirs; what has been done in thirty years for the folklore of Great Britain? Henderson's *Northern Counties*, two volumes of reprints of Denham's *Tracts*, six of collected passages from other works, relating to as many English counties, one dealing with the Orkney and Shetland Islands, Dr. Maclagan's and Dr. Gregor's collections in the Highlands, ten or twelve articles in the *Journal* on English county folklore, a few on Scottish, and five or six on Irish, and a few studies of single customs. Independently of the Society, Wales is now fairly well represented, projects are mooted for further work in Ireland, and Mrs. Leather's Herefordshire collection will soon be ready. But eleven out of the forty English counties have practically never been dealt with at all, either by ourselves or anyone else, including such famous and individual ones as Kent, Hampshire, Somerset, Warwick, Derby, Cheshire, Norfolk, and the greater part of the Fen country; and the rest, as I have shown, have been very imperfectly examined.[15]

Let no one say there is nothing now to be found. Ten years ago, no one knew that there was any folk-music in England. The Folk-Song Society was founded. Not long ago I found the Secretary of the Society surrounded by the MSS. of a thousand airs from Dorset alone, which

[15] See Note III., *infra*.

were awaiting classification and sifting. Mr. Cecil Sharp's Somerset collections grew under his hands, and filled volume after volume. Some months ago, a visitor at a country-house where I was staying entertained the party for the whole evening with Somersetshire songs, collected by Mr. Sharp from labourers on the estate of the singer's father,—old men whom he and his family had known all their lives without ever having discovered their musical powers. It is the same with folklore. Those who look for it will find it.

I do not mean of course that British folklore is of more value than that of other European countries, but that, as most countries have now taken up the study of their own lore, Great Britain and India are the principal fields lying untilled.

The German and Swiss Folklore Societies confine their output of *Nachrichten* and *Zeitschriften* mainly to the folklore of their own countries. We can hardly go so far as that. For our own sakes we must not confine ourselves to Great Britain. We must not get out of touch with the travellers who return to us from time to time, bringing their sheaves with them. Nor must we forget the needs of our Indian and Colonial members, some of whom are ill-placed for obtaining books, and depend on *Folk-Lore* to keep them in touch with the world. But some sort of concentration of our work seems to me desirable and even needful. I will not enter into details until I have some assurance of your support, but, if my views find favour with the Council and with the Society at large, I feel convinced that we shall be able to frame some definite proposals to lay before you at our next Annual Meeting.

CHARLOTTE SOPHIA BURNE.

Note I. Castleton.

At the time of my visit to Castleton, I did not know what I afterwards learnt, that Edward I. was Constable of the Castle of the Peak before his accession to the throne. He gave the patronage of the living to the Abbey of Vale Royal in Cheshire, with whom it continued till the Dissolution, when it was handed over to the newly-founded See of Chester. The church, which contains Norman features, is dedicated to St. Edmund, one of the royal English saints specially honoured by Henry III. Doubtless this was a re-dedication by Edward. His connection with the place is curiously corroborated by the resemblance I observed to Winchelsea. Castleton is not mentioned by name in Domesday Book, but is simply called "the land of William Peverel's Castle in Peak Forest."

There are two slight discrepancies between the accounts of Mr. Addy and Mr. Brooksbank. Mr. Addy says that the Bradwell people are supposed to be descended from convicts, and the Castletonians from slaves. Mr. Brooksbank reverses this. Mr. Addy says that the tower is adorned with oak-boughs on Garland Day, and the people carry sprigs of oak. Mr. Brooksbank says it is not oak but sycamore. If so, this probably betokens the Whig ascendancy under William and Mary.

"Royal oak
The Whigs to provoke.
Plane-tree leaves
The Church-folk are thieves:"

runs a rhyme of the rival factions quoted by Brand (i., p. 275). The Cavendish family, who were, as we know, among the main instruments in bringing about the Revolution, were then, and are still, lessees under the Crown of the Manor and Castle of the Peak, and the Rev. Samuel Cryer, as we have seen, was not a non-juror. He accepted the Revolution.

Mr. Brooksbank has given me the following interesting notes:

"For a young man and woman to go together in the evening on 'Cauler' (Cawlowe), the hill next the Castle, was supposed to be tantamount to a betrothal, and young people who are suspected to be keeping company furtively are advised to go on Cauler."

"If a Castleton girl married into another village a rope was put across the road to Hope, to bar her passage, and a forfeit exacted. This was done in the *old* road to Hope, skirting the hillside, not on the new road which runs down the centre of the valley."

"The Friday night before Wakes Sunday, (the first Sunday in September), was always called Stealing Night. The youths of the village were in the habit of taking anything they found *out of its place*, whether a broom, a cart, or anything else, and carrying it into the market-place, whence it had to be reclaimed by its owner. I can find no trace of redemption money being paid."

"The steps of houses which abutted on the roadway were in comparatively recent times ploughed up on Plough Monday unless a fine were paid."

"On Christmas Eve all the miners used to knock off work at noon, choose the best bit of lead ore they could find, place a special candle on it, and then sit around it singing carols. They left the candle burning. This is said to have taken place at Odin Mine."

"'Shaking Day' is still kept. On Good Friday the children used to take bottles to the well of 'our Lady' in Cavedale, fill them from it, bring them home, put in Spanish juice (liquorice) and spices, and then put them in the dark till Easter Day, when they brought them to church, shook them, and allowed one another to drink out of each other's bottles."

"The following seems to be part of an old carol referring to pre-Reformation education in the arts of illumination and embroidery:

They teached the boys to read and to write
  With a silver pen and golden ink.
They teached the girls to knit and to sew
  With . . . and golden thread."

NOTE II. THE HORN-DANCE.

The following is Dr. Plot's account of the Horn-dance:

"At *Abbots*, or now rather *Pagets Bromley*, they had also within memory a sort of sport, which they celebrated at Christmas

(on New Year, and Twelft-day) call'd the *Hobby-horse dance*, from a person that carryed the image of a horse between his leggs, made of thin boards, and in his hand a bow and arrow, which passing through a hole in the bow, and stopping upon a sholder it had in it, he made a snapping noise as he drew it to and fro, keeping time with the Musick: with this Man danced 6 others, carrying on their shoulders as many Rain deers heads, 3 of them painted white, and 3 red, with the Armes of the cheif families (viz. of Paget, Bagot, and Wells) to whom the revenews of the Town cheifly belonged, depicted on the palms of them, with which they danced the Hays, and other Country dances. To this *Hobby-horse dance* there also belong'd a pot, which was kept by turnes, by 4 or 5 of the cheif of the Town, whom they call'd Reeves, who provided Cakes and Ale to put in this pot; all people who had any kindness for the good intent of the Institution of the sport, giving pence a piece for themselves and families; and so forraigners too, that came to see it: with which Mony (the charge of the Cakes and Ale being defrayed) they not only repaired their Church but kept their poore too: which charges are not now perhaps so cheerfully boarn" (Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire*, p. 434, ch. x., par. 66).

This suggests that the Horn-dance, with other such sports, had been discontinued under the Commonwealth. If it had been already revived in 1686, Dr. Plot had not heard of it. When I visited the place in the early nineties, the then vicar, who showed me the horns, told me that he was informed that the dance was formerly performed in the churchyard, after service, on three successive Sundays at Christmas time. Whether these were the Sundays between the dedication-day, Dec. 6th, and Christmas Day, or whether they were the Sundays in Christmas-tide, with Christmas Day itself, I cannot say, nor when the dance was removed (or restored?) to the fair-day. Miss Mary Bagot, daughter of the Rev. Walter Bagot, rector of the adjoining parish of Blithfield, wrote in 1817 of the local Christmas sports in the last years of the eighteenth century,—"a party from Abbot's Bromley came once, and must, I think, have performed Maid Marian's dance, from the faint recollection I have of it" (*Links with the Past*, p. 190). The cross-bow man, who still makes the

"snapping" noise as described by Plot, and the man in woman's clothes, are now known as Robin Hood and Maid Marian, but it may be doubted whether this is not a modern pseudo-antique touch. The costumes now worn have been made and presented by some neighbouring ladies since 1899. The members of the North Staffordshire Field Club were informed in 1909 that they had been copied from the figures of the morris-dancers in the famous window at Betley (see Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare*), so they might be depended on to be quite correct! Three plates in *Sir Benjamin Stone's Pictures* show the various properties and the present costumes.

NOTE III. FOLKLORE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The following is a rough sketch of the progress of folklore collection in the United Kingdom. Additions to the list would be welcome.

ENGLAND.

Counties in which nothing has been done (11).

Bedford.	Kent.
Buckingham.	Middlesex.
Chester.	Nottingham.
Essex.	Surrey.
Hampshire.	Warwick.
Huntingdon.	

Counties dealt with only by old-fashioned writers (6).

Cumberland.	Northampton.
Lancaster.	Westmoreland.
Norfolk.	Worcester.

Counties dealt with only in County Folklore (3).

Leicester.	Suffolk.
Rutland.	

Counties in which only single Rites or Legends etc. have been dealt with in Folk-Lore (4).

Cambridge.	Herts.
Derby.	Somerset.

Counties on which articles have appeared in Folk-Lore etc., but not otherwise dealt with (6).

Berks.	Oxford.
Dorset.	Sussex.
Monmouth.	Wilts.

Counties variously dealt with (10).

(*a*, by old writers; *b*, by modern ones; *c*, in *County Folklore*; *d*, in *Folk-Lore etc.*)

Cornwall, *a*, *b*.
Devon, *a*, *b*, *d*.
Durham, *a*, *b*.
Gloucester, *c*, *d*.
Hereford, *b* (promised).
Lincoln, *c*, *d*.
Northumberland, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.
Salop, *b*.
Stafford, *a*, *b* (slight), *d*.
York—N. Riding, *b*; E. Riding, *b*, *c*; W. Riding, *b*. (*The West Riding Anthropological Society is now beginning work.*)

WALES.

Works by Sir John Rhys, Rev. Elias Owen, Mrs. Trevelyan, Wirt Sikes. *Byegones* columns.

ISLE OF MAN.

Sir John Rhys, A. W. Moore, Train, Sophia Morison in *Folk-Lore*.

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeenshire.—Gregor.
Argyllshire.—R. C. Maclagan, J. G. Campbell.
Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross.—*Folk-Lore* and *Folk-Lore Journal*.
Hebrides.—Goodrich Freer, Macphail in *Folk-Lore*.
Highland Folk-tales.—J. F. Campbell.
Lowlands.—Sir W. Scott, Napier.

IRELAND.

Folk-tales.—Patrick Kennedy, Larminie, Croker, Curtin, Hyde, Joyce, Lady Wilde.
Articles in Folk-Lore, *Folk-Lore Journal*, *etc.*—Connemara, Donegal, Down, Galway, Leitrim, Louth, Meath, Roscommon, Sligo, Wexford, etc.

CHANNEL ISLANDS.

Guernsey.—Macculloch (ed. Carey).
Jersey.—Entirely wanting.

SCILLY ISLANDS.

Wanting.

THE FATHER'S SISTER IN OCEANIA.[1]

BY W. H. R. RIVERS, ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

(*Read at Meeting, November 17th, 1909.*)

DURING a visit last year to Polynesia and Melanesia I found in three different places a very close relationship between a person and his or her father's sister, very few special duties and privileges connected with this relative having hitherto been recorded. The first place where I found the close relationship to exist was Tonga, and the fact surprised me greatly by its contrast to what I had found in other parts of Polynesia, where duties connected with kinship are neither numerous nor important. My surprise was, however, still greater when I found very similar customs in the New Hebrides and the Banks' Islands, among communities with matrilineal descent where one hardly expected to find the most intimate relationship between persons who, though of common blood, have by previous writers been regarded as not even kin to one another.[2]

In Tonga a man honours his father's sister more than any other relative, more even than his father or his father's elder brother. In the old time it was believed that, if he offended her, disobeyed her, or committed any mistake in the regulation of his conduct towards her, he would die. The father's sister or *mehikitanga* usually arranged the

[1] The new facts recorded in this paper form part of the work of the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition to the Solomon Islands.

[2] Cf. *infra*, p. 58.

marriage of her *fakafotu* or brother's son, and she could veto one arranged by his parents or by the man himself. Even now a man will usually take the woman whom his father's sister wishes him to marry, though he will sometimes rebel and choose for himself. There is some degree of community of goods between nephew and aunt; the father's sister can take anything belonging to her nephew and the latter will not say a word, but, if the nephew desires anything belonging to his aunt, he must ask for it, and to take it without permission is one of the mistakes which it was said would have had fatal results in the old days. If permission to take anything were asked, however, it would seem that it was rarely refused.

There are a certain number of restrictions on the conduct of a man in relation to his father's sister which resemble the customs of avoidance of certain relatives so often found elsewhere. A man may not eat in his aunt's presence, nor may he eat anything which she has carried. He will not sit on her bed, nor will he stay in a house into which she comes. On the other hand, restrictions on conversation with her and on the use of her name do not exist.

The relation of the father's sister to her niece is like that towards her nephew. A girl is subject to the same restrictions in relation to her father's sister as a boy, and her relative arranges her marriage and may take any of her possessions. The father's sister also takes the leading place in the ceremonial connected with the first menstruation of a girl, and to her is given the piece of *tapa* cloth stained with the menstrual blood. I could not discover that the father's sister took any corresponding part in ceremonial connected with her nephew, the leading part in the ceremonial connected with circumcision being taken by the mother's brother.

In Melanesia I found a very similar relationship between paternal aunt and nephew or niece in two places,—in the island of Pentecost or Raga in the New Hebrides, and in

the Banks' Islands. In both these places there is matrilineal descent together with the dual organisation of society. The whole population of an island is divided into two exogamous sections, and every person belongs to the moiety of his mother. Now,—and probably it has long been so,—the succession to property is in an intermediate state between an older condition of inheritance by the brothers or the sister's children and a later condition in which the children inherit. Some kinds of property or right still go to the brother or the sister's son, while, in cases in which the children inherit, a clear indication of the older method of inheritance is shown by certain payments which have to be made to the sister's children. This being the case, I was hardly prepared to find that the relative who stands in the closest relation to a person, if closeness of relationship is to be judged by its associated functions, is the father's sister.

In Pentecost I was only able to obtain a very scanty account[3] of the functions of the father's sister, and there is little doubt that far more remains to be discovered. Enough was found, however, to show very definitely a relationship resembling in its main features that which had been already found in Tonga. The father's sister chooses a wife for her nephew, who will take without demur the woman chosen. A man will also obey his aunt generally, and anything he possesses is at her command. He helps her in her gardens or at other work, and, when a man is going away, he will leave instructions with his sons that they are to do whatever their aunt wishes. So far the relationship is as in Tonga, but there is a difference in other respects. In Pentecost aunt and nephew may eat together, but the nephew may not say the name of his aunt. If they are alone together, and if the aunt does not hear her nephew when he calls '*muani*,' her kinship name, he may call her by her personal

[3] I was only able to obtain this through the kind help of Miss E. Wilson of the Melanesian Mission.

name, but, if others are present, the aunt would be very angry. In this island the father's sister and the mother are called by the same kinship-term, but strangely enough there is a special term for the husband of the father's sister, who is called *hurina*. There are no restrictions on conduct between a man and his *hurina*, who are on quite familiar terms, though there is no such especially derisive behaviour as in Mota.[4]

A much more complete account of the functions of the father's sister was obtained from the Banks' Islands,[5] where of all relatives the father's sister is the most highly honoured. The term by means of which her relationship is ordinarily denoted is *veve* (mother) or *veve vus rawe* (the mother who kills or strikes the tusked pig, or "is connected with striking the pig"), but she may also be called *maranaga*, a term used for a woman of high rank and now used for "queen." The father's sister must never be addressed or spoken of by her personal name, but by one of these terms denoting either her relationship or the estimation in which she is held by the speaker. It is a sign of the times that children will now annoy their aunts by calling them by name, and I was told of one case in which a woman had been reduced to tears by this unceremonious behaviour on the part of her nephews and nieces, behaviour which in the old days would have been out of the question. A man will never chaff (*poroporo*) his aunt, or joke with her, and will always speak to her in a gentle and conciliatory tone. A definite comparison was made between the mother and the father's sister in this respect; the mother may be spoken to strongly, emphatically, with assurance, but such a mode of address would never be employed in speaking to the father's sister, and in the small island of Rowa it was said

[4] Cf. *infra*, p. 50.

[5] I am greatly indebted to the kind help of the Rev. C. E. Fox and the Rev. W. J. Durrad of the Melanesian Mission in obtaining this information.

that a man would never take the initiative in addressing her, but would always wait till he had been spoken to.

A woman always takes the greatest interest in her brother's son. She will always keep her ears open for any rumour about him. If she finds that anyone has a grudge against him or intends to do him an injury, she will warn him of his danger. When the time comes for a man to marry, it is his father's sister who will choose his wife for him, and the marriage she ordains will take place whether the nephew likes it or not. If he chooses for himself, she may veto the marriage, and, if she does so, no one will think of disobedience. In Melanesia the first step in the case of illicit sexual intercourse is usually taken by the woman; in such a case, however, she will not go to the man himself, but will first approach his father's sister.

There is to a certain extent community of goods between a man and his father's sister. The latter can take her nephew's possessions, but only those which he has received from his father or has obtained for himself. She could not take what has come from his mother or his mother's people. If a man wants any of his aunt's goods, he will ask for them, and it is rarely that his request will be refused.

If any of the rules regulating the behaviour of a person towards the father's sister are broken, the offender has to give a feast in honour of the injured relative.

The father's sister also has a number of functions in ceremonial connected with her nephew or niece, and her rôle in this respect begins even before the birth of the child, when it may be that she acts rather as the sister of the husband than as the aunt of the expected child.

A rite called *valugtoqa* (? *valugtoqai*) is often performed at an early stage of pregnancy, which is accompanied by a process of divination to discover the sex of the child. One feature of this rite is the passage of money

from the father to the wife's brother, the money being first placed on a pudding and then put over the right shoulder of the expectant mother to be given later to her brother. The act of divination consists in the pinching of a leaf-cup containing water brought from a spring used only for this purpose. If the child is to be a boy, the water will squirt out, but, if it is to be a girl, this will not happen. A formula is uttered during this rite by the sister of the husband, the future paternal aunt of the child.

When the birth is about to take place, the woman who is to take the leading part in looking after the mother is chosen by the husband's sister, and this means much more than the mere choice of a midwife, for in Mota it is the act of payment to this woman which determines the parentage of the child for social purposes. In this island it is the man who pays this woman chosen by the father's sister who becomes the father of the child. As a general rule the payment is made by the actual father, but, if he is away or has no money, or if another is more anxious than himself to own the child, he may be forestalled in this payment and lose his right to his own child.

When the piece of umbilical cord separates from the child, it must first be offered by the father to his own sister, who will, however, usually refuse it, because its acceptance would make it necessary later for her brother to prepare a great feast in her honour. When she has refused it, he gives it to some other woman whom he calls sister by the classificatory system, who puts it in a leaf which is covered with string so that it is not visible and hangs it on her neck. She keeps this on her neck till the child is two years old, and then the father of the child has to give her a feast. The father's sister may also ask for some of the nail-parings of the child, and keep them on her neck in a similar way, and this has also to be

acknowledged by a feast. This may be done at any age, and a recent case was related in which the paternal aunt of a man had picked up some of his nail-parings just as he was going away to another island, and, when he returned, he had to make a feast in his aunt's honour.

There are several special rites and feasts after the birth of a first-born child. In the island of Motlav all the women of the village come to the house with their mats and sleep there for twenty days, decorating themselves in a different way every day, and feasting on different kinds of food, which they are privileged to take from the gardens of anyone. On the twentieth day there are various payments which are prominent in every Banksian rite, and then all the women who have been staying in the house sit in a ring outside, and the father's sister brings the baby out of the house and hands it round the circle, so that each woman holds it in turn. When the child has gone the round, it is given back to the father's sister, who carries it round the circle four times,—the customary number of a Melanesian rite,—and the child is then returned to its mother.

In Mota, when a woman has given birth for the first time, the child is taken to the door of the house by a woman, and a little bow is put in its hand, and all the maternal uncles of the child collect and shoot at it with blunted arrows or throw limes. When this is over, the child is handed to the father's sister, who holds it out with straightened arms till they tremble, and then she says,—"You and *tawarig*[6] go up into the cultivated land, you with your bow and *tawarig* with the basket, digging yams; you shooting birds, *tawarig* breaking up the firewood; you two come back to the village; she will take food and carry it into the house; you will take your food in the *gamal*." As these words are said the father's sister raises her arms, lifting the child in the air.

[6] *Tawarig* is the name which she will give to the future wife of the child.

A prominent event in the life of a boy, in which the father's sister takes a part, is when her nephew reaches a certain rank in the *suqe*, the organisation which dominates the whole lives of the Banks' Islanders. The rite I am about to describe is as it is practised in Motlav, but it is probably very similar in other islands. It has two special interests. It is the only occasion on which women ever enter the *gamal* or club-house of the *suqe*, and it is to this ceremony that the father's sister owes her name. We have here an excellent illustration of the difficulty of obtaining explanations from Melanesians, and I believe this difficulty is general among those of the lower culture. One of the first pieces of information I gained in the Banks' Islands was that the father's sister is called *veve vus rawe*, or "the mother who strikes the tusked pig." Although my informant was of exceptional intelligence, he could not give the explanation of this name, and it was only seven or eight months later, when on my way home, that I was told of the following ceremony, which probably provides the explanation.

The name of the division of the *suqe* in connection with which the ceremony takes place is *Avtagataga*. When a man or child is to be initiated into this division, all the people gather in the open space of the village; the candidate sits on a mat, and about twenty women sit on mats round him. Of these women the father's sister must be one, and she will take the leading part in the ensuing rite. The head of a tusked pig (*rawe*) is put on the mat before the candidate, and, after the usual payments of money, four blasts are blown on a conch-shell; and at the end of each blast the candidate brings down a stone on the pig's head lying before him. Then the candidate is taken into the *gamal* by his father's sister and the other women, being led in if he is adult by his aunt, and carried on her back if he is being initiated while yet a child. The initiate then becomes *nat vuhe*

rau, and the aunt *vev vuhe rau*, (the Motlav forms of *natui vus rawe* and *veve vus rawe*).

In one of the Banks' Islands, Merlav, it was said that a man might marry his father's sister and that this was more frequent in the old days than in recent times. The same kind of marriage probably occurred also in the other islands, and it may be noted that it is also found in the Torres Islands to the north of the Banks' group.

Before I pass on to consider the meaning of these customs, I should like to give a brief account of the relation between a man and the husband of his father's sister, a relationship which has features even more bizarre than those which have just been related. There is a Banksian custom called *poroporo*, which may be translated most nearly by the word "chaffing." There are very definite regulations as to whom you may chaff, whom you may not chaff, and whom you may only chaff a little, and the whole custom has great significance in the eyes of the people, for, if a man chaffs a woman whom he should not, it affords legitimate grounds for inferences as to their moral relations. It will have been noticed that the father's sister is one who must on no account be the subject of *poroporo*, but on the other hand her husband is continually chaffed by his wife's nephew. I will give you some examples, for which I will take a concrete case, that of my informant, John, and his father's sister's husband, Virsal, whose names may be found in the Mota pedigree given by Dr. Codrington.[7] If John and his sister see a pig wallowing in the mire, they will say as a joke,—"There is Virsal." If they hear a flying-fox in the night, and meet Virsal the next morning, they will say,—"We heard you last night." If they hear a kingfisher cry, they will say to it,—"The body of Virsal is your food," and anyone who heard this would know at once how they were related to Virsal. If they see Virsal going to the

[7] *The Melanesians*, p. 38.

beach, they will ask him if he is going to eat worms or sea-slugs. If anyone were to ask John where to find Virsal, he would say,—"He is in Panoi" (the Banksian Hades), or in some other sacred place. If a dance is to take place at which Virsal is to be present, John will go too, and will rush upon Virsal with a club and seize him, and will only relax his hold on the payment of money, which Virsal will have brought with him because he will know what is likely to happen. The explanation of these customs given by John was that they were all designed to magnify the importance of the father's sister. When Virsal was about to marry his aunt, John would have heaped all sorts of opprobrious epithets upon him, because he would not think him good enough, and John thought that the *poroporo* was merely a continuation of this practice after the marriage had actually taken place, its object being to magnify the importance of the father's sister by depreciating her husband. This explanation must be taken with the caution which is in my opinion necessary with all native explanations, but, though it may not be the ultimate explanation of the strange customs, it indicates very clearly the high estimation in which the father's sister is held. I may point out in passing that the man who is thus so unceremoniously treated is necessarily of the same *veve* as his tormenter; they will in the native terminology be *sogoi*.

We know far too little of the sociology of the part of Melanesia where the father's sister exercises this predominant rôle to allow any certain conclusions as to the origin of the various customs which I have described. The information obtained by me was merely the result of a brief visit, and doubtless some of the descriptions I have given will require some modification in detail on further investigation, though I have no doubt about their general accuracy. It was evident that even in the Banks' group there were definite variants in different islands in the

customs connected with the father's sister, and an investigation of these in the less advanced islands of the group, such as Vanua Lava, may throw much light on their nature.

Although, however, no decisive opinion can be expressed, there is so much that is suggestive in the customs I have described that I cannot forbear from putting forward some alternative hypotheses which may serve the useful function of assisting the course of future inquiry.

It may be well first to point out again that the special matter which has to be explained is the existence of this close relationship between a person and the father's sister in communities with matrilineal descent. According to some the father's sister is not even to be regarded as the kin of her nephew, and nevertheless we find between them ties which indicate the closest bonds of relationship.

One of the features which will have struck everyone in hearing of these customs is the very close resemblance between them and those which are found to exist in so many peoples between a man and his maternal uncle. When the latter customs are found in a people with patrilineal descent, we have been accustomed to look upon them as a survival of a previous condition of mother-right, the close relation naturally existing in this latter state between a man and his mother's brother having persisted after the mode of descent has changed. That this has been the explanation in many cases, as in that of the peoples of North East Africa described by Munzinger,[8] and in many other instances, there can be little doubt. We have in these cases clear evidence of transitional states which entitles us with the greatest confidence to explain the one condition as the survival of the other.

The possibility is naturally suggested that the relation

[8] *Ostafrikanische Studien*, 1864, and *Sitten und Recht der Bogos*, 1859. For a discussion of this evidence, see *Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v., p. 151.

between a man and his father's sister in the Banks' Islands may be explained on similar lines, and may be the survival in mother-right of a preceding condition of patrilineal descent. Though following so naturally, such a conclusion would, in my opinion, be flying in the face of every probability. All through Melanesia we have at the present time the clearest evidence that the population is in a state of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent, the change having been completed in the Western Solomons, and it would seem in the highest degree improbable that this change now going on should be merely a reversal of one in the opposite direction which has left its mark in the functions I have recorded. We cannot, however, afford to dismiss any hypothesis in anthropology merely on the ground of its improbability, and it will therefore be well if we keep in mind, as the first working hypothesis suggested by these customs, that they may be survivals of a condition of father-right or at least of patrilineal descent which preceded the present state of mother-right.

A second possibility is that the functions of the father's sister may have been due to the fact that she was at one time also the wife of the mother's brother. It is a frequent feature of systems of relationship,—and tokens of it are found in the Banks' Islands,—that the father's sister and the wife of the mother's brother receive the same name, and it is clear that this is either because they are actually one and the same person or have been so in the past. This is the natural result of either of two different customs, both of which are found in Melanesia, viz., the cross-cousin marriage and the custom of exchange of brother and sister with sister and brother, *i.e.*, the custom through which, when a man marries a woman, it is at the same time arranged that the brother of the woman shall marry the sister of the man. Of these two customs, either of which would have made the father's sister identical with the mother's brother's wife,

that which has probably been in action in Melanesia is the cross-cousin marriage, which has evidently been a widespread Melanesian institution. Its existence in Fiji is of course well known, and during last year I found it also in the Eastern Solomons, in the Torres Islands, and in the Southern New Hebrides. This form of marriage has usually been regarded as a survival of the dual organisation of society, but, after visiting Melanesia, I feel much less confident of this than I was before my visit, and I am now more inclined to believe that, though the two conditions are related to one another, one has not necessarily always preceded the other. Whatever may be the explanation of these institutions, there can be little doubt that the cross-cousin marriage might furnish the explanation of some of the functions of the father's sister, and especially her rôle in the arrangement of marriage. So far as I am aware, the only place where a special connection between a man and his father's sister has previously been pointed out is in India, and I have elsewhere[9] tried to show the connection here with the cross-cousin marriage which was probably at one time a universal Dravidian institution. According to this view, the father's sister would arrange the marriage of her nephew, because at one time it would have been her daughter that he would have married; she would have been his potential, if not his actual, mother-in-law. Her other functions would be explained by her having been at one time the wife of the mother's brother, functions which had persisted and perhaps been magnified after the necessary connection between the two relationships had come to an end, as they certainly have come to an end in the Banks' Islands. A further piece of evidence as to the old identity of the two relationships is to be found in the fact that in at least one of the islands a man may marry his father's sister. In all the islands he may marry the wife of his mother's brother, which may even be said to

[9] *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, pp. 611 *et seq.*

be the orthodox Banksian marriage, and, if the mother's brother's wife had been at one time the same person as the father's sister, it is not surprising that marriage with the latter should have persisted here and there.

A third working hypothesis is suggested by the fact that the father's sister is a member of the opposite *veve* or social division of the community. We have another example of such relations between people of different social divisions in the help that is often given to a man by his wife's brother,[10] and Mr. A. R. Brown has called my attention to the fact that such relations are frequent in Australia. Is there anything in the functions of the father's sister in the Banks' Islands which may suggest a general explanation of this relationship between members of different social divisions?

Before considering this, I must describe certain features of Banksian society which are of significance in this respect. In the island of Mota the two *veve* are believed to possess different dispositions; those of one division are learned in social lore, living peaceably with one another, and capable of looking after themselves and their affairs; the members of the other division are ignorant, always quarrelling, and unable to manage their affairs properly. In the old days the members of the two *veve* hated one another, and even now there is a feeling of hostility between the two. There is a tradition that at one time there was a very long *gamal* or club-house, the site of which can still be pointed out. One *veve* lived at one end of this house and the other at the other, and a man who entered the wrong door, or crossed the *gamal* from his own end to the other, ran the risk of being killed. Further, there are a number of customs of avoidance which receive their most natural explanation as evidence of this old feeling between the two divisions.

The problem we have then to face is the choice of a

[10] See *Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v., p. 148.

member of a group of more or less hostile people to act in the closest relationship to a child. The special function of the father's sister, which may supply the answer to the question posed above, is her place as custodian of the fragment of umbilical cord and nail-parings of her brother's child. These, and notoriously the latter, are objects by means of which injury may be inflicted if they come into the hands of a stranger, and the hypothesis I should like to suggest is that the umbilical cord and nail-parings are given to the aunt as the representative of the more or less hostile body formed by the other social group of the community. It is, I believe, consistent with savage modes of thought and action that, if it were known that these objects were in the hands of one prominent among themselves, it would act as a hindrance to the action of others, and I would suggest that, when relationship with the father begins to be recognised, his sister is chosen as the receptacle of those objects by means of which the members of her division might injure the child, and she thus by their possession obtains a power over the child which makes her the most honoured relative, and then this place of honour becomes the cause of the special place she is called upon to fill in the ceremonial connected with her brother's child. According to this view the special place of the father's sister would be one of the many actions of magic or the belief in magic on features of social organisation. This hypothesis involves much that is doubtful, but, though the actual form in which I have put it may turn out to be wrong, it is highly probable that it is some such belief involved in the relations between the different social divisions which lies at the bottom of these functions assigned to a member of a hostile social group.

A fourth possibility, suggested to me by Mr. T. C. Hodson, is that the special position of the father's sister is one of the signs of increasing recognition of the kinship of the father, who deputes his sister to perform certain acts as

an assertion of his paternity, thus bringing her functions into line with those which, according to one view, belong to the Couvade. There is little doubt that the latter institution is based primarily on the belief in a sympathetic relation between father and child, but in its more developed forms it is possible that the assertion of paternity may have played a part, and Mr. Hodson's suggestion should be borne in mind as affording a fourth working hypothesis by means of which to seek the explanation of the functions of the father's sister. According to this view it would be expected that the cord and nail-parings would be given to the father's sister to give her a hold over the child, a means of compulsion in disputes between the father and his wife's people.

Of these four hypotheses the first has been advanced chiefly as a matter of form, and I am inclined to attach most importance, so far as concerns the original basis of the customs, to the third, while the conditions assumed in the second and fourth hypotheses have probably been also in action. According to this view the origin of the special functions of the father's sister was in her position as the member of a different social group who stood nearest to the child, whether the actual motive was the fear of magic which I have suggested or some other. Later this special position of the father's sister was strengthened by other relationships to her nephew or niece which came into existence, perhaps as the wife of the mother's brother, but probably still more as the potential mother-in-law, while it is also possible that the desire of the father to assert more definitely the paternity already implied in the functions of his sister may have added to her importance. According to this view we should have in the development of the functions of the father's sister one of those cases of complex causation which I believe to be the rule in sociology.

The foregoing hypotheses are directed towards the

explanation of the functions of the father's sister in the matrilineal communities of Melanesia. There remains the very similar position of this relative in Tonga. The similarity is so great that there can be little doubt that whatever conditions explain the Melanesian facts will also explain those of Tonga, and it may be pointed out that there is no doubt that the cross-cousin marriage existed at one time, if it does not still exist, in Tonga, especially among the chiefs, the information given to me on this point confirming the account given by Mr. Basil Thomson.[11] Further, there would seem to be a close analogy between the functions of the aunt in the two places in taking the umbilical cord and the first menstrual blood respectively. We have in the Tongan practice an example of a custom, having its origin at a time when kinship with the father was beginning to be recognised, which has persisted long after this kinship has been fully established, and long after the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent has taken place.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to the bearing of the facts I have related on certain questions of definition. Of all sociological terms there are none more important and at the same time used more indefinitely than "kin" and "kinship." In his book on the Melanesians Dr. Codrington has spoken of a child as not being of the same kin as his father.[12] Here Dr. Codrington has used the English word "kin" as the equivalent of the Mota word *sogoi* for those related to one another by common membership of a social group, in this case the *veve* or moiety of the whole population. Thus one of the meanings which has been ascribed to the word "kin" is membership of the same group, so that it excludes certain people related by consanguinity, and includes others with whom no genealogical connection can be traced. The same definition is implied, though

[11] *The Fijians*, p. 184. [12] p. 29.

not definitely stated, by Dr. Frazer when in his *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* he has used mother-kin in place of mother-right.[13] This title implies that a man is only kin with the members of the group of his mother, and the term has been used with this significance by others. The ascription of this meaning to the word seems to me to depart so widely from the customary, as well as the legal, meaning of the word in the English language that I cannot regard it as satisfactory, and I have proposed elsewhere that on the contrary "kin" and "kinship" shall be limited to relationships which can be shown to exist genealogically.[14] The special point to which I wish to call attention now is that, as we have seen, the relationship between a man and his father's sister, which so far as functions go is of the nearest, perhaps nearer than that of parent and child, is one in which, according to the view of some, the two persons would not be kin. Our ideas of kinship are so intimately associated with honour and obedience that it seems to me to be a pity to use the word in such a sense as to exclude the relative who is honoured and obeyed before all others. I think we shall be keeping much more closely to the general meaning of the word if we use it to denote genealogical relationship, and find some other word for the relationship set up by common membership of a social group.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

[13] 2nd edition, p. 384.

[14] *Report of the Seventy-seventh Meeting of the Brit. Assocn., etc.*, 1907, p. 654; also *Man*, 1907, p. 142.

THE SUN-GOD'S AXE AND THOR'S HAMMER.

BY OSCAR MONTELIUS, ROYAL ANTIQUARY, STOCKHOLM.

ANYONE seeking in the cottages of Sweden of to-day for stone implements, ought to ask whether any thunderbolts or Thor-bolts (*Thorsviggar*) have been found, rather than to enquire for stone axes (*Stenyxor*). The former term implies just what is wanted, while the cottagers generally imagine that stone axes are axes used for working stone.

In the different countries of Europe, and in other parts of the world, such as Brazil and Japan, there is a current belief amongst the people that the stone axes which are found in the ground, and the use of which is forgotten, are thunderbolts, weapons by means of which the god of thunder kills his enemies, when it looks as if they had been struck by lightning. Only three years ago a man in the northern part of Sweden dug a hole in the ground where he hoped to find a thunderbolt; there had just been a lightning stroke in this place.

On looking backwards we find that in ancient times there was a widespread belief in Greece, more than 2000 years ago, that stone axes had the character of thunderbolts. But we also find,—and this is closely connected with what has been said above,—that the axe has from time immemorial been considered, both in Greece and elsewhere, a symbol of the thunder or sun god. It soon becomes evident that the god of the sun and the god of thunder have originally been one and the same deity, although the ancients had not learnt to understand as we

have the intimate connection which exists between the thunder and the sun.

Amongst the Aryan peoples of India we find a god whose favourite weapon in his fight against the demons is the thunderbolt. This god, glorified above all others in the Rigveda hymns, was Indra, that fabulously strong deity who corresponds to the Thor of the Scandinavians. His original weapon was the "heavenly stone" which the primeval smiths had sharpened for him; it was thus a kind of stone axe. Then a bolt was prepared for him which, according to some hymns, was made out of the skull of a horse, while others describe it as being made of bronze. Strictly speaking, it was made of "ayas," the same word as the Latin "aes," which word in the earlier Indian language signifies copper or bronze, but which in later times, after iron became known, means this new metal.

From the fact that one of the Rigveda hymns gives to the lightning the name of the axe of heaven, we may rightly infer that Indra's axe is really the lightning.

The Indian myths relate how a cunning being forfeited his head to the artist who forged the bolt for Indra, but saved it by stratagem. The northern myths tell the same legend about Loke and the gnome who forged the hammer for Thor. The earth is the mother of Thor as well as of Indra. Indra drives about, just as Thor does, in a chariot, the wheels of which roll through the air. We have good reason to believe that, according to the earliest notions, Indra's chariot, like that of Thor, was drawn by bucks. A later belief was that it was drawn by horses, but these horses could come to life again, exactly as Thor's bucks did, after having been killed and eaten.

We also come across gods carrying axes in their hands in several parts of Western Asia.

One of the bas-reliefs dug up from the ruins of the Assyrian Nimrud represents a procession in which several images of gods are carried in exactly the same manner

as the images of saints in Roman Catholic processions. One of these god-images from Nineveh (Fig. 1) holds in his right hand an axe, and in his left a thunderbolt. It would perhaps have been difficult to say with certainty that this implement, three-pronged at both ends, represents the lightning, had not its shape lived on in Greek art almost unaltered.

The axe that the Assyrian god carries in his hand has but one edge. The axes of other gods from Western Asia are, as a rule, edged on both sides (Fig. 2, Hittite).

Not far from Mylasa in Caria there was a place named Labranda, where a God was worshipped whom the Greeks called Zeus Labrandeus or Zeus Stratios. He is shown on coins from Mylasa as carrying in his hand a double axe, an axe edged on both sides. We also find him represented with javelin and eagle, both usual attributes of the sun god. The fact that the god on some coins is represented with lightning and javelin, whereas he generally carries axe and javelin, is a still further proof of the close connection between the axe and lightning. A wooden image is known of this god carrying a double axe in his right hand and a javelin in his left. The handles of both axe and javelin were so long that they reached the ground.

In some of the east-Mediterranean countries, a word *labrys* signifies axe, and Plutarch has connected this word with the name of the god. It was suggested by Mr. Max Mayer that the well-known Labyrinthos of Knossos was derived from that name Labrayndos or Labrynthios. Some years after this suggestion had been published, Dr. Arthur Evans found that in the royal palace of Knossos, evidently identical with the Labyrinthos, the double axe, the *labrys*, had been worshipped. The holy figure of the double axe was found everywhere in this old building (Fig. 3).

Because the double axe was a religious symbol, it was

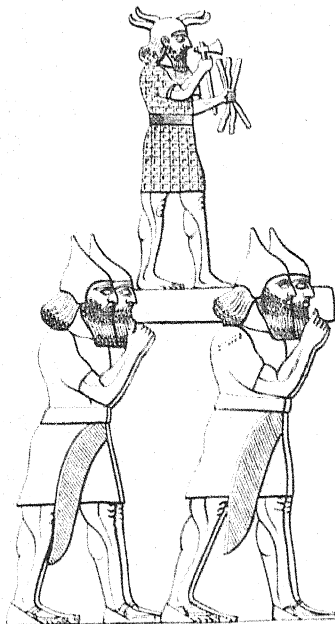


Fig. 1.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

THE SUN-GOD'S AXE AND THOR'S HAMMER.

To face p. 62.

used as an architectural ornament in Asia Minor as well as in Crete.

We find a god with a double axe not only in Labranda, but also in other towns of Asia Minor and Syria, as, for instance, in Tarsos. Coins from that town (Fig. 4) show us the god holding in his hand an axe of this description. Like many other Syrian gods (*e.g.* Fig. 2) he is represented as standing on an animal, in this case a lion. A Greek author alludes to a curious ceremony in which this god played the principal part. The image of the god was burnt on a huge pyre, in view of an immense crowd of spectators. In the first century of our era, when this author was living, the ceremony took place only every five years. Judging from what is known about similar ceremonies in other places, we may presume that in earlier times the god was burnt every year, and that, when the fire had burnt down, the birth of a new god was celebrated. It is the god of the sun that is thus celebrated. He it is that dies every year in order yearly to rise again. The season of the festival in Tarsos is not known, but it was probably at the vernal equinox, that critical time in the yearly life of the sun when the power of the sun is again manifesting itself on the earth. At that time the Christian Church still celebrates the festival of the Resurrection.

In Roman times there was a well-known Syrian god with a double axe, whom the Romans called Jupiter Dolichenus, after the town of Doliche, the present Doluc in Commagene, that part of Syria which lies between the ordinary crossing-place of the Euphrates and Mount Amanus. The god was probably called Baal by the town's own inhabitants. Like the god in Tarsos he is represented as standing on an animal, in this case a bull. In his right hand he holds a double axe, and in his left the lightning (Fig. 5).

About the middle of the second century after Christ, Syrian gods, and amongst others Jupiter Dolichenus, became known and worshipped in different parts of the

Roman Empire. Jupiter Dolichenus had one temple on the Aventine and another on the Esquiline in Rome in the time of the later Emperors. Moreover, inscriptions were dedicated to him in all the frontier provinces of the Empire, —in Dacia and Pannonia, in Germania and Britain. He was worshipped chiefly by soldiers, but also by merchants and other Syrian immigrants.

Very early the double axe was considered as a symbol, also, on the islands west of Asia Minor and in Greece. Of the Cretan *labrys* I have already spoken. Whenever it is possible to ascertain of what god it is the symbol, it is always found to be of the sun god.

An old relief has been discovered at Kameiros in Rhodes. Amongst its figures there is a man holding a double axe with a short handle in one hand, and a thunderbolt in the other (Fig. 6). The relief is damaged, so that the man's head and the top part of the thunderbolt cannot now be seen.

In Crete, and in other islands of the Ægæan Sea, double axes of bronze have been found, the votive character of which is obvious, as their blades are always too thin, and generally also too small, to have been of any real use.

During the excavations at Olympia a number of such votive double axes of thin bronze have been discovered in the deepest layers of the precinct dedicated to the sun god from time out of mind (Figs. 7 and 8).

Small double axes of thin gold date from a still earlier period, from the second millennium B.C. They have been found in the magnificent royal tombs of the Mycenæan acropolis. It is quite evident that they are votive axes, which is further confirmed by the fact that some of them are fixed between the horns of small bull's heads, made of thin gold (Fig. 9). A large bull's head, from one of the Mycenæan tombs, has between the horns on its forehead a big sun-like flower. We know that such flowers, chrysanthemums, have been in Western Asia, and are still in Japan, symbols of the sun.

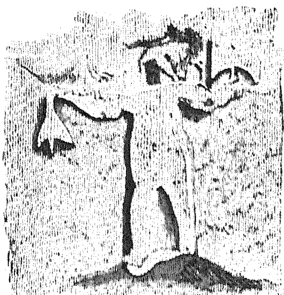


Fig. 6.

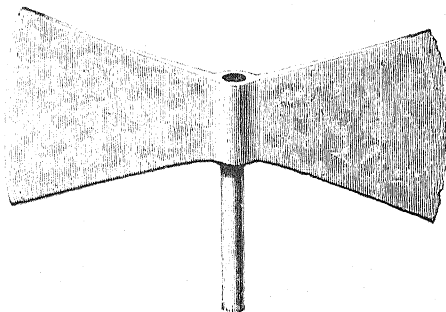


Fig. 7.

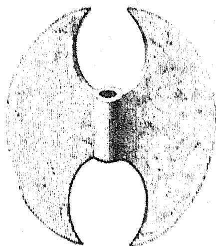


Fig. 8.



Fig. 10.

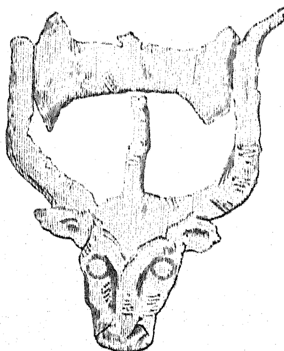


Fig. 9.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 11.

THE SUN-GOD'S AXE AND THOR'S HAMMER.

In one of these Mycenæan tombs an engraved stone was lying, representing several persons grouped round an erect double axe with a handle, in such a way that the scene evidently has a religious significance (Fig. 10).

A double axe, furnished with a handle, is also met with as a symbol or an ornament on Greek pottery, from the latter part of the second millennium B.C. (Fig. 11). A similar, sometimes T-shaped, figure is also seen on coins from Asia Minor by the side of the standing or sitting Zeus-Baal, and on several Greek coins. Many Greek coins have this sign tripled, as is shown in Fig. 12, and it has been supposed that when thus arranged it signifies the Trinity that the Greeks, possibly through influences from the Orient, imagined in connection with Zeus.

Some coins from Elis have the head of Zeus on the obverse, and on the reverse side the tripled T-shaped hammer or axe. Other coins from the same place have the head of Zeus on the obverse, and three thunderbolts on the reverse side. This remarkable fact is a further proof that the hammer and the thunderbolt denote the very same thing. It also shows how the Greeks, in the course of time, passed from the older to the younger symbol, from the axe or the hammer to the lightning.

In Greece, as in other countries, the sun god came gradually to be worshipped under many different names.

Though it is believed that Apollo in olden times was figured with a double axe in his hand, yet Zeus carries, in all now existent images from Greece, the lightning, shaped in the well-known manner. Other Greek gods have retained the double axe, or the hammer, of which the outlines correspond to those of the axe. The best known amongst them is Hephaistos, which god, according to the myth, soon after his birth fell down from heaven. There is therefore no doubt about his signifying the lightning. We know that Hephaistos is often depicted with a double axe or a hammer (Fig. 13). An author who has fully treated

the subject of this god as he appears in the myths and in art says,[1]—"The heavenly fire, represented by Hephaistos, can originally have been nothing else than the lightning. It was only with the knowledge of metal-work that Hephaistos became a divine smith. The transition is easily explained by the resemblance that imagination readily detects between what occurs in a smithy and during a thunderstorm, especially at a time when the working of metals still seemed something wonderful, requiring the assistance of the gods to be possible. No great stretch of imagination was needed to associate the flashes of lightning with sparks from the forge, and the claps of thunder with the hammer's sounding strokes against the anvil, or to look upon the thunderstorm itself as the work in a heavenly smithy."

Lycurgos also, the Thracian sun god, carried a double axe, and the mallet of Heracles was perhaps originally such a weapon, because Heracles is the oriental sun god who has been transplanted into Greece, and in his own country is usually represented with an axe.

An ancient writer[2] tells us the names of the four horses that drew the chariot of Apollo. One of these names means lightning, and another thunder. This fact proves that the god of the sun and that of thunder were in Greece, as elsewhere, looked upon as one and the same god. The same conception of the two gods we also find in the legend relating how Apollo with lightning and thunder drove away the Gauls who threatened Delphi.

The gods of Italy correspond to those of Greece. Vulcanus with his hammer is the same as Hephaistos, and Hercules with his mallet was known also by the

[1] W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. i. col. 2047 (Leipzig, 1886).

[2] *Hyginus*, Fab. 183. (Cf. Roscher, *op. cit.*, col. 2006.) "Bronte, quæ nos tonitrua appellamus," and "Sterope, quæ fulgitrua." Another writer has the names Bronte and Astrape (lightning). (Roscher, *op. cit.*, col. 2007.)

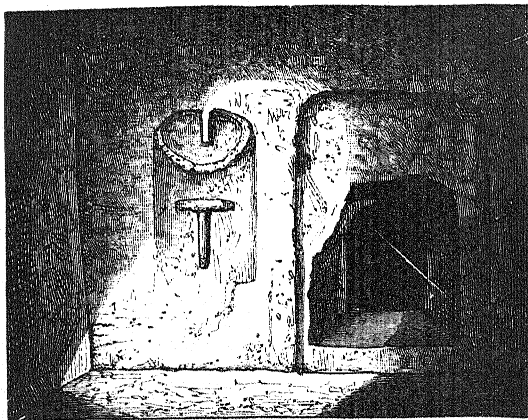


Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 13.

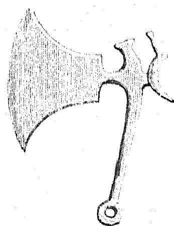


Fig. 14.



Fig. 18.



Fig. 17.

THE SUN-GOD'S AXE AND THOR'S HAMMER.

Romans. In Italy, too, votive and symbolic axes have been met with, dating from very early times (Fig. 14[3]).

This is equally the case in Europe north of the Alps. In Gaul we find such symbols as early as the Stone Age. Axes with or without handles are carved on stones forming the walls and roofs of tombs of this period. The image of a man, or rather of a god, with an axe, may be seen on the wall of one of the caves that in Champagne are hewn out of the chalk-rock (Fig. 15), and from the time that Gaul was a Roman province we have many reproductions of a god holding in his hand a hammer with a long handle (Fig. 16). The hammer, symmetrical like the double-edged axe, strongly resembles the hammer of the northern Thor, but the handle is so long that it reaches the ground. In Latin the name of this Celtic god is Taranis or Tanarus. Whether this name is philologically related to Thunor, the old Teutonic form of Thor's name, is a question with which I cannot deal in this connection.[4]

The Gauls also looked upon the sun god and the god of thunder as one. This is proved by the images that have been found in Gaul of a god resting with one hand on a wheel, the symbol of the sun, and holding in the other a flash of lightning (Fig. 17).

The Slavonians figured Perun, the god of thunder, with a stone axe in his hand. A statue that Prince Wladimir put up in Kiev in the year 980 was made of wood and had a silver head and a golden beard. In honour of Perun an oak-log fire was kept burning night and day. In Greece, too, the oak was dedicated to the sun god.

The Lithuanians worshipped the same god under the name of Perkunas, and the Letts called him Perkons.

[3] Found in a tomb at Bologna. Cf. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, vol. i. col. 404, Fig. *e*. Half size.

[4] Cf. Stallybrass, *Teutonic Mythology by Jacob Grimm*, vol. i. p. 168.

In Scandinavia, as in Gaul, the axe had a symbolic signification even in the Stone Age. We know this because axes made of amber and dating from this period have several times been found in our countries. Most of the axes are small, and have been worn as ornaments; some have the same shape as the ordinary one-edged stone axes with an eye for the handle, (*e.g.* Fig. 18, from Sweden, full size); others are double-edged and resemble those that occur in the south, (*e.g.* Fig. 19, from Sweden, half size). But besides these axe-shaped heads of amber, there have been found, both in Sweden and in Denmark, some axes of amber which, being too large for ornaments, must have been used as symbols, (*e.g.* Fig. 20, from Sweden, two-thirds size). Judging from what we know previously about such symbols, we may safely assume that these amber axes, dating from the Stone Age, have been symbols of the sun god.

Flint axes, well polished, have often been found, which are so huge that they probably could not have been used as tools or weapons. Several of these flint axes have evidently been laid down as offerings. At Ryssvik, in the south of Småland, fifteen large flint axes were unearthed in 1821. They were lying in a half circle, with their edges towards the east.

From the Bronze Age some symbolic axes have also survived. At Skogstorp in Södermanland two large and magnificent bronze axes were found, adorned with round plates of gold in which pieces of amber are inlaid. Only the surface is of bronze; the interior consists of clay round which the thin bronze has been cast with an extraordinary skill (Fig. 21, quarter size). The oak handle is coated with bronze. Two quite similar axes, of thin bronze cast over a still existing clay core, have been found in Denmark.

It is probably not by accident that in both these cases, —as in many other deposits from the Bronze Age as well

Plate IV.

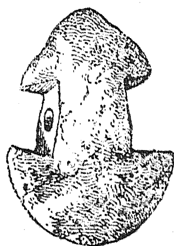
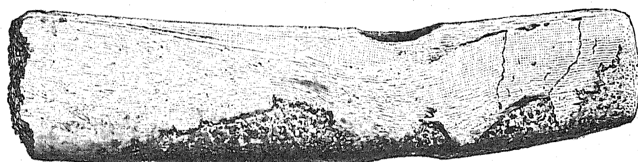


Fig. 19.



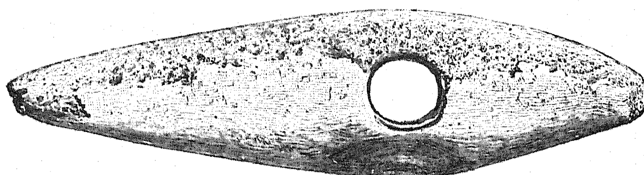


Fig. 20.

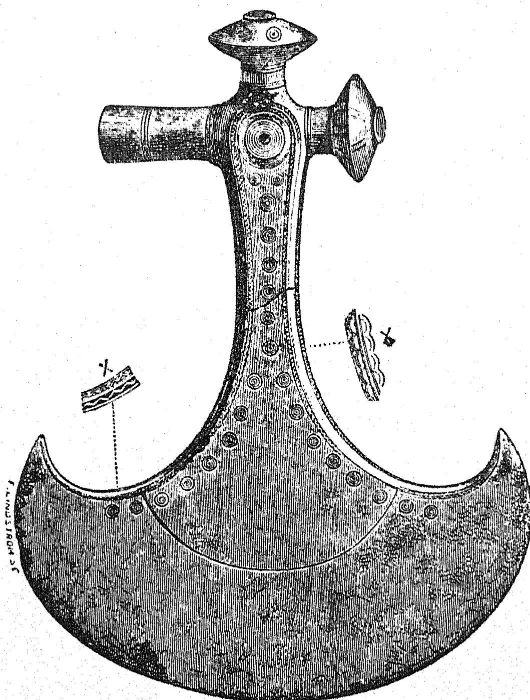


Fig. 21.

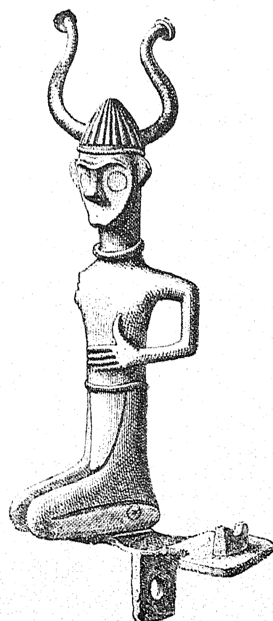


Fig. 22.

THE SUN-GOD'S AXE AND THOR'S HAMMER.

as from the Stone Age,—the number of axes discovered was *two*, especially as, on one of the stones forming the walls of the tomb at Kivik on the east coast of Skåne, which tomb dates from the first period of the Bronze Age, two similarly-shaped axes are figured, one on each side of a cone (Fig. 22). The Scandinavians had already by this time come in some contact with the Orientals, amongst whom the cone was one of the symbols of the sun god. Professor Sven Nilsson therefore supposed that the conic figure of the Kivik tomb had the same significance. So long as the figure in the Kivik tomb is the only one of its kind known in the north, we cannot be quite certain of its meaning, but the question is of great interest.

On a rock-carving of the Bronze Age at Backa in Bohuslän a man is represented axe in hand. He is so much larger than the other persons figured on the same rock, that some archæologists, probably quite rightly, consider him as a supernatural being, the god whose symbol the axe was.

In Denmark a bronze image, (Fig. 23, three-quarters size), has been found, belonging to the end of the Bronze Age, representing a man.[5] From the account of the discovery we know that the image, when found, carried an axe or a hammer in his right hand, but that hand is now lost.

Towards the end of the heathen period we find instead of the axe a symbolical hammer, alike on both sides of the eye. The fact that in Scandinavia the sun god's axe became a hammer can be explained, if we consider the original Scandinavian word *hamarr*. This word signified originally stone, and was thus a natural term for the weapon of the sun god or the thunder god, so long as this weapon was thought of as a thunderbolt of stone. Later on, when the word had acquired its present meaning

[5] Engelhardt, *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1872-7, p. 71, Fig. 9.

of hammer, it was just as natural for people to imagine Thor's weapon to be an iron hammer. They represented it then as one of the hammers used in that period.

In old songs Thor's hammer is called *Mjöllnir*, which form the name has in the Icelandic Edda. The word means "the comminuting one," and corresponds to our *mjölnare* (miller). It refers to the terrible power of the hammer to crush whatever it encountered.

Of the circumstances under which the hammer was made, legend gives the following account. Loke let some gnomes, the sons of Ivalde, make three valuable presents for Odin, Thor, and Frö (Frey). Then he laid a wager on his own head with a gnome called Brock, that the latter's brother Sindre would not be able to make three equally fine things. Thus provoked, Sindre forged several things, amongst which was *Mjöllnir*, the iron hammer. The gods declared that the hammer was the best of all the gifts, and that Loke had lost the wager. He only saved his head by a quibble that reminds one of "The Merchant of Venice." When the gnome wanted to take his head, Loke answered that the head was certainly his to take, but that to the neck he had no right.

The hammer had only one flaw, the legend goes on, —the handle was too short. The reason for this was that, when Brock was working the bellows while the iron was in the forge, a fly placed itself between his eyes and hurt his eyelids. As the blood then came into his eyes and blinded him, he put up his hand for a moment to rub them. To do this, however, he was obliged to let the bellows stop for a moment, and thus the forging did not succeed so well as Sindre would have liked. The handle was made too short.

Brock gave the hammer to Thor, and told him that he could strike as hard as he liked with it, and whatever he liked, still it would not break. If he threw the hammer, it would never miss the mark and never go too far to

Plate V.

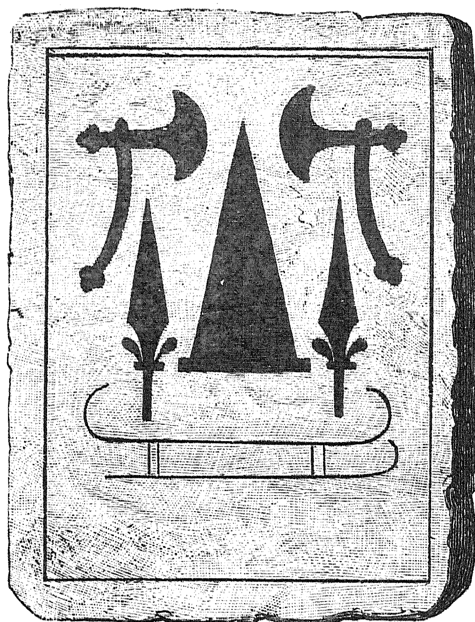


Fig. 22.

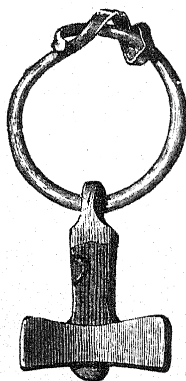


Fig. 25.



Fig, 29.

THE SUN-GOD'S AXE AND THOR'S HAMMER.

return again to his hand,—*i.e.* the god of thunder could let one lightning be followed immediately by a new one. If Thor desired it, the hammer would grow so small that he could carry it inside his clothes. It is also mentioned how Thor's hammer "was thrown," and "how it flew through the air." These are most remarkable expressions, reminding us of the fact that the hammer was originally identical with the lightning.

In the Icelandic legend of *Gylfaginning*, Thor is said to possess three precious things, one of which is the hammer, "that giants and ogres know well, when it comes flying through the air. As it has crushed the skulls of many of their fathers and relatives, that they know the hammer is not to be wondered at."

But the hammer was used for many other purposes than as a weapon against giants and ogres.

In the evening Thor used to kill his bucks and eat the flesh. The following morning he got up, seized his hammer, brandished it, and "consecrated" the buckskins on which the bones had been thrown during the meal. In this way the bucks were brought to life again. We remember why one of them is halt.

It was especially at weddings that Thor's hammer must have been of a great importance in heathen times. In Thrym's song, or "The Fetching of the Hammer," it is told how the wedding was celebrated between Thrym, the king of the giants, and Thor, dressed up as Freya. Thrym then says,—

"Bring the hammer
the bride to wed,
place *Mjöllnir*
in the maiden's lap."

In this way Thor got again the hammer that had been stolen from him. The first use he made of it was of course to slay Thrym and to mutilate the giant's whole family.

The important part that Thor played at weddings is also evident from Herröd's and Bose's saga. Here it is told how Thor's "health" (toast) was drunk at the wedding-banquet before that of any other god. Norwegian folk-lore also relates Thor's presence at certain weddings.

But consecration by the hammer was not confined to brides. When Balder lay on the pyre, Thor consecrated the pyre with *Mjöllnir*, and on some runic monuments from Scandinavia we read the supplication "May Thor consecrate these runes," or "May Thor hallow these monuments." When there is a hammer figured on a runic stone, it is evident that the monument has been consecrated with the hammer (Fig. 24[6]). Runic monuments of the Christian era have a cross instead of the hammer.

How our Viking ancestors pictured to themselves the hammer of Thor may be gathered from the aforesaid runic monuments, as well as from many small hammer-shaped ornaments made of silver or iron which have been dug up (Figs. 25, 26, and 30). Several of these ornaments have been worn on silver chains, just as Christians used to wear small crosses. The difference between the hammer and the cross was not great. To make a cross it was only necessary to continue the handle on the other side of the hammer.

That the likeness between the hammer and the cross was noticed at a comparatively early date is best shown by Snorre's account in the saga of King Håkon, Athelstan's foster son, about the sacrificial festival at Lade, where Jarl Sigurd was present. King Håkon, though baptized in England had to be present at the heathen festival. When the horn was filled for the first "health," Jarl Sigurd dedicated it to Odin. The king received the horn and made the sign of the cross over it. Then one of the peasants asked,—"Why does the king do like that? Is he still unwilling to offer a sacrifice?" Jarl Sigurd answered,—

[6] Runic stone at Stenqvista, Södermanland, Sweden.

Plate VI.

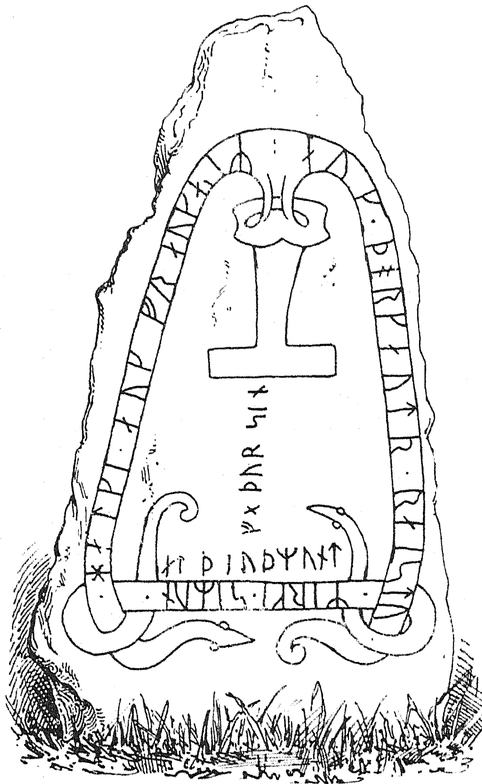


Fig. 24.

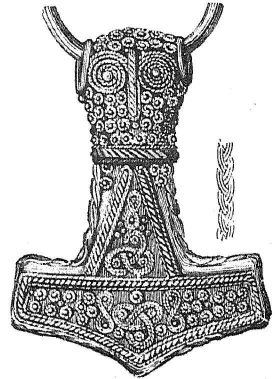


Fig. 26.



Fig. 28.

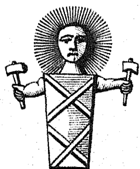


Fig. 27.

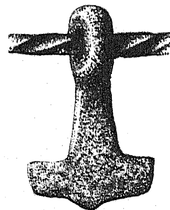


Fig. 30.

THE SUN-GOD'S AXE AND THOR'S HAMMER.

"The king does like those who believe in their own strength and power, he dedicates the horn to Thor. It was the sign of the hammer that he made before drinking."

The sagas tell us more than once that a wooden statue of Thor with his hammer was to be seen in a temple dedicated to him. For instance, it is mentioned in the saga of Saint Olaf that the king asked the son of that Gudbrand, after whom the large and beautiful "Gudbrandsdal" is named, what the god-image in their temple was like. The answer was,—"It represents Thor. The god is large and hollow, and carries a hammer in his hand. Underneath there is a pedestal on which he stands when he is brought out. There is no lack of gold and silver on him."

Concerning the temple of Old Upsala, Adam of Bremen relates, (towards the end of the eleventh century), that the people there worship three gods. The mightiest of the three, Thor, sits in the middle, and on either side of him sit Odin and Frö, or "Fricco," as he is called by Adam, who is writing in Latin. Like Jupiter, Thor carries a "sceptre." Adam, misunderstanding the description he has received, transforms the hammer to a "sceptrum." Even the two brothers, Johannes and Olaus Magnus, though living some hundred years later than Adam, misunderstood what they had read or heard, and described Thor's image at Old Upsala as carrying a "sceptrum."

Other accounts show that Thor was sometimes represented as sitting in his "cart," drawn by bucks.

It is quite evident that the images were made of wood. This is also clearly shown by the descriptions we have of god-images that were burnt when Christianity was first introduced.

Several other Thor's hammers are mentioned besides those placed in the hand of his images. Saxo, for instance, tells us about King Magnus Nilsson, who fell in the battle of Fotevik in 1134, that, while he was waging war against Sweden, he despoiled a temple of remarkably heavy

Thor hammers made of copper or bronze, with which the claps of thunder could be imitated, and which from olden times had been objects of worship,

It is true that Thor is now-a-days thought of merely as the god of thunder, but that he, like other gods of thunder, really was a sun god, we gather partly from the fact that he was called upon, as Adam tells us, when famine was threatening,—(it belonged to the sun god to grant a good harvest),—and partly from the peculiarly important part he played at Yule, that great festival of midwinter. The buck, Thor's sacred animal, is still of great significance at Christmastide. Many a Christmas cake, or *julkuse*, has even now the shape of a buck, and most of us have seen as children the fur-clad *jule-buck* on Christmas Eve. Formerly it was dressed up in a real buck's head, and in some parts of Scandinavia it carried a wooden hammer (!), whereby its connection with Thor becomes still more obvious.

The worship of Thor was not abolished even when Christianity, after a hard struggle, had finally conquered. Its roots were too deep to be pulled up at once,—indeed, they were so deep that much survives even until this day.

Thor experienced the same fate as many other heathen gods. He lived on partly under his own name, and partly under that of a saint. In saintly attire he moved from his *hof* (temple) into the Church.

Thor's worship was continued in the Church by that of Saint Olaf, who had the fortune to be slain with an axe at the battle of Sticklastad in 1030. That is why he is figured with an axe in his hand (Fig. 28). The people, who had always been accustomed to worship a god armed with a hammer, recognised in the image of Saint Olaf with the axe the mighty Thor. In another respect, also, the likeness was or became very great. Thor, the sun god, is described as a red-bearded man. Olaf also had, or it was imagined that he had, a red beard, and he was represented with one. Moreover, the images

of Olaf and the other saints were carved in wood, just as those of the old gods had been.

The fact that the worship of Saint Olaf was not, like that of the Swedish Saint Erik, limited principally to his own country, shows that there must have been some special reason for the prominent position he occupied within the northern Church. Countless images and legends prove that Olaf was commonly worshipped, not only in Norway, but in the other northern countries,—in Finland as well as in Sweden. If the Christian Scandinavians looked upon him in the same way as their heathen ancestors had looked upon Thor, we can easily understand why it was so.

Just as people in old days believed that Thor could grant good harvests, so even in the nineteenth century they have supposed Olaf to be in possession of the same power. Stories from the south of Sweden and from Denmark tell how the peasants were wont to drag the image of Saint Olaf round the fields after the sowing. The image of Saint Olaf in Vånga church in Vestergötland was carried round in that way, in spite of vigorous protests from the clergy. The peasants had given it the name of the "corn god."

Olaf's axe has, just like Thor's hammer, been used to consecrate with, the word consecrate being here taken in its original meaning of hallowing. We have the most notable example of this use of Olaf's axe in the church close to Simrishamn in Skåne, which is called after him. The saint carries in his hand a silver axe. On Saint Olaf's day, the 29th of July, there is a great muster of people in the church. There they take the axe from the saint's hand, and rub themselves with it nine times. After every third time they replace the axe in the hand of the saint, in order to renew its strength. It is needless to point out that the numbers three and nine are sacred.

A particularly interesting proof that Olaf is the Christian heir of Thor is given by the following fact. There is a little Swedish town still named after Thor,—Torshälla, in

old times Torsharg (the sanctuary of Thor). This town ought to have had the image of Thor in its seal, if towns in heathen times had possessed any seals. But there were no seals then; they were not used until the Middle Ages, when it was impossible to put the image of a heathen god in the seal. In its stead we find in the seal of Torshälla the image of Olaf, the saint who had replaced Thor in the popular belief (Fig. 29). The fact that the saint is represented as standing in a boat, which is not elsewhere the case, deserves special attention, because Thor sometimes is figured as standing in a boat, when he is fishing for *Midgårdsormen.*[7]

Thor has survived the fall both of heathenism and of the Roman Catholic Church in Sweden. Even to the present day many traits are preserved in the language, as well as in popular belief, which show that the ideas formed by our heathen forefathers of this god are still alive, and that he was not conceived of merely as a god of thunder, but was also in other ways considered as enjoying the power which belongs to the sun god, especially as regards fertility.

Writing about Wärend, that old part of Småland where so much of the belief and customs of former ages still remains, Mr. Hyltén-Cavallius says,[8]—"They still look upon the thunder as a person whom they call alternately "Thor" or "Thore-Gud," "Gofar," and "Gobonden." He is an old red-bearded man. In 1629 a peasant from Wärend was summoned for blasphemy against God. He had said about the rain,—"If I had the old man down here I would pull him by the hair on account of this continual raining." Thus it is Thor that gives the summer rain, which therefore in Wärend is called "Gofar-rain," "Gobonda-rain," or "As-rain." The rumbling of the thunder is produced by Thor's driving in his chariot through the clouds. It is therefore called *Thordön* after

[7] George Stephens, *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1884–9, p. 32 (Fig.).

[8] *Wärend och Wirdarne*, vol. i. p. 230 (Stockholm, 1863).

him. People also say that "Gofar is driving," "Gobonden is driving," "The Thunder is driving." Thor drives not only in the air but also on earth. Then they say that "he is earth-driving." A peasant met him once, when he was driving like that. He was sitting "in a small cart drawn by a horse." "Thor has in his hand a bolt of stone, called Thor's bolt, which is often found in the ground. Such a Thor's-bolt or Thor's-bolt stone is good to have in the house as a protection against every kind of sorcery. Thor throws the bolt after the ogres whose worst enemy he is. As soon as the thunder is heard, the ogres hasten to return to their hiding-places. That is why so many gusts of wind precede a thunderstorm.""

Hyltén-Cavallius gives us also some very remarkable examples, showing how long the memory of Thor has been kept up. "Even towards the end of the seventeenth century," he says,[9]—"people in Wärend used to swear by Thor—"Yes, Thore-Gud," "No, Thore-Gud."" The most noticeable trace of our country's older worship of Thor is that "Thor's day" (Thursday) was still in the nineteenth century considered as a sacred day, almost as a Sunday.

In the Christian Middle Ages Thor's old spring at Thorsås was called "Saint Thor's Spring." According to these ideas the god himself became a Roman Catholic saint, a *Saint Thor!* Thor has thus, like other heathen gods, lived on after the victory of Christianity, not only disguised as a saint under a different name, but also under his own name, which was then considered as that of a saint. In the same way Santa Venere, the holy Venus, is spoken of in more than one part of Italy.

The veneration for Thor was so common amongst our forefathers in heathen times that even the Lapps came to know him. It was not so long ago that they worshipped a god whom they called Thor or some similar name. He slew the ogres. The Lapps figured him therefore with a

9 *Op. cit*, p. 232.

hammer in his hand. The hammer they called Thor's hammer, and the rainbow they called Thor's bow, with which he will shoot and slay all ogres that wish to hurt them. They further believed that this Thor had people's health and welfare, life and death, in his power, wherefore they became very frightened when hearing the "Thordön." That is why they sacrificed to him, and put up his image on a sort of primitive altar. The images were made of birch,—the head of the root, and the body of the other part, with a hammer in the hand. Fig. 30 shows such a Lapp image of Thor.[10]

It has of course not been possible here to give an exhaustive account, but the examples I have given will probably suffice to show that the god of the sun and that of thunder were originally one and the same god, that from time out of mind and by widely different peoples the axe has been considered as the sun-god's weapon, and that amongst certain peoples it became a hammer. The idea of Thor's hammer is therefore not peculiar to the Scandinavians.

In order to get a correct result in this, as in every other similar enquiry, it is necessary to look far afield. By doing that we get a view of the connection between different peoples and different periods which we could never get in any other way.

It is certainly dangerous to deal with mythological questions, because we are too easily tempted to leave the *terra firma* of scientific investigation and to sink down into the marshy ground of hypothesis. But the danger is not so great if, as in the present enquiry, we endeavour to keep aloof from explanations on which opinions may differ, and confine ourselves chiefly to the putting down of facts.

OSCAR MONTELIUS.

[10] Gustaf von Düben, *Om Lappland och Lapparne*, p. 288, Fig. 72, (Stockholm, 1873).

COLLECTANEA.

MANIPUR FESTIVAL.

(WITH PLATE VII.)

THE chief interest attaching to certain ceremonies performed in Manipur on the *Bijoya Dhasami*, the fourth day of the *Durga Puja*, lies in the manner in which customs prevalent before the conversion of the people to Hinduism have been adapted to the requirements of the new faith. I will begin by describing the ceremonies as I have just seen them performed.

The site of the performances is chosen after consultation with the *Panji-sang* or College of Soothsayers, who declare which direction is favourable to the Raja and the State. This year (1909) the west was declared to be the lucky direction, and so the ceremony took place at Gwa Kaithel (the Betel-nut Market), two miles from Imphal on the Silchar Road. The festival is known as the *Kwak Jatra* (Crow Festival). About 2 p.m. a procession started from the palace. First came a long line of litters, each containing some person of a certain amount of importance, carried by hill men, some five hundred of whom were summoned for this purpose. Each worthy was attended by various persons, carrying, one his hookah, and another his betel-nut dish, or, if the occupant be entitled to it, an umbrella. Each litter contained a looking-glass, which the occupant made frequent use of. After the litters came a crowd of spearmen and swordsmen, and the pony of the State Arrow-thrower, last representative of the dreaded Manipur horsemen. Behind this motley crew came the Senaputti (Commander-in-Chief), on an elephant, and behind him came the Raja on another elephant. All along the route every householder stood at

the gateway of his garden, beside his offering,—a stem of sugar cane or plantain stuck in a lump of mud, some betel-nut, rice, water, and sometimes a few pieces of sugar cane and a piece of burning pine wood. This is said to have been the continuous custom since the days of the king Khagenba. In the Manipur Chronicle, under the year A.D. 1628-29, we find,—"He (Khagenba) went to inspect the village of Laiching, and on this occasion the villagers throughout the whole route crowded on both sides of the road to pay respect to their sovereign, and throughout the route the residents on both sides of the road cleaned the ground in front of their houses, and planted a plantain tree at each door, and a burning lamp with some fruits was kept there to worship their king, and from this time this was the established custom of paying respect to the king when he was out."

At the site selected some grass sheds facing inwards had been erected in the form of a hollow square. The Raja and his following took their seats within, and the spearmen, swordsmen, and others showed off their skill in the open space in the centre. Directly the Raja had taken his seat, some five or six horsemen started off to the scene of the special ceremonies, which was about a quarter or half a mile further on. For some months past rice had been daily thrown out under a certain tree, and consequently a considerable number of crows had become accustomed to waiting there for their daily meal. When the horsemen had arrived the rice was thrown down, and the crows swooped down on it. Then a man with a gun crept up, and from a few yards' distance fired a blank round. The birds of course took flight, and the direction of flight of the first bird to rise decided the future of the Raja and the State for the next year. The bird took a northerly direction, which was said to foretell cheap rice.

The following are the interpretations attached to the different points of the compass:—If the bird flies north-east and then returns quickly to the rice, extreme good fortune to the Raja; if north-west, rice and fish will be plentiful; if west, receipt of news of wars from other countries; if south-west, worms and mosquitoes will abound, and the Raja and the people will be ill at ease; if south, much sickness and many deaths; if south-east,

Plate VII.



RĀVAN THE TEN-HEADED.

To face p. 80.

disturbances in the country, and lives lost in war and by the attacks of wild beasts; if east, happiness for the Raja. I have failed to ascertain why these meanings are attached to the particular directions.

As soon as the birds had flown, the horsemen galloped off to inform the Raja. The next performance was the shooting of Rāvan. Rāvan, the ravisher of Sita, was represented by ten be-turbaned earthenware pots placed on a long bar (Plate VII.). The fifth pot from the right was larger, and from it depended a white robe. The State police provided the firing party, each man firing in turn. A hit to count must be on the bigger pot, or in the region of the heart of the robe. A hit on the cheeks, throat, chin, or top of the head of the biggest pot, or in the heart, was considered to presage good luck, while a hit on the forehead, eyes, or mouth meant misfortune. In case of a hit on one of the lucky spots, the firer received a reward. While I was watching, no hits were scored, and, fearing that my presence might prevent the firers from approaching the figure, I left, and within a short time a satisfactory hit was achieved. The news was conveyed to the Raja by the horsemen, and the proceedings terminated, the procession was reformed, and the Raja returned to his palace.

The following is the explanation given me, by two of the most learned pundits in the state:—Pakhangba, the mythical ancestor of the Manipur Rajas, who is said in the Chronicle "to have assumed the form of God by day, and by night he used to be a man," had a son Khui, who rebelled against him, and for a time was successful, but eventually Khui was slain by his father in single combat in the palace, and his head cut off. His spirit entered a certain somewhat rare bird called *wakhembam*. To celebrate his victory, Pakhangba instituted a festival on the anniversary of the fight. Those skilled in warlike exercises showed off their skill before the Raja, while a *wakhembam* was shot at with arrows. In the year A.D. 1726-27, the Raja Gharib Nawaz, the first convert to Hinduism in spite of his Mohammedan name, altered the festival to its present form, and ordained that crows should be substituted for the *wakhembam*, on account of their being so common. It is only since this change that the flight

of the birds has been considered prophetic. The crow is supposed to be a *hing-chā-bi* or witch (*hing*, alive, *cha*, to eat),—and therefore it knows the future, and, being frightened, foretells it. I suppose the bird which flies first is the most timid, and therefore the most likely to tell the truth. Gharib Nawaz also instituted the shooting at Rāvan, and combined it with the earlier festival, which is said to have taken place at about the same time as the *Durga Puja*. Gharib Nawaz also had an image of Ramchandra made, and placed it near to a large tank which he caused to be dug and consecrated, in the same year as he revised the *Kwak Jatra*. Some years back this tank was cleared out, and in the middle were found the images of Krishna and Kali the submersion of which is described in the Chronicle. It is interesting to note that Kali, who, it may be presumed, represented the sculptor's ideal female, was given the huge earrings which are worn now only by the hill tribes of Manipur, but, I infer, at that time were in common use by the Manipuri ladies of the highest degree.

The Manipur story of how Rāvan came to have ten heads is as follows. My Hindu friends say that it is new to them. Bissha Sharba, afterwards father of Rāvan, deserted his wife Nikasha, and joined certain saints in a forest. After nine months a hostile influence made itself manifest, and the saints informed Bissha Sharba that his wife, resenting his prolonged absence, was by charms interfering with their devotions, and they directed him to return home. On arrival at his house, Nikasha protested against his nine months' desertion. On the advice of the saints, Bissha Sharba gave a certain drink to Nikasha which had the effect of nullifying the spell she had thrown over them. Before returning to the forest Bissha Sharba stayed some time with his wife, and in due time Rāvan was born with ten heads, of which one was much bigger than the others.

By the time of Gharib Nawaz, Khui had come to be looked on as an arch fiend, and, therefore, to a convert to Hinduism, it would seem very appropriate to make a festival to commemorate his defeat, and also to commemorate the defeat of Rāvan.

J. Shakespear.

FOLK-MEDICINE IN THE PANJAB.

IN his Census Report of the Panjab for 1901 (vol. I., pp. 161 *et seq.*), Mr. H. A. Rose discussed the belief in the inherited powers of curing disease and working other miracles claimed by certain sacred clans and persons. This belief he connected with the theory of the metempsychosis. It more probably results from the consciousness of the power of heredity. He has now forwarded a series of notes contributed by several native correspondents, from which the following extracts have been made.

In Rewári in the Gurgaon District an Ahír, or breeder of cattle, claims the hereditary gift of being able, by smelling a handful of earth, to decide, when a well is being sunk, whether it will produce saline or sweet water, and at what depth the spring will be found. In the same district several persons assert a similar power of curing hydrophobia, which is healed by waving peacocks' feathers over the patient, who is made to look towards the sun. Then a ball of kneaded rice flour is placed in his hands, and he is ordered to press it. By and by the hairs of the mad dog show themselves in the dough, and the venom is removed. A Brahman professes to cure stomach-ache by making the sufferer stand behind a wall and place his hand on the seat of the pain; the Pandit mutters a spell, and a cure is effected. In the same way, in the Rohtak District, three merchants claim to be able to cure tumours and other swellings. Several men in both districts cure snake-bite by reciting spells and waving a branch of the sacred *ním* tree (*Azadirachta indica*) over the sufferer. None of these people take any reward for their services,—in fact, they will not even smoke in the village where they attend patients. If they accept a small fee, they spend it in sweetmeats which they distribute.

In one case among the Jats of Rohtak this healing power descends in the female line. It is also part of the treatment that the patient must neither eat nor drink in the healer's village; if he does so, the charm will fail.

In Gurgaon District the residents of a certain village possess the hereditary power of curing scrofula and glandular swellings, a gift conferred on one of their ancestors by a Fakír. They

exercise it by waving a wooden spoon over the patient. Others cure pains in the side by drawing lines with a knife on the ground near the sick man, who is ordered in return for the cure to dig a certain amount of earth out of the bed of the village tank, and to distribute sweetmeats as a thankoffering. Children in both the Rohtak and Gurgaon Districts are said to suffer from a mysterious disease attributed to displacement of the rib bones. The healer cures this malady either by an application of charmed ashes, or he sucks the affected part,—with the result that blood and pus flow from his mouth, though no wound is visible on the body of the patient.

In the Rohtak District a Brahman cures pains, apparently rheumatic, in the following way. He takes the sufferer outside the village, heats three or four iron scythes in the fire, dips them in oil, and then flings them aside. On this the patient is directed to run away, without looking back, until he reaches the boundary of the village, when the pain disappears.

In the Gurgaon District boils on the leg joints are cured by touching them with the toe of a child born by the foot presentation. Both sexes possess this power, but it can be exercised only on Saturday or Sunday. Enlargement of the spleen is cured by laying the patient on the ground, where he is held by four persons and prevented from moving. Several layers of coarse cloth are placed over the spleen, and on this a lump of clay upon which fire is placed. The clay is sometimes replaced by a thin wooden board which is rubbed with a blazing stick so as to be slightly marked. After the recital of a charm a small boil appears on the diseased part, and a cure is effected. This prescription is said to have been given by a Fakír long ago. One form of cattle plague, known as *Chhabka*, is cured by catching an insect of the same name. The healer makes a small cut in one of his fingers, rubs the insect on the wound, and thus gains the faculty of healing by touch. It is a condition of working these charms that the practitioner should receive no remuneration.

In the Hissár District diseases are cured by what is known as *jhárá* ("blowing of spells"). A brass pan containing a little oil and one and a quarter *pice* (small copper coins) is placed

upon the abdomen of the patient; charms are recited, and the diet of the sick man is carefully restricted for fifteen days. This prescription was also given by a Fakír long ago; it is effective only if done on Saturday night or Sunday morning. Members of a family of Mohammedan blacksmiths effect cures by drawing three lines with ashes on the right arm of the patient.

One man in the Jhílam District says that he cures toothache and ringworm by reciting spells which he learned some years ago from a negro cook in East Africa,—a curious example of the importation of folklore. A person in Amritsar cures hydrophobia by treatment taught to his grandfather by a grateful Sikh ascetic. His method is to recite charms seven or eleven times over a little water with which he doses his patient. When he is informed of a case of snakebite, he slaps the messenger on the face with his hand, and gives him a little charmed pepper which is to be administered. In cases of toothache he recites a charm over a knife, and sticks it in the ground or buries it while the sufferer sits concealed by a curtain. Another healer cures hydrophobia by writing some magical characters on a piece of bread which the patient eats. The cure is finished by making him walk (? in the course of the sun) twice or thrice round a mosque.

In Ludhiána District persons suffering from snake-bite are brought to the shrine of Gúga, the snake god.[1] Some earth is dug from the god's tank, on which the patient is laid. He falls asleep, and sees a vision that ensures his cure.[2]

In the Salt Range cattle are healed by a person who walks round them reciting thrice certain verses from the Korán, and blowing towards the animals, and on water in an earthen cup which he holds in his hands. The sacred volume is then wrapped in cloth, hung over the street, and the cattle are driven under it and sprinkled with the holy water. In the same locality members of the Khichi sept of Rajputs charm away hail by walking round the spring crops, blowing over them, and reciting charms. If hail

[1] Cf. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India*, vol. i, pp. 211 *et seq.*

[2] Cf. the ἐγκοίμησις practised at Greek shrines of Asklepios; Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 343 *et seq.*; Hamilton, *Incubation.*

does fall, after this rite, it is a sign that the charmer was impure. They are said to have gained this power from the saint Sayyid Muhammadi, whose tomb is venerated at Bhera. Descendants of another saint, Sháh Biláwal, cure hydrophobia by blowing charms on salt. The healer sits on a raised seat, and stretches out his legs; the sick man is passed under him, and eats the holy salt. Another healer cures guinea-worm, scrofula, swollen glands, and boils by sitting in a mosque with the sick person lying on a cot before him. He recites charms, and waves a wand of the date or other tree. Another family gained the gift of healing because their ancestor once released the hair of a noted Fakír which had become entangled in a tree. In his gratitude the holy man conferred on his benefactor a cure for guinea-worm by reading a charm and marking lines on the patient's body. His descendants give the sufferer a charmed slip of paper, which he continues to stare at while the healer makes lines on the affected limb. Another worthy cures pains in the loins by giving the sick man a kick in that region.

In the Jhílam District some people cure inflamed eyes by hanging an amulet round the waist and giving pills. They also know charms effective to free a person from the influence of evil spirits. In the case of a bite of a dog they draw a line with an iron rod round the wound to prevent the poison from spreading. At Datiya jaundice is cured by invoking the seven daughters of the Lord Siva and giving the patient some charmed lentils. The healer, if his charm is to work, must not practise it during the Holi or spring festival, the Diváli or feast of lamps, or an eclipse, or immediately after his return from a funeral. The charm must be recited three times while the patient is fumigated with incense.

Queensland Corroboree Songs.

[*Communicated by Mr. R. R. Marett.*]

The following four Corroboree Songs, spelt phonetically in the *Goorang-Goorang* dialect, were obtained by Mr. R. B. B. Clayton,

Moon Creek, Upper Burnett River, Queensland, about the years 1863-5. The musical notation is by Miss I. S. Clayton.

No. I.

Yar yung-ein mar-ar moon-ie yung-ein mar - ar ce - leen-bar ar

ce - leen-bar ar ce - leen-bar ar Joo vari yung-ein mar-ar

ce - leen-bar ar ar Joo - oo - vari yar yung-ein mar-ar moonie

No. II.

A milearah vun - gah tooey bithera beera too

varina bithera berra anama - danava ar ar

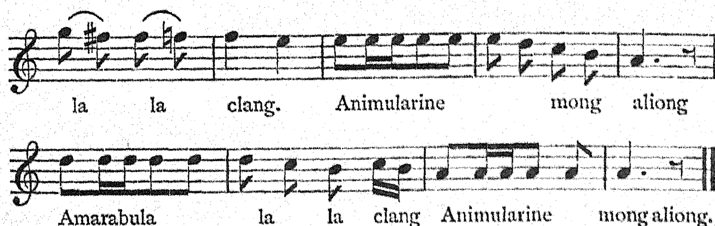
Merah anadadanava ava our our

Merah anamadanava our anama - danava our iddlety way.

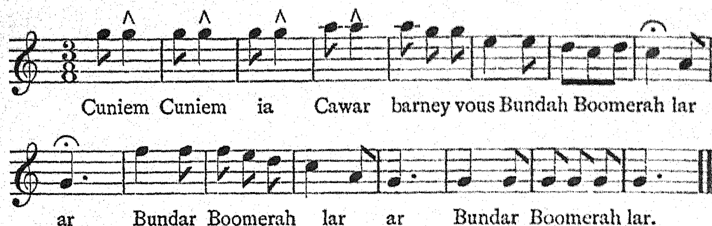
No. III.

Animularine mong aliong Animularine mong

aliong. Amarabula la la clang Amarabula



No. IV.



Scraps of Scottish Folklore, I.

Aberdeenshire.

On two occasions of marriage on Lower Deeside, one being that of the uncle of my informant, forty-five years ago, the bridegroom was followed from the place in which the wedding took place by a procession of couples, the first pair of which were two young men, who walked close behind the newly married man holding behind him by the upper corners a sheet or other white cloth at about the height of his shoulders. They followed thus for a distance, keeping the cloth in the same position as if they were guarding him from a draught. Was this to prevent his shadow from being trodden upon?

About 60 years ago, an old man living on Lower Deeside had an attack of a feverish affection locally known as "the sleeping fever," and his wife took a number of stones and heated them red hot in the ashes of a low peat fire. She then carried them in a pot still surrounded by glowing embers to the ford, and dropped them in one by one. The ford carried the road to the

churchyard through the stream, and my informant declares that this was a necessary condition to success.

The affairs of a small farmer in Crathie (West Aberdeenshire) fifty years ago were in a bad way. There was disease among his stock and ill-health in his household. A friend who came to sympathize with the man noticed that the barnyard fowls were mostly of the black Minorca breed. As soon as he noted the fact he advised his friend to get rid of the last one of them, and to supply their places by white-feathered birds,—an advice which the farmer followed as speedily as possible. Soon things began to mend, and in a short time all was prosperous. Neither argument nor sarcasm could thereafter move the old man from his faith in the virtue of his "white birds."

Durris, by Aberdeen. A. MACDONALD.

Argyllshire.

A pair of scissors is a lucky present to receive; it means "We part to meet again."

If a pair of scissors, a knife, or a needle falls to the floor and sticks in an upright position, an unexpected guest will arrive ere long.

A needle broken in two while sewing brings good fortune to the wearer of the article sewn; if in three pieces an offer of marriage.

If you mend your clothes while wearing them, you will be slandered.[1]

If a girl's stocking wrinkles and refuses to remain "pulled up," her lover is thinking of her.

To open an umbrella in the house brings misfortune.[2]

To put your shoes on the table signifies that you will quarrel with someone in the house.

A girl who sits on a table will never be married.

The lady who takes the last piece of bread on the plate will marry a rich man.

If a glass is accidentally broken during a marriage feast, it foretells misfortune to the bridal pair, but, when the health of bride and bridegroom is drunk, someone must throw a glass over their shoulder and break it "for luck."

[1] Cf. *Worcestershire*, vol. xx., p. 346. [2] Cf. *Worcestershire*, vol. xx., p. 345.

When a glass breaks of itself, it signifies sudden death.

If two persons unintentionally begin to say the same thing at once, they will die together.

A robin coming into a house foretells death.

A cock crowing at the door brings hasty news.

Moths round a candle tell of a visit from a stranger.

Never let your tears drop on a corpse, or harm will befall you.

If a child be born with a caul, he or she will possess "second sight," and will never be drowned.

When I was a child we had a Highland gardener named Hugh Gillies, who told us many stories of fairies and kelpies, amongst which the tale that pleased us most was the following account how his mother, whom we remembered, was carried off by the fairies and kept by them for two months:—

When Hugh and his brothers and sisters were very young, their father and mother did not live very happily together, and another man, whom I will call Donald, often came to see their mother when their father was not at home, so that after a time people began to talk and someone told the father, who swore to punish his wife if he ever saw her speaking to Donald again. Soon after this the autumn market was held at the little village of Ford at the foot of Loch Awe. To this market Mrs. Gillies went, and the gossips saw her in earnest talk with Donald late in the afternoon. That night Mrs. Gillies did not return home, and her husband, believing that she had fled with Donald, walked from his home in Kilmartin Glen the twelve miles up Loch Awe side to Donald's home, but, though he searched the house and neighbourhood thoroughly, no trace of his wife could be found. He had the place and Donald carefully watched, but neither he nor the neighbours obtained the slightest clue to the whereabouts of the missing woman. Yet every night, after the household had gone to bed, she used to come and "red up" (tidy) the house, lay the fire ready for kindling the next morning, and brush and comb the children's hair. Hugh distinctly remembered being roused out of sleep night after night by his mother lifting him on to her lap while she "did his hair."

For nearly two months this state of affairs continued, and then,

one morning, as Gillies was passing through a big wood some way from his home, on his way to work, he heard his wife calling him. Following the sound of her voice he came to a large hazel bush, but, as he could see no one, he was turning away when from the middle of the bush came again his wife's voice. He felt very frightened, for he thought it must be her ghost, but he asked what she wanted. "I am tired," replied his wife, "and want to come home, but I am naked and cannot get quit of the fairies until I am clothed. Fetch me a smock to-morrow morning, and hang it on this bush just when the sun rises, but you must not try to see me, or the fairies will hide me so that I can never find my way back." The next morning at sunrise Gillies hung the smock on the bush, and, as he was turning away from the place, his wife called out to him to bring her another garment, and each morning she asked for something more until he had brought everything she needed. The last thing he brought was his wife's "mutch" (white cap), and, when he was turning to leave the wood, she called to him to go straight home at once, to speak to no one on the way, and not to turn his head either to the right or to the left. If he did as she told him, he would find her at home when he got there. Hugh always declared that his father ran nearly all the way home, and, when he reached the house, his wife was seated by the fire with the children round her, brushing the baby's hair and talking to them as if she had never been away at all. From that day she remained at home as other people did, but she would never tell anyone anything of how she had lived during those two months or of what she had seen or done while she lived with the "wee folk," and to the day of her death she was always looked upon as being "fey."

MINNIE CARTWRIGHT.

Kirkcudbrightshire.

In Castle-Douglas, it is believed that if two plants of cock's head[1] are put by a happy lover under a stone, and flower thereafter, he or she will be married; if not, not. An old woman of

[1] From the specimen forwarded this appears to be the plant Plantago lanceolata.

nearly eighty tells me that the same meadow plant is called "Adam and Eve" as well as "cock's heads," and is used to divine the name of the future partner as follows: There are two varieties, a light and a dark. A woman divines with the dark, and a man with the light variety. The plant is pulled up by the root, laid under a *sclate* (slate or flat stone), and left all night. Next morning, if the root be examined, the initial letter will be found of the name of the future husband or wife.

Glasgow University. H. M. B. Reid.

Lanarkshire.

The following appeared under the heading "An Ancient Custom at Lanark" in the *Scotsman* for March 2nd, 1909:

"The ancient honoured custom known as 'Whuppity Scoorie' was celebrated by the youth of Lanark last night, and was witnessed by a crowd of several hundred people. The origin of the custom is unknown, but is generally supposed to herald the entrance of spring. From the months of October to February the town bell in the steeple is not tolled at six o'clock in the evening, but during the other months it rings at that hour daily. On the first day of March, when the bell is rung for the first time after its five months' silence, the boys of the town congregate at the Cross with a bonnet to which a piece of string is attached, and so soon as the first peal of the bell rings out the parish church is walked round three times, and thereafter a dash is made to meet the boys of New Lanark. On their meeting there is a stand-up fight, the weapons used being the stringed bonnets. This procedure was followed last night, and about seven o'clock the boys returned and paraded the principal streets singing their victorious refrain."

David Rorie.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SALE OF SALVAGE STOCK TO MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

IT will be seen from the Council's Annual Report (*supra*, p. 11) that a considerable portion of the Society's stock of bound and unbound volumes has been damaged by water, and that the salvage stock is now in the possession of the Society.

The Society's volumes, so far as the stock was not exhausted, have hitherto been obtainable by members only on payment of their subscription of one guinea for the year of publication, and by the general public on payment of the higher prices set out in the prospectus of the Society. A few bound copies of certain of the volumes, quite free from any defect, can still be obtained on these terms by members through the Secretary, and by the general public through the Society's publisher.

The Council have carefully considered the disposal of the salvage stock by destruction or otherwise, and, thinking that many members would be glad to complete their sets of volumes by the addition of working copies at a low price, have ordered the damaged volumes to be collated, cleaned, and rebound.

This work is being done, and a list of the volumes available is appended, with notes of a few of the principal contents of the volumes of the Journal. As the cost of handling the salvage will be very heavy, it is hoped that members will avail themselves liberally of this opportunity of purchase, and so benefit themselves and recoup the Society for its expenditure. The volumes, bound to correspond with the rest of the Society's publications, are offered at the uniform price of *four shillings* each, carriage free, and are sold not subject to return. With the exception of copies

of *The Folk-Lore Record* (1878-82), which in some cases want the title-page and index, the whole of the volumes are guaranteed complete; but many of them are more or less water-stained, and the Council do not hold themselves responsible for the condition of any.

In order to protect the value of the undamaged copies, all volumes sold at the above greatly reduced price will be marked on the title-page "Salvage."

Orders for salvage copies must be accompanied by cheque or P.O.O., and should be addressed to Mr. C. J. Tabor (The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton, Essex), who, with the assistance of Dr. Hildburgh, has kindly undertaken to superintend the despatch of the volumes.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE, President.

LIST OF VOLUMES.

1. **The Folk-Lore Record, Vol. I.** Mrs. Latham: West Sussex Superstitions. W. R. S. Ralston: Notes on Folktales. A. Lang: The Folklore of France. C. Pfoundes: Some Japan Folktales. W. J. Thoms: Chaucer's Night-Spell. pp. xvi, 252.
2. **Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders,** by William Henderson. A new edition, with considerable additions by the Author. pp. xvii, 391.
3. **The Folk-Lore Record, Vol. II.** H. C. Coote: The Neo-Latin Fay. J. Sibree: Malagasy Folklore. J. Hardy: Popular History of the Cuckoo. J. Napier: Old Ballad Folklore. F. G. Fleay: Some Folklore from Chaucer. The Story of Conn-Eda. pp. viii, 250; Appendix, pp. 21.

5-6. **The Folk-Lore Record, Vol. III.** H. C. Coote: Catskin. J. Fenton: Biographical Myths; illustrated from the Lives of Buddha and Muhammad. J. B. Andrews: Stories from Mentone; Ananci Stories. J. Long: Proverbs, English and Celtic. J. S. Udal: Dorsetshire Mummers. H. C. Coote: Indian Mother-Worship. G. Stephens: Two English Folk-tales. W. S. Lach-Szyrma: Folklore Traditions of Historical

Events. Evelyn Carrington: Singing Games. H. C. Coote: Folklore the Source of some of M. Galland's tales. pp. 318; Appendix, pp. 20.

7. **Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-east of Scotland.** By the Rev. Walter Gregor. pp. xii, 288.

9. **Researches respecting the Book of Sindibad.** By Professor Domenico Comparetti. pp. viii, 167.—**Portuguese Folk-Tales.** By Professor Z. Consiglieri Pedroso, of Lisbon; with an Introduction by W. R. S. Ralston, M.A. pp. ix, 124.

10. **The Folk-Lore Record, Vol. V.** Alfred Nutt: Mabinogion Studies, I. Branwen, the daughter of Llyr. R. C. Temple: Agricultural Folklore Notes (India). Mrs. Mawer: Roumanian Folklore Notes. G. L. Gomme: Bibliography of English Folklore Publications (A—B). R. Clark: Wexford Folklore. North American Indian Legends and Fables. pp. 229.

12. **Folk Medicine.** By W. G. Black. pp. iii, 228.

14. **Folk-Lore Journal, Vol. II.** J. Abercromby: Irish Stories; Irish Bird-Lore. J. Britten: Irish Folktales. Ed. Clodd: The Philosophy of Punchkin. H. C. Coote: Sicilian Children's Games; The Folklore of Drayton. W. Gregor: Folktales from Aberdeenshire. W. H. Jones and L. Kropf: Szekely Folk-Medicine. G. A. Kinahan: Connemara Folklore. Countess Martinengo-Cesaresco: American Games and Songs. F. E. Sawyer: Sussex Tipteerer's Play; Old Clem Celebrations. J. Sibree: Malagasy Folktales. R. C. Temple: Burmese Ordeals. pp. 409.

16. **Folk-Lore Journal, Vol. III.** C. S. Burne: The Science of Folklore. H. C. Coote: Origin of the Robin Hood Epos. G. L. Gomme: The Science of Folklore. W. Gregor: Some Folklore of the Sea. E. S. Hartland: The Science of Folklore; The Forbidden Chamber. T. H. Moore: Chilian Popular Tales. Rich. Morris: Folktales of India (Játakas). R. C. Temple: North Indian Proverbs. pp. 412.

17. **Folk-Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds.** By the Rev. C. Swainson. pp. viii, 243.

18. **Folk-Lore Journal, Vol. IV.** C. S. Burne: Classification of Folklore; Staffordshire Guiser's Play. W. Gregor: Folk-

lore of the Sea; Children's Amusements. E. S. Hartland: The Outcast Child. G. H. Kinahan: Donegal Superstitions. Rich. Morris: Folktales of India. R. C. Temple: The Science of Folklore. pp. 380.

[13.] **Magyar Folk-Tales.** By the Rev. W. H. Jones and Lewis H. Kropf. pp. lxxii, 438.

19. **Folk-Lore Journal, Vol. V.** W. H. Babcock: American Song-Games. W. G. Black: North Friesland Folktales. C. P. Bowditch: Negro Songs from Barbados. J. G. Frazer: A Witch's Ladder. M. Gaster: The Modern Origin of Fairy Tales. J. S. King: Folklore of the Western Somali Tribes. W. F. Kirby: The Forbidden Doors of the Thousand and One Nights. C. G. Leland: The Witch's Ladder. N. G. Mitchell Innes: Chinese Birth, Marriage, and Death Rites. G. Taylor: Folklore of Aboriginal Formosa. pp. 384.

25. **Gaelic Folk-Tales.** Edited and translated by the Rev. D. McInnes, with Notes by Alfred Nutt. pp. xx, 497.

27. **Folk-Lore, Vol. I.** A. Lang: Presidential Address; English and Scotch Fairy Tales. J. Abercromby: Magic Songs of the Finns; Marriage Customs of the Mordvins. A. C. Haddon: Legends from Torres Straits. W. Ridgeway: Greek Trade Routes to Britain. E. S. Hartland: Peeping Tom and Lady Godiva. F. York Powell: Recent Research on Teutonic Mythology. J. G. Frazer: Some Popular Superstitions of the Ancients. G. L. Gomme: A Highland Folktale and its Foundation in Usage. S. Schechter: The Riddles of Solomon in Rabbinic Literature. J. H. S. Lockhart: Notes on Chinese Folklore; The Marriage Ceremonies of the Manchus. P. Kowalewsky: Marriage among the Early Slavs. W. A. Clouston: The Story of the Frog Prince. pp. 563; Appendix, pp. 123-54.

28. **Folk-Lore, Vol. II.** G. L. Gomme: Presidential Address. J. Abercromby: Magic Songs of the Finns. M. Gaster: The Legend of the Grail. W. Gregor: The Scotch Fisher Child; Weather Folklore of the Sea. A. Nutt: An Early Irish Version of the Jealous Stepmother and the Exposed Child. Mrs. M. C. Balfour: Legends of the Lincolnshire

Cars. J. Abercromby: An Amazonian Custom in the Caucasus. J. Rhys: Manx Folklore and Superstitions. J. Sibree: The Folklore of Malagasy Birds. J. G. Bourke: Notes upon the Religion of the Apache Indians. pp. 528, xlviii.

29. **The Denham Tracts, Vol. I.** Edited by Dr. James Hardy. pp. xi, 367.

30. **Folk-Lore, Vol. III.** G. L. Gomme: Presidential Address. A. Nutt: The Lai of Eliduc and the Märchen of Little Snow-white. J. Abercromby: Magic Songs of the Finns; Samoan Tales; An Analysis of certain Finnish Myths of Origin. W. Gregor: Guardian Spirits of Wells and Lochs. J. Rhys: Manx Folklore and Superstitions; "First Foot" in the British Isles. E. S. Hartland: The Sin-Eater. J. Sibree: Divination among the Malagasy. J. Macdonald: Bantu Customs and Legends. C. J. Billson: The Easter Hare. Whitley Stokes: The Bodleian Dinnschenchas, edited and translated. M. L. Dames: Balochi Tales. pp. 584, xii.

31. **Cinderella.** Three hundred and forty-five variants. Edited by Miss M. Roalfe Cox. pp. lxxx, 535.

32. **Folk-Lore, Vol. IV.** G. L. Gomme: Presidential Address. J. Abercromby: Magic Songs of the Finns. J. Rhys: Sacred Wells in Wales. E. S. Hartland: Pin-Wells and Rag-Bushes. A. Nutt: Cinderella and Britain. L. L. Duncan: Folklore Gleanings from County Leitrim. M. L. Dames: Balochi Tales. May Robinson and M. J. Walhouse: Obeah Worship in East and West Indies. W. A. Craigie: The Oldest Icelandic Folklore. J. Jacobs: Cinderella in Britain. G. Hastie, Jas. E. Crombie: First Footing. A. C. Haddon: A Batch of Irish Folklore. A. Lang: Cinderella and the Diffusion of Tales. Whitley Stokes: The Edinburgh Dinnschenchas. R. H. Codrington: Melanesian Folklore. pp. 552, xii.

33. **Saxo-Grammaticus. Books I.-IX.** Translated by Oliver Elton, with introduction by Professor York Powell. pp. cxxvii, 435.

34. **Folk-Lore, Vol. V.** G. L. Gomme: Presidential Address. W. H. D. Rouse: Religious Tableaux in Italian Churches.

F. Fawcett: Early Races of South India. C. S. Burne: Guy Fawkes on the South Coast. F. York Powell: Saga-Growth. E. Anichkof: St. Nicolas and Artemis. W. P. Ker: The *Roman van Walewein*. L. L. Duncan: Further Notes from County Leitrim. A. W. Moore: Water and Well-Worship in Man. M. J. Walhouse: Ghostly Lights. K. Meyer: The Irish Mirabilia in the Norse *Speculum Regale*. A. C. Haddon: Legends from the Woodlarks, British New Guinea. pp. 367, xx.

35. **Denham Tracts, Vol. II.** pp. xi, 396.

36. **Folk-Lore, Vol. VI.** E. Clodd: Presidential Address. A. J. Evans: The Rollright Stones and their Folklore. T. Walters: Some Corean Customs and Notions. W. W. Groome: Suffolk Leechcraft. A. E. Crawley: Taboos of Commensality. R. C. Maclagan: Notes on Folklore Objects collected in Argyleshire. M. MacPhail: Traditions, Customs, and Superstitions of the Lewis. W. H. D. Rouse: Notes from Syria. J. P. Lewis: Folklore from North Ceylon. J. E. Crombie: Shoe-throwing at Weddings. C. J. Billson: Folksongs in the *Kalevala*. H. F. Feilberg: Hopscotch as played in Denmark. The "Witch-burning" at Clonmel. pp. 430, xii.

37. **County Folk-Lore. Printed Extracts. Vol. I. Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Leicester, and Rutland.** pp. 58, xv, 202, vi, 153.

38. **Folk-Lore, Vol. VII.** E. Clodd: Presidential Address. B. G. Corney: Leprosy Stones in Fiji. F. C. Conybeare: The Barlaam and Josaphat Legend in the Ancient Georgian and Armenian Literatures. W. H. D. Rouse: Folklore Firstfruits from Lesbos. L. L. Duncan: Fairy Beliefs, etc., from County Leitrim; The Quicken Tree of Dubhross. M. Gaster: Fairy Tales from inedited Hebrew MSS. of the Ninth and Twelfth Centuries. J. Abercromby: Funeral Masks in Europe. C. S. Burne: Staffordshire Folk and their Lore. pp. 434, xii.

39. **The Procession and Elevation of the Ceri at Gubbio.** By H. M. Bower. pp. xi, 146. Illus.

40. **Folk-Lore, Vol. VIII.** A. Nutt: Presidential Address.

T. Doherty: Notes on the Peasantry of Innishowen, Co. Donegal. H. Gollancz: The History of Sindban and the Seven Wise Masters, translated from the Syriac. R. E. Dennett: Death and Burial of the Fiote. Mary H. Kingsley: The Fetish View of the Human Soul. R. C. Maclagan: Ghost Lights of the West Highlands. W. P. Ker: Notes on Orendel and other Stories. P. Manning: Some Oxfordshire Seasonal Festivals. W. Crooke: The Binding of a God: a Study of the Basis of Idolatry. pp. 434, xii.

41. **Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Fjort** (French Congo). By R. E. Dennett. pp. xxxii, 169.

42. **Folk-Lore, Vol. IX.** A. Nutt: Presidential Address. F. Sessions: Some Syrian Folklore. W. Crooke: The Wooing of Penelope. F. H. Groome: Tobit and Jack the Giant-killer. E. S. Hartland: The "High Gods" of Australia. Mary C. Ffennell: The Shrew Ash in Richmond Park. pp. 411, xii.

44. **Folk-Lore, Vol. X.** A. Nutt: Presidential Address. A. Lang and E. S. Hartland: Australian Gods. G. L. Gomme and A. Nutt: Ethnological Data in Folklore. W. H. D. Rouse: Folklore from the Southern Sporades; Christmas Mummers at Rugby. C. Hill-Tout: Sqaktktquaclt, the Oannes of the Ntlakapamuq. A. Goodrich-Freer: The Powers of Evil in the Outer Hebrides. A. Werner: The Tar-Baby Story. W. G. Aston: Japanese Myth. J. B. Jevons: The Place of Totemism in the Evolution of Religion. R. C. Temple: The Folklore in the Legends of the Panjab. pp. 520, xiii.

45. **County Folk-Lore, Vol. II.** Printed Extracts, No. 4. Examples of Printed Folklore concerning the North Riding of Yorkshire, York, and the Ainsty. Collected and edited by Mrs. Gutch. pp. xxxix, 447.

46. **Folk-Lore, Vol. XI.** E. S. Hartland: Presidential Address. W. Crooke: The Legend of Krishna. M. Gaster: Two Thousand Years of a Charm against the Child-stealing Witch. R. R. Marett: Pre-animistic Religion. N. W. Thomas: Animal Superstitions and Totemism. H. M.

Chadwick: The Ancient Teutonic Priesthood. A. H. Sayce: Cairene Folklore. pp. 501, xv.

47. **The Games and Diversions of Argyleshire**, compiled by R. C. Maclagan. pp. vii, 270. Illus.

48. **Folk-Lore, Vol. XII.** E. S. Hartland: Presidential Address. Eleanor Hull: Old Irish Tabus or Geasa; The Silver Bough in Irish Legend. E. F. im Thurn: Games of the Red Men of Guiana. Mabel Peacock: The Folklore of Lincolnshire. Ella C. Sykes: Persian Folklore. S. O. Addy: Garland Day at Castleton. pp. 559, xv.

49. **County Folk-Lore, Vol. III.** Printed Extracts, No. 5. Examples of Printed Folklore concerning the Orkney and Shetland Islands, collected by G. F. Black, and edited by N. W. Thomas. pp. xi, 277.

50. **Folk-Lore, Vol. XIII.** E. W. Brabrook: Presidential Address. A. Goodrich Freer: More Folklore from the Hebrides. M. Gaster: The Letter of Toledo. W. Skeat: Malay Spiritualism. W. Crooke: The Lifting of the Bride. M. Longworth Dames: Balochi Folklore. A. Lang: The Origin of Totem Names and Beliefs. A. Lang: Australian Marriage Systems. pp. 491, xv.

51. **Folklore of the Musquakie Indians with a Catalogue of a Collection of Musquakie Beadwork and other objects.** By Miss M. A. Owen. pp. vii, 147. Illus.

52. **Folk-Lore, Vol. XIV.** E. W. Brabrook: Presidential Address. E. S. Hartland: The Voice of the Stone of Destiny. H. A. Junod: Folklore of the Ba-Thonga. M. Longworth Dames: Folklore of the Azores. A. Lang: Notes on Ballad Origins. F. T. Elworthy: A Solution of the Gorgon Myth. J. J. Atkinson and A. Lang: The Natives of New Caledonia. A. B. Cook: Greek Votive Offerings. A. J. Peggs: The Aborigines of Roebuck Bay, Western Australia. Sh. Macdonald: Old-World Survivals in Ross-shire. pp. 485, xvi.

53. **County Folk-Lore, Vol. IV.** Printed Extracts, No. 6. Examples of Printed Folklore concerning Northumberland, collected by M. C. Balfour, and edited by N. W. Thomas. pp. xv, 180.

54. Folk-Lore, Vol. XV. E. York Powell: Presidential Address. Eleanor Hull: The Story of Deirdre. Arthur and Gorlagon, translated by F. A. Milne, with Notes by A. Nutt. R. Marett: From Spell to Prayer. A. B. Cook: The European Sky-God. J. Rendel Harris: Notes from America. pp. 528, xvi.

Transactions of the Second International Folk-Lore Congress, 1891. Edit. by J. Jacobs and A. Nutt. pp. xxix, 472.

The Future Work of the Folk-Lore Society.

I am heartily in agreement with the President in the desire to make the collection of British (including Scottish and Irish) folk-lore assume a more prominent place in the work of the Folk-Lore Society. If this is not our sole object of existence, it is, at least, our prime and chief duty, and the one that lies to our hand. It is, too, I feel sure, the direction in which foreign workers would naturally look to us for help.

Personally I should be inclined, until our work at home is done, or being done, to exclude even European folklore, and to become for a time rigidly insular and local, centralizing all our efforts on the collection and arrangement of our own material. (This, of course, applies only to *separate volumes*; I should be sorry if any matter whatever that comes rightly under the head of folklore were excluded from our meetings or from publication in *Folk-Lore.*) When we have issued a complete series of county and provincial collections, we can then, and then only, afford to expend our energies on foreign work, which it rightly belongs to other countries to carry out.

I am also of opinion that general studies on the wider aspects of folklore, however valuable they may be in themselves, are not the sort of publications suitable for issue by our Society. Neither do I think that translations or re-publications come within our scope. I think that we should husband our resources for the publication of *new material.* But I should not exclude, but rather welcome, material gathered in our own islands that is grouped

round a special subject and where the author's or editor's part is confined to notes and introduction. I am thinking of such a book as Anatole Le Braz' *Lègende de la Mort en Basse-Bretagne*, in which a large body of customs and stories connected with the idea of Death and *revenants* is brought together, not for the purpose of urging a special theory, but in order to present the whole material to the judgment of the reader. It is the *material*, not the conclusions, that should occupy our thoughts in contemplating any publication. I even doubt whether the Society ought to make itself responsible for the opinions of any individual member, as it does to a certain extent in publishing under its authority a general treatise.

ELEANOR HULL.

In recommending the utilization of folklore for filling in the details of the historic culture record, the President not only recalls us to a too-much-forgotten part of our work, but points out the way to enlist the support of many local antiquarian-minded people who have little taste for either pre-history or for savage anthropology. Working on the lines she suggests, we can appeal to numbers of such local antiquaries who have hitherto stood aloof, and I sincerely hope that the Council will back up her initiative.

At the same time, one must recognize that in this direction the rôle of folklore study is a subordinate, an auxiliary one. Take the Castleton garland practice, for example. Miss Burne's interpretation is only rendered possible by the fact that not only is the general history of the country at the period well-known, but also the special history of the district. If we did not know about Cryer's tenure of the vicarage, we could not guess it from the practice itself; nor, in the absence of such special knowledge, would acquaintance with the general history of England be sufficient to justify such an interpretation. But, as it is, the three sets of facts work harmoniously together, and produce a given result, and that a vivid realization of the past and a sense of its human-ness which the historic research alone would fail to give.

A. NUTT.

The West Riding Teachers' Anthropological Society.

The West Riding County Council holds a yearly "Vacation Course" at Scarborough for teachers in primary and secondary schools, and at the session of August, 1909, an attempt was made to emphasise the importance of anthropological study as part of the teacher's professional equipment. An evening lecture was given, and attended by nearly four hundred students; two discussion classes were held, one on anthropometric and colour-survey work, and the other on the collection of local folklore; and Tylor's *Anthropology* and Haddon's *Study of Man* were read by a considerable number of the students.

The result was that a small Anthropological Society was set on foot. At present there are nine members; the lecturer acts as secretary and issues a "Monthly Letter," which is typewritten and circulated by the Education Department of the West Riding County Council, and with this is generally included a 'special supplement' consisting of printed matter dealing with anthropology, archaeology, or folklore. For example, the members have received (through the kindness of Mr. Sidney Hartland and others) the Form of Schedule for an Ethnographical Survey issued by the British Association, and Notes explanatory of the Schedule; a paper on the Hair and Eye Colour of School Children in Surrey; and Mr. G. H. Round's Notes on the Systematic Study of English Place Names. The President of the Folk-Lore Society has been kind enough to promise copies of her presidential address. The *Letter* itself contains notes on Yorkshire museums, "books recommended," correspondence with members, and a series of papers on "The Significance of Children's Singing-Games."

The practical work of the Society has been, so far, in the direction of folklore. At an informal meeting held at Scarborough the members decided "to begin by collecting local Singing-Games, collections to be sent in to the Secretary during January"; and "charms, folk-medicine, superstitions, luck-bringers, proverbs, ghost-stories, local legends, witchcraft, Christmas customs, guising, and sword-dancing" were suggested as subsequent objects of study. Up to the present time forty singing-games have been

sent in, from seven localities; and Christmas customs and superstitions from four. Members have been making enquiries among past and present scholars and comparing notes with relations and friends whose local knowledge goes back farther than their own. One member reports an Easter Play, in which the actors are St. George, the Black Prince of Paradise, a Knight, a Doctor, and a "tosspot," and promises to obtain the present version and another of twenty years ago.

In fact, if it is not too soon to judge of it, the West Riding Society seems to show a real and hopeful movement although on so small a scale. There can be little doubt that a tincture of anthropology is a desirable element in the teacher's education, and, conversely, that the teacher can make very valuable contributions to our knowledge of local tradition and folklore generally. The Society aims at promoting this exchange of benefits. It should be added that the Education Committee of the County Council gives every encouragement to the Scheme; for instance, it is intended that the 1910 Vacation Course shall include a short course of lectures on some branch of anthropology, probably in its relation to geographical teaching. This ought to result in an increase in the number of members.

In conclusion, may I ask the members of the Folk-Lore Society to help this young Association through some of the troubles of infancy? Firstly, I should be very grateful for reprints of published papers, especially on English and European folklore. Secondly, I shall be out of England from July, 1910, to February, 1911, and I am extremely anxious not to discontinue the *Monthly Letter*; I am bold enough to hope that some folklorist, who has the extension and popularisation of the science at heart, may be willing to undertake the editorial work and correspondence (both very inconsiderable) for those months.

BARBARA FREIRE-MARRECO.

Potter's Croft, Horsell, Woking.

BURIAL OF AMPUTATED LIMBS.

(*Ante*, p. 226.)

"One year, riding in the park at Holkham, Lady Anne [Coke] had a fall from her horse and broke her leg. The bone was set, but it had splintered, and for long afterwards small pieces of it used to work out from the injured limb. Each time when a piece of the bone came away, Coke sent it carefully to Lady Anne's brother, Tom Keppel, with instructions that the latter was to keep all the pieces of bone together in a little box, and ensure that when Lady Anne was buried they were buried with her. This was done, and when Lady Anne died, in her coffin was placed a small glass box containing the fragments of bone which had been so carefully preserved." (A. M. W. Stirling, *Coke of Norfolk and his Friends*, vol. ii., p. 334. John Lane, 1908.)

Lady Anne Coke, who was a daughter of the third Earl of Albemarle, was fifty years younger than her husband, Thomas William Coke, created first Earl of Leicester of Holkham in 1837, to whom she was married in 1822. She outlived him, however, only two years, and died in 1844, aged 41.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

GOOD MEN HAVE NO STOMACHS.

The following extract from *Quarterly Notes* for Dec., 1909, printed at the Baptist Missionary Station of Yakusu, near Stanley Falls on the Upper Congo, amongst the Lokele tribe and about 1400 miles up the river, seems of interest as an illustration of the ignorance and misconception of natural processes which are amongst the themes of Mr. Hartland's *Primitive Paternity*.

At the Yakusu Training Institute for boys some lessons have been recently given in elementary physiology. "The boys were greatly interested in what they saw and heard, but they insisted that good men could not possibly have stomachs. All digestion, according to their conclusion, must be performed in the intestines.

The goats and monkeys used in the lessons proved to them nothing concerning human beings.

They acknowledged that some men, killed by accident or in warfare or by poison have been men with stomachs, but they are of opinion that these men were brought low in consequence of the very fact of their being in possession of the unlucky and unwelcome appendage, the seat and worship of the lord of evil influences. It seems to be generally accepted that a person charged with exercising evil influences, towards others, is naturally well able to resist the trial by poison or other ordeal unless he has really afforded some malign spirit an abode within him and so become possessed of a stomach."

A. R. WRIGHT.

LOCALITY AND VARIANTS OF CAROL WANTED.

Can any reader throw light upon a carol published by W. Sandys in his *Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern* (1833)? He gives it amongst others "still sung in the west of England," but adds nothing concerning its source.

The first verse runs:

"To-morrow shall be my dancing day,
I would my true love did so chance
To see the legend of my play,
To call my true love to my dance.
[*Chorus*] Sing oh! my love, oh! my love, my love, my love,
This have I done for my true love."

There are eleven verses in all, in which Jesus, (the speaker of the text), sets forth His birth, life and passion, etc., in every verse using the mystical language of summoning man to join in the (heavenly or cosmic) "dance."

I should be grateful for references to any variants, printed or orally transmitted.

LUCY BROADWOOD.

REVIEWS.

THE FISHER KING IN THE GRAIL ROMANCES. By W. A. NITZE. (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, xxiv. 3.)

THE matter of our studies is universally human, forming a protoplasm common to every agglomeration of mankind that has attained a certain level of culture. But every such agglomeration possesses definite characteristics, the outcome of geographical, economic, racial, and historic conditions, and these characteristics react upon and modify that common protoplasm which we call folklore. Thus it is that each of the historic entities styled races, peoples, or nations offers folklore problems with factors special, in a measure, to itself, the solution of which constitutes, or should constitute, a portion of its special intellectual task. For the historic entity Britain, the Arthurian Romance cycle forms such a problem, and of that cycle the legendary nebula of which the Grail is the apparent nucleus is the most mysterious and fascinating section. As a student of British folklore I early felt that none of the quests of our study had a higher claim upon the enthusiasm and perseverance of one born within the bounds of *la bloie Bretaigne*, and now, after thirty years have passed since I first experienced the attractive power of the mystic vessel, I make no apology for dwelling at length upon the latest contribution to the story of the Grail legend.

At the outset let me note that, in so far as there is still division of opinion respecting the essential nature of the legendary matter embodied in the Grail romances, and respecting the manner in which that matter came to assume its extant form, Dr. Nitze belongs, in the main, to the school of which I had the honour to be the

first English representative and to the doctrines of which Miss Weston has made such brilliant and decisive contributions. Indeed, his study may be described as a confirmatory complement to Miss Weston's article, *The Grail and the Rites of Adonis* (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xviii., pp. 283-305). For Dr. Nitze the stuff of the Grail legends is no mere literary hotch-potch worked up under the impulse of definite artistic or edificatory considerations by twelfth-century storytellers, but is of immemorial antiquity, and is in its essence mythic and ritualistic; for him, the Celtic factor in the formation of the cycle is not secondary and unimportant, but primary and dominant.

The special contribution made by Dr. Nitze to the elucidation of the legend is of a two-fold nature. He seeks to show that previous investigators have erred in the emphasis laid upon particular features of the legend; according to him the "Fisher King [and not the Grail itself] is the central figure of the Grail story, and thus probably the crux of the Grail problem." He further illustrates the essence of the legend by a more detailed comparison with the Mysteries of Antiquity than was made by Miss Weston, and this in order "to ascertain, if possible, the organic meaning of the Grail theme."

Dr. Nitze regards the Fisher King as "an intermediary between the two planes of existence, the present and the here-after, the symbol of the creative, fructifying force in nature, specifically associated with water or moisture" (p. 395); the act of fishing dwelt upon in the romances, but of which, as is obvious to any unprejudiced observer, the romancers could make neither head nor tail, "symbolizes the recovery of the life-principle from the water, and as a piece of sympathetic magic doubtless had its practical value." He is also "the representative of the other world"; "his weakness or infirmity agrees with Nature's declining strength." His recovery depends upon a ceremony which, when successfully performed by the "initiate" Grail Knight, enables the latter to become his successor. In this ceremony, these rites "required to restore the strength of the Fisher King," the Grail is "the receptacle for the divine food, wafer or blood, by partaking of which the mortal establishes a blood-bond with the god" (p. 400). This function is important,

but it has not in the pristine myth the pre-eminent importance assigned to the Holy Vessel in the mediaeval romances. Equally, in the pristine myth the real stress is upon the permanent factor, the representative of the life-force, the Fisher King; the questing initiate is only of importance in so far as he succeeds in duly accomplishing the set ceremonies of the ritual, and thereby becomes himself Fisher King, the necessary link between Man and those Nature Forces which Man masters and exploits, but only on condition of submitting himself thereto. In the mediaeval romances, again, there has been a shifting of interest; the quest has transcended its object, the quester the person whom he seeks.

I have restated in my own way and to some extent amplified Dr. Nitze's theory,—(here and there he does not seem to me to bring out his points with sufficient clearness),—without, I think, altering it. I am quite disposed to believe that the Fisher King was originally of greater and more significant importance than in the Romances; the postulated process by which a material factor in the ceremony,—the Grail,—and the secondary living factor,—the Grail Knight,—came in the Romances to overshadow him, is a natural and inevitable one. As Dr. Nitze remarks, "the least Christian feature in the legend is the Fisher King—his parallelism with Christ apparently stops with the name Fisher" (p. 372). Forcedly, therefore, the process of Christianisation was bound to obscure, even where it did not ignore, the part he played. The Grail itself could not, once that process was begun, escape identification with the Eucharistic Vessel, the means of saving grace; the Grail Knight could not, (though the process is only completed in the very latest phase of the legend's development), escape identification with the Saviour. Necessarily, in the legend as we have it, all the forms of which are to some extent transformed by the Christian ferment, these two elements, lending themselves as they do to Christian interpretation and amplification, have come to overshadow that element which was insusceptible thereto.

All this is at once sound and acutely reasoned. The features in the Fisher King's personality and in the ritual of which he is the centre, adduced by Dr. Nitze to justify the conception

outlined above, are, in part, those noted by previous investigators, —Simrock, Martin, myself, Staerk, and, in especial, Miss Weston. As far as Simrock and Martin are concerned, Dr. Nitze might, indeed should, have noted that their brilliant anticipations necessarily failed to command assent at the time. The theory of the mythic nature and significance of the Fisher King can only be justified if the Grail cycle as a whole is shown to have literary and historic connection with a mythical system as set forth in a mythico-romantic literature. To demonstrate this was largely the object of my 1888 *Studies*. This demonstration, completed by the independent yet allied investigation of the Irish Elysium and Rebirth conceptions (*Voyage of Bran*), and reinforced by other scholars, notably Miss Weston and Mr. A. B. Cook, both using, like myself in the *Voyage of Bran*, the Mannhardt-Frazer theory as a working hypothesis, has, I may claim, definitely indicated the true line of research. Until the connections of the Grail cycle with Celtic myth were established, the legend remained a "sport"; once they were established, it fell into its place in an evolutionary series.

I would note one instance in which a feature insisted upon by me in 1888 has received recent and independent confirmation, the parallelism of the Fisher King theme with an episode in the Finn Saga. I relied upon the Irish romantic tale, the *Boyish Exploits of Finn*, preserved in a late Middle Irish MS. True, I had in these pages (*Folk-Lore Record*, vol. iv., pp. 1-44) as early as 1881 urged the archaic nature of this tale. The evidence lay open, nevertheless, as Dr. Nitze has noted, to Professor Zimmer's objection that the Finn Saga, as a whole, is late. Within the last few years Mr. John MacNeill, analysing the historic and genealogical data of the Finn cycle, has shown that the *Boyish Exploits* belongs to the very earliest stage of that cycle, and cannot have assumed its extant shape much later than the eighth century.

It is, however, the novel evidence and arguments adduced by Dr. Nitze in favour of the mythic nature of the Grail story that give his study its chief interest, and require most searching consideration. Taking the Eleusinia as a type of the Mysteries, being from the start "both agrarian and mystic," he proceeds,— "We may say the mysteries in general served a double purpose:

first, to induce through a sacrificial feast the fructification of nature; secondly, to initiate the human soul into the secret of life by bringing it, as it were, into relationship with the life deity" (p. 384).

He then briefly reviews certain particulars of the Eleusinian ritual, the Egyptian Osiris myth, the Adonis and Attis cults, and the Mithraic worship. He has little difficulty in establishing the "life-force" element in all these bodies of practice and doctrine, and he brings out isolated parallelisms with the Grail romances. But I fear he is preaching solely to the converted when, after asserting that "what remains of the Grail romances *when stripped of the Perceval Galahad quest* is clearly a vegetation ceremony," he proceeds,—"it is hardly necessary to repeat here the agreements upon which the argument rests; for the most part they are self-evident." In the first place, I do not understand the words I have underlined. The significance of the Quest may, as stated above (*supra*, p. 109), have been altered in the mediaeval romances; none the less is it an essential portion of the legend. Further, I think that Dr. Nitze exaggerates the "self-evidence" of the agreements upon which his argument rests. For the most part they are of too slight and general a character to carry conviction. The most noticeable and cogent had already been instanced by Miss Weston, and, although the mass of further "agreements" adduced by Dr. Nitze possesses a cumulative weight, the pertinency of each individual item often seems questionable. I doubt if the Mysteries evidence in itself can be held to substantiate the statement, "The Holy Grail, by the mediaeval romancers often conceived of in terms of a quest, is *au fond* an initiation, the purpose of which is to ensure the life of the vegetation spirit, always in danger of extinction, and to admit the "qualified" mortal into its mystery," although in consideration of the entire body of evidence concerning the Grail legend I am prepared to accept the contention. But Dr. Nitze seems to me to have done more to establish it by his acute analysis of the original import of the Fisher King's *rôle* than by the new facts he brings forward.

Dr. Nitze has thrown new light upon that enigmatic character the Fisher King's father. To borrow an illustration from history,

he is the Mikado of the myth, the supersanct representative, nay the actual manifestation, of the life-god, the Fisher King being the Shogun, the active, visible, intermediating link between the deity and mankind. As such, the former is even more rebellious than the Fisher King to Christian transformation, and his personality is even more enshrouded in obscurity. He seems more especially to stand for the god when the weakness of the latter is figured as the result of a wound "in the vital (generative part)," and Dr. Nitze claims that "he is not so much to be avenged as healed" (p. 399). But may not, as I implicitly argued in 1888, the two processes be ultimately one, may not "vengeance" be the indispensable prerequisite, nay the effective means, of "healing" in the mythic drama? Compare in this light the march of events in the *Mabinogi* of Math: Llew is not reinstated in his lordship, *i.e.* fully restored, until he is avenged on Gronw Pebr. I am still of opinion that in the complex mass of the cycle two allied versions of an originally similar theme are interwoven, one insisting upon the healing and one upon the avenging function of the Grail quester.

Dr. Nitze is thus a firm believer in the mythic nature of the Grail legend. But diverse explanations of the emergence in mediæval Christendom of a myth originally and essentially pre-Christian are possible. That which commends itself on the whole to Dr. Nitze is substantially the one which I have championed: for him the Grail legend is, in the main, the outcome of mythic conceptions, rites, and fancies current among the Celtic-speaking populations of Britain and Ireland. He expresses himself cautiously, it is true; thus, *à propos* of the Mysteries evidence, he remarks (p. 381),—"Though we now know that the cults . . . were carried into Gaul and even Britain in the stream of Roman colonization, and that Mithraism in the form of Manicheism had a recrudescence in France in the heresies of the Middle Ages, yet it is doubtful whether these influences were operative in forming, though they might have been a *contributing* element, especially *later on.*" Again, in referring to Burdach's theory respecting the influence of the Mysteries ritual upon the liturgy of the Eastern Church, he remarks (p. 380, n. 6),—"This line of investigation seems especially promising with respect to Wolfram, in fact to all

the later works with oriental colouring. But I do not see its bearing on the Conte del Graal, Perlesvaus, or indeed Borron's Joseph."

I am quite prepared to associate myself with this cautious mode of expression, and with the reserves expressly formulated (which I have italicised) in these passages. I hold, as must, I think, every impartial and serious investigator of the Grail cycle, that the original (Celtic) non-Christian elements were reinforced at the end of the twelfth century by others which made their presence felt in the lost French romance upon which Wolfram founded his Parzival. Whilst at first blush these other elements seem to me to come from the trans-Byzantine East and to be definitely referable to the Crusading movements in general, and to the Temple organisation in particular, I fully admit the possible survival, alike in the Byzantine area of influence and amongst the heretical communities of the West, of conceptions and practices deriving directly from pagan syncretism of the Empire. But these other non-Christian features of the legend are, I repeat, secondary and contributory; the primary, the formative, non-Christian elements are Celtic.

Dr. Nitze's whole argument implicitly accepts, nay, indeed, rests upon, certain postulates to the vindication of which much of my work has been devoted. For him, as for me, the "primitive Celts in Gaul, Wales and Ireland" had reached such a stage of culture as permitted the formation of a ritual, a mythology, and a resultant mythico-romantic body of artistry. I use this clumsy phrase to avoid the word literature with its implication of a written product. Let me add that what is premised above of the primitive Celts is by me, and, I have little doubt, by Dr. Nitze, to be premised likewise of the primitive Teutons. For him, as for me, products of ceremonial practice, of doctrinal belief, or artistic fancy, to be met with in the Celto-Teutonic area of the Middle Ages onwards to the present, which differ in content and purport from the prevailing Christian-Classic higher culture of that area, are, in the first place, to be explained by the hypothesis of possible survival from the primitive Celto-Teutonic past rather than by misinterpreted and deformed borrowing from intrusive higher culture. The one theory postulates not only the possibility

but the universality and strength of tradition, while the other implies arbitrary and lawless modes of influence the essential insignificance of which is not more flagrant than their crass unlikelihood.

By way of conclusion let me show how these principles which have guided me ever since I took up the study of folklore over thirty years ago have been strengthened by research in other fields of historical investigation during that period, both in their general bearing upon folklore studies and in their special bearing upon the problems of the Grail.

It is unfortunate that the researches of historians, archaeologists, philologists, and folklorists are often pursued along lines, parallel indeed, but separated by lofty and impenetrable barriers. Otherwise the import of the results achieved by the studies of pre- and proto-historic archaeology and of proto-history in the narrower sense, for folklore problems could hardly have been overlooked. Briefly put, the great antiquity, the high level, and the relatively independent development of Central and North-western European culture have been clearly demonstrated. The richness and variety of the material culture disclosed alike in Scandinavia, Britain, and the plains and valleys of Central Europe vouch for a corresponding level of psychical culture. To assert, as some scholars still persist in asserting, that the conceptions and fancies only known to us in Celtic or Teutonic monuments which did not assume their final shape until the Middle Ages, were beyond the reach of the Celto-Teutons of 1000-100 B.C. is mere kicking against the pricks. The men of the Bronze Age, whether on the plains of Meath, around the lakes of Sweden, or on the Hungarian steppes, were certainly superior in material equipment and in social advance to the Maori when the latter first came in contact with the European. Yet implicitly or explicitly certain scholars have treated them as if their mental and moral horizon barely surpassed that of Australian blackfellows or Terra del Fuegians. The whole trend of recent proto-archaeological and proto-historical studies has been to demonstrate the age, variety, and persistence of European culture.

The effect of another branch of study has been equally far-reaching as regards our science. All folklore problems ultimately

resolve themselves into analyses,—quantitative and qualitative,—of tradition. If we consider European culture during the period of some four thousand years during which we can trace it, we note the rise of Christianity and the consequent extension of Christian-Classic culture over the whole European area as the most momentous of the transforming elements which have affected it. The method of the folklorist is akin to that of the chemist: he studies the reactions and new combinations set up by the Christian-Classic ferment in an older body of elements. Scarcely anywhere else are these processes manifested alike with such precision and such complexity as in the formation and evolution of the Grail legends. The Grail cycle offers an almost ideal field for that species of analysis which has to be applied in almost every section of folklore study.

If this is so, it follows that the formative period of Christianity, that in which it was transforming Pagan culture and being modified itself in the process, is of first-rate importance for the folklorist. This period, roughly speaking the first four centuries of our era, produced a very rich literature. Some of it, the canonical writings of Christianity, is of first-rate importance from whatever point of view it be considered, and has always been the object of intense study, but much, perhaps the greater part of the literary output of those four centuries, is from an aesthetic, a philosophic, or a spiritual point of view inferior. The Pagan-Classic portion is, from the necessities of the case, decadent; a considerable section of the Christian portion is, equally from the necessities of the case, puerile; what has survived of amalgams or compromises between the two warring worlds of thought and emotion is for the most part, with equal necessity, an abortion or a still-birth. Such as it is, however, this literature claimed the attention of the Renaissance scholars and their successors almost equally with that of the great Classic period. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, well on into the eighteenth century, there was no hard and fast line drawn in ancient studies between profane and sacred, between Classic and post-Classic. Then specialism set in, the classical scholar divorced himself wholly from theological, the theologian from classical studies; the late Classic period, the period of strife and compromise with Christianity, was

neglected by the classical scholar as an epoch of decadence, whilst the attention of the theologian was concentrated almost wholly upon the primary monuments of the new faith. Down to 1750 scholarship implied familiarity with the third century A.D. as well as with the fifth-fourth centuries B.C.,—with all the products of Christian as well as of Pagan Antiquity. But throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century it was possible to attain first rank as a student of Classical Antiquity or early Christianity whilst remaining confined to the literature of one particular century. Within the last thirty years a marked change for the better has taken place; a series of great scholars, trained in the strictest methods of classical philology, have devoted themselves to the elucidation not only of the Canonical Writings, but of the illustrative, apocryphal, hagiological, heretical, and controversial literature. In particular the products of syncretism, the essays at amalgam and compromise, have received close attention. Of this tendency, as far as regards its bearing upon folklore studies in the narrower sense, Hermann Usener has been the most illustrious exponent.

When, in 1877, the first serious survey of the Grail cycle was made by Dr. Birch-Hirschfeld, Usener's influence had not yet made itself felt. The borderland between Paganism and Christianity was far more of a *terra incognita* than it is now. In especial the two provinces were more sharply delimited; conceptions were Christian or non-Christian, and the extent of pre-Christianity in contributing to the completed Christian fabric, as well as the influence of anti-Christianity in modifying the outlines of that fabric, were realised in a far less measure than to-day. Necessarily Dr. Birch-Hirschfeld, who championed the theory of the Christian origin of the Grail legend, was affected by the prevailing attitude of scholarship. He would not now, I think, hold that the presence of definite apparently Christian elements in a mediaeval legend necessarily entailed the solely Christian origin of that legend; he would, probably, be ready to admit that the Christian element itself might be not homogeneous, but analysable into further combinations of material, some of them derived from a pre-Christian past, and that, in this way, resemblances might be accounted for without recourse to

what then seemed the only possible hypothesis, namely, that of direct dependence upon Christian literature.

Writing, as I did in 1888, largely in opposition to Dr. Birch-Hirschfeld, I was naturally affected by his presentment of the case, and hence at times a polemic I should now judge unnecessary or imperfect. The Grail problem, involving as it does the mystic conceptions of communion and sacrifice, entered upon a new phase when it was recognised that these conceptions, even in their orthodox Christian forms, were connected with and had been influenced by pre-Christian doctrine and practice. In this country the standard-bearer of the movement of which Usener was the chief German representative has been Dr. Frazer. It is fitting that the solution of the Grail problem should now be sought along the lines which were first laid down for most English students in the *Golden Bough*.

ALFRED NUTT.

FOLKLORE AND FOLK-STORIES OF WALES. By MARIE TREVELYAN. With an Introduction by E. SIDNEY HARTLAND. Elliot Stock, 1909. Fcap. 4to, pp. xiv + 350.

MR. HARTLAND'S name is sufficient guarantee for the quality of this work. Despite a certain lack of skill in literary presentment, it may not unjustly be described as the most important collection of the contemporary folklore of the British Isles since the late Mr. Henderson's *Northern Counties*. Other writers have produced careful and excellent studies of special points, such as Dr. Maclagan's works on the *Evil Eye* and the *Games* of the North-west Highlands, but few have even attempted to record the folklore of any important district as a whole. Mrs. Trevelyan premises that she has omitted the fairy-lore and giant-legends of Wales, of which she has a sufficient collection to form a separate volume. What she does give us is comprised under the following heads: Folklore of the Sea, Lakes, Rivers, and Wells; Fires and Fire-festivals; the Heavens and the Earth; Hounds of the Under-World and others; Water-horses and Spirits of the Mist; Animals, Birds of Prey, and Insects; Plants, Herbs, and Flowers; Trees,

Birds, and Waterfowl; Wind and Weather; Stones and Caverns Secret Hoards and Treasures; the Devil and his Doings in Wales; Dragons, Serpents, and Snakes; Corpse-candles and Phantom Funerals; Weird Ladies and their Work; Witches, their Rendezvous and Revels; Charms, Pentacles, and Spells; Days and Months; Births, Weddings, and Funerals; Death, its Omens and Personifications; Transformations and Transmigrations; Colour-lore and Old-time Remedies; the Leasing—*i.e.* the *Gleaning* of such miscellanea as found no fit place elsewhere.

This, it will be seen, is a very comprehensive and well-planned survey of the field of folklore. It begins where it ought to begin, with the world of Nature, it proceeds to the visionary world of mythic beings and phantoms, thence to magic in its twofold manifestation as witchcraft and charming, and, lastly, deals with the life and death of man and the folk-philosophy of the After-Life. It is an admirably designed programme, but the manner in which it is carried out is open to criticism in some respects. Fire-festivals at the beginning of the volume are oddly divorced from Days and Months near the end. Hallowmas appears in the latter, and Christmas in the former. (A burning cart-wheel was still rolled from the top of many Glamorganshire hills on Mid-summer night as late as 1820-30, p. 27.) Birds, (among which *bats* are classed), are curiously divided between Animals and Trees, *water*-fowl being placed with the latter !, and Trees are separated from Plants and Herbs to accommodate them. The matter noted under the head of Wind and Weather might well have been distributed among the animals, birds, and plants which give the weather-omens, or else might with advantage have been placed in closer relation to Heavens, Earth, and Sea; while the Water-horses, Spirits of the Mist, and Hounds of the Under-World are awkwardly separated from the other spectres. Possibly Mrs. Trevelyan was actuated by a wish for uniformity in the length of the chapters: hardly a sufficient reason, to our mind.

Mrs. Trevelyan's collection deals primarily but not wholly with South Wales. The nucleus of her material consisted, she tells us, of the large MS. collection of her late father, which she has supplemented partly from printed sources, partly from personal enquiry among old inhabitants. She has aimed at distinguishing

the several sources, but she has hardly carried this sufficiently far. For instance the story of the robin as fire-bringer (p. 110) is given as "a well-known nursery story," in a way that would lead the reader to suppose it is told on Mrs. Trevelyan's own authority, whereas it is a *verbatim* quotation from *Notes and Queries* (*Choice Notes*, p. 184). And, like most "Celtic" writers, she does not always make it clear whether she is speaking of ancient mythology or contemporary folklore.

Nevertheless, the matter is obviously thoroughly authentic and thoroughly Welsh. We see the Welsh type of religious sentiment in the form taken by the usual reluctance to disclose secret beliefs and uncanny stories. Most of Mrs. Trevelyan's informants desired their names to be kept secret "for religious reasons." The scanty population and the characteristic "scattered" type of settlement (as distinguished from the "village" type) appear in the fewness of the social festivals; the melancholy imaginative Celtic temperament in the predominance of spectres and apparitions. Second sight, we are told (p. 191), is nearly as prevalent among the Welsh, especially the South Welsh, as among the Scottish Highlanders, and stories of phantom funerals, wraiths, and corpse-candles abound throughout Wales. In fact, the occurrence or otherwise of phantom funerals may almost be used as a racial test in the Welsh borderland. I never met with them in Shropshire except among the wild ranges of hills along the Welsh boundary.

Another ominous spectre in olden times in Wales was the "death-horse." Sometimes he was white, with eyes emitting blue sparks "like forked lightning"; sometimes black, with eyes "like balls of fire" (p. 182). He came to bear away the parting soul: his coming was quick and stealthy, but his going was with "the wind that blew over the feet of the corpses." The "death-horse" only survives in the memory of a few aged people, but belief in the "corpse-bird" seems to be living and flourishing. This is a small bird of no known species, without feathers and without wings, or with only downy flappers, unable to fly, which sits all day on a bough outside the dying patient's window, uttering a melancholy chirp. "The sound and sight of it," said a villager, "makes one shiver" (p. 182).

Stories of the Wild Huntsman and his hell-hounds, eerie and ghostly to the last degree, come from every part of Wales in numbers sufficient to give a name to a whole chapter (pp. 47-54). Sometimes a stray hound would haunt a house where death was imminent, or the whole pack would hunt through a house from room to room, until they got on the scent of the doomed man, who fled in terror with the *Cwn Annwn*, the hounds of the Under-world, at his heels (p. 48).

The *Ceffyl-dwr*, or water-horse, does not seem to be a "death-token." He is in fact the Scottish Kelpie. He comes out of seas, lakes, or rivers, allows himself to be mounted or harnessed, then throws his rider or breaks away from the plough, plunges into the sea, or vanishes into the air. He is described as "luminous and fascinating" in South Wales, as dark, fiery-eyed, and forbidding in the North. Sometimes he is winged like Pegasus, sometimes his hoofs are turned backwards. In North Wales, where the myths seem to be, like the scenery, altogether more wild and gloomy than in the south, he can transform himself into other shapes, a goat, a satyr, a monster, leaping upon harmless passers-by, crushing and injuring them in his horrid grip.

The *Gwrach-y-rhibyn* is a gruesome night-hag with talons and bat-like wings, who rises up out of swamps or river-creeks and haunts old ruined castles,—Caerphilly, St. Donat's, and others. She is a sort of Banshee, an ancestral spectre, haunting old families, heralding death, or mourning over change of ownership. She is generally seen flapping her wings, wailing and sobbing, but sometimes she is spoken of as a kind of Fury, capable of mal-treating anyone who offends her, attacking them with beak and talons as an eagle might (pp. 65–69). Numerous legends are told of "weird ladies," (what is the Welsh appellation thus translated does not appear), who haunt lonely spots,—wells, fields, ruins. Sometimes a ghost tradition attaches to them. Generally they guard hidden treasures; often they are bespelled, and can only be disenchanted by the firm grip of a man, as Tamlane was by that of Fair Janet. Often they give flowers or berries to friendly passers-by, which turn to gold in the recipients' pockets; sometimes they point out the whereabouts of hoards of gold. The

most interesting of all, perhaps, because the most palpably a nymph or goddess of the well, is the Green Lady who "appeared beside the eye-well in Marcross, near St. Donat's, and watched people carefully as they deposited rags on the thorn-bushes around the well" (p. 204). Unlike the heroines of parallel traditions in Germany and England, these ladies are described not only as white, but as black, grey, or green, according to the colour of their clothing. The Celtic love of colour appears all through these stories of apparitions: the *Ceffyl Dwr* may be grey, white, piebald, or chestnut; the *Cwn Annwn* black with red spots, or *vice versa*, blood-red, black, brown with white ears, or even white with ears "rose-coloured inside," but, whatever it be, the colour is nearly always mentioned.

The Vampire belief, unknown, to the best of my knowledge, in England, flourishes in Wales. The vampire is supposed to be a person who after death has gone neither to Heaven nor Hell, but has joined the Wild Hunt, and the curious feature about it is that the superstition is attached not only to the dead man, but to the furniture which belonged to him. One story goes that whoever slept in a certain ancient four-post bedstead was attacked in the night by a blood-sucking demon. In two other cases the vampire is an old carved oak chair itself, apparently. Nothing is seen, but the occupant of the chair finds his hand scratched and bleeding. Not even ministers of religion were exempt from the attacks of one such vampire chair (p. 56)! Mr. Hartland (p. x.) confesses himself unable to cite an exact parallel to this weird and "creepy" story.

The people of Wales are much to be congratulated on the acquisition of this valuable work, "as full of matter as an egg is of meat,"—to use an appropriate folk-saying. With this, and the further volume which Mrs. Trevelyan leads us to hope for, added to Principal Rhys's *Celtic Folklore*, the Rev. Elias Owen's *Welsh Folklore*, and the promised work by Mr. J. Ceredig-Davies, we only want a series of "Choice Notes" reprinted from *Byegones*, and a carefully detailed account of the *whole* folklore of "Little England beyond Wales" to have a very fairly complete record of the folklore of the Principality.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

Native Life in East Africa. The Results of an Ethnological Research Expedition. By Dr. Karl Weule. Trans. by Alice Werner. Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1909. Ryl. 8vo. pp. xxiv + 431. *Maps and Ill.*

Dr. Karl Weule, Professor and Director of the Ethnographical Museum at Leipzig, has recorded first in a "popular" manner, and secondly in an official report (reviewed in vol. xx., pp. 244-5), the results of an ethnological expedition undertaken on behalf of the Museum to the German possessions in East Africa. The book described above is the translation by Miss Alice Werner of the former. The author has been extremely fortunate in his translator, whose qualifications for the task are unsurpassed. It may easily be believed indeed that the translation is an improvement upon the original edition. For Miss Werner's experience of the East African native and her rare knowledge of the Bantu languages and of Bantu ethnology enable her to check and confirm or modify many of the statements of the author; so that the best criticism on the book is probably to be found in her introduction and notes.

Anthropological science owes a great debt to Germany. The authorities of the various German museums grasped years ago the importance of setting about at once to collect and compare the outward appliances of savage and barbarous life. They fitted out expedition after expedition for the purpose, and reaped so rich a harvest of ethnographical material in various parts of the world that now, in order to study the economics and art of the natives even of British colonies, it is frequently necessary to resort, not to London or Oxford, but to Berlin or Leipzig. In pursuit of this object they have doubtless to some extent neglected what to those of us who have been trained in the school of Tylor is even more important, the study of the mental and spiritual sides of the lower culture. Partly due to this cause, partly to his inexperience as a collector of folklore, and partly to his very brief stay in the country,—(he was there little more than six months),—must be reckoned the inferiority of Dr. Weule's results in this direction; though even here he has done something.

He was chiefly occupied with two Bantu tribes, the Wamakonde and the Wamakua, who with some detached branches of the Wayao and some intrusive Angoni inhabit the country between the Lukuledi and Rovuma rivers. His drawings and a large number of his photographs are excellent. As Miss Werner remarks too, it was a happy inspiration to collect and preserve native drawings. Their value as records of this kind of artistic development among the tribes in question, and as data for comparison, will increase if other travellers will follow the example. English anthropologists have not left us entirely without such specimens from various peoples; but they have not recognized their importance, and have not accumulated them systematically.

The student of folklore will turn with interest to the questions of social organizations, institutions, and beliefs. But for the reasons I have indicated he will hardly be satisfied. The paragraph, for instance, on page 314, on the marriage rules of the Makonde, is far from clear. It does not appear why a Makonde youth must marry his maternal uncle's daughter, especially as the author goes on to say that in the next generation the youth must marry the daughter of his father's sister. This difficulty is only partially removed by Miss Werner's note on a subsequent page; and it is evident that a little more minute enquiry on Dr. Rivers' plan might have been successful in explaining the position. Probably Makonde society is undergoing a transformation, as Miss Werner suggests, from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. This appears to be hinted at on p. 311; but Dr. Weule did not follow up the clue. Not having the original before me, I do not know whether he wrote on p. 307 *matriarchate* or *mother-right*. The example given is certainly to be referred to the latter, and the word *matriarchate* is perhaps a slip of the pen on the part of author or translator.

Is it true to say that the ceremonies at a first pregnancy are "at bottom only a pleasant setting for a number of rules and prohibitions inculcated on this occasion by the older women?" Have they no ritual effect in themselves? It would be contrary to what we know of other ceremonies. For the details of the puberty rites, so far as the author was allowed to witness them

or was told concerning them, we must go to his official report. What is given here is as much as could be told in a work intended for the general public. Of religion his account is necessarily superficial. But then that is only what any traveller who has not resided in the country in intimate converse for years with the natives can give; therefore we expect no more. We know in general terms the religion of the Bantu tribes. Dr. Weule does but add a few local touches, without penetrating into the native soul.

I cannot assent to the parallel he draws between the civilized custom of tying a knot in a handkerchief when it is desired to remember something, and the native custom of tying knots on a string to indicate a number. The one is intended to call attention by its strangeness to something of importance to be done or said; the other is a mode of reckoning and keeping count,—a very different matter.

Dr. Weule worked with German energy, and from a museum point of view his success probably left little to be desired. He has contributed materially to our knowledge of the externals of native life. As regards the more recondite subjects of mental life, he has furnished data which will be valuable for further investigation. Meanwhile, his conclusions must be regarded as purely provisional. The map of his route is useful; but it is curious that neither this nor the four coloured plates are enumerated in the list of illustrations.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

FOLKLORE OF THE SANTÁL PARGANAS. Trans. by CECIL HENRY BOMPAS, Indian Civil Service. Nutt, 1909. 8vo, pp. 483.

OUR knowledge of the folklore of the Santáls, that interesting non-Aryan race occupying the tract known as the Santál Parganas on the eastern outskirts of the Chutia Nagpur plateau in Bengal, has hitherto been mainly derived from the small collection of tales published in 1891 by Dr. A. Campbell. The present series of tales was recorded by Rev. O. Bodding of the Scandinavian

Mission, and has been translated by Mr. Bompas, who has added in an appendix some tales from the Hos of the Kolhán in the Singhbhúm District. This book contains a large mass of interesting but undigested material. No attempt has been made to compare the tales with those published by Mr. Lal Behari Day in his *Folk-tales of Bengal*, or with any of the standard classical collections, such as the *Játakas* or the *Katha-sarit-ságara* of Somadeva. A record of the names of the tellers of the tales, an abstract or index of the chief incidents, and some notes on Santál religion and custom would have made the book much more useful. The materials have been roughly classified into six divisions: I, General folk-tales; II, Animal tales; III, Anecdotes of Santál social life; IV, Tales relating to Bongas,—a vague term which includes gods, godlings, and other supernatural beings, spirits of ancestors, and of streams and forests, and fairies; V, Creation and other tribal legends; and VI, Witchcraft. Of these the fourth and fifth groups will probably be of the greatest interest.

Bongas take an active part in human affairs; they assume the forms of young men and women who form connections with human beings of the opposite sex; they cause diseases at the bidding of witches, and hound on the tiger to attack men; but they are not always malevolent, and one of them, the Kisar Bonga, resembles our Brownie, who steals food for his master, and, unless he be offended, causes him to grow rich. Once upon a time a man married a Bonga girl, who invited her husband to visit her parents. When he went to spirit-land he found that the house seats were formed of great coiled snakes, beside which tigers and leopards crouched. When he returned to earth, he discovered that the provisions which he had brought back from spirit-land had turned into dry leaves and cow-dung fuel cakes.

In the olden days the Lord, Thákur Bábá, produced the rice ready thrashed, and woven cloth grew on the cotton trees; men's skulls were loose, and they could remove, clean, and replace them. But a dirty servant maid defiled the rice and cloth, on which Thákur Bábá was wroth, and reduced created beings to the state in which we find them now. The sky originally was close to the earth, and Thákur Bábá freely visited mankind.

But a woman after her meal threw an unclean leaf platter outside the door, and the wind carried it up to heaven. This offended the Lord, who raised the sky to its present position. Finally, Thákur Bábá destroyed mankind, all save one youth and one maiden who were hidden in a cave, and from them a new race was born. Ninda Chando, the kindly Moon, fearing that these might meet a similar fate, pretended to devour the people, of whom only two were saved, who became the morning and the evening stars. When the Sun god saw that some human beings survived, he scattered them in his wrath, and that is why the stars are spread all over the sky. He also cut Ninda Chando in two, and that is why the Moon waxes and wanes; formerly she was always full like the Sun. In another version, the youth and maid had twelve sons and twelve daughters, from whom the twelve races of men are sprung, being graded in rank according to the kind of food which their progenitors chose at a great tribal feast.

Enough has been said to show the value of this interesting contribution to the folklore of India.

W. CROOKE.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF THE NEW YORK STATE IROQUOIS. By HARRIET MAXWELL CONVERSE. Edited and annotated by A. C. PARKER. Education Department Bulletin, No. 437. Albany, N.Y., 1908. (New York State Museum Bulletin, 125.) 8vo, pp. 195.

THE Iroquois, although at the same general level of culture as the tribes surrounding them, had developed their political organization far in advance of any other North American tribe, and their folk-tales "were of strength, of great deeds, of nature and the forces of nature, . . . they are the classics of all the unwritten literature of the American aborigines. The Iroquois were a people who loved to weave language in fine metaphor and delicate allusion and possessed a language singularly adapted for this purpose. They were unconscious poets" (p. 10). Mrs. Converse endeavoured "to produce the same

emotion in the mind of civilized man which is produced in the primitive mind which entertains the myth, without destroying the native style or warping the facts of the narrative." This method of recording folk-tales was justified by her intimate knowledge of and love for the Indians. Mrs. Converse's grandfather, Alexander Maxwell, migrated from Scotland in 1770; he was greatly esteemed by the Indians on account of his courtesy and honesty. His son was adopted into the Wolf clan of the Senecas. Thus Mrs. Converse was reared in the right atmosphere, but it was not till she was stimulated by General Ely S. Parker that she devoted herself to befriend and study the Senecas. Morgan, in his *League of the Iroquois*, acknowledges the collaboration of Parker, who was evidently a very remarkable Indian. Mrs. Converse spent her life in assisting the Indians in all sorts of ways, and to prove their gratitude she was gradually advanced in honour among them, till in 1892 she was unanimously confirmed a chief of the Six Nations, an honour never before conferred upon a white woman. Unfortunately, in 1903 she died suddenly, and the pious duty of editing her manuscripts fell to the able hands of Mr. A. C. Parker; the present memoir of 195 pages is all that he was able to publish. The reliability of the matter is beyond question, and therefore it is worthy of careful study. Thirty-six legends are given, and there are added several valuable papers by Mrs. Converse. One on the "Iroquois Indians of the State of New York" summarizes their religious beliefs and moral code. Another is on "Woman's right among the Iroquois"; it will be remembered that the Iroquois afford one of the best examples of a mother-right community. Some welcome information is given about wampum belts. A short paper describes the game of lacrosse, which evidently was of ceremonial origin. The most important papers are those by Mrs. Converse and Mr. Parker on the ceremony of initiation into a Seneca Medicine Society. Several illustrations of Indians, ceremonial objects, wampum belts, etc., and several drawings by a Seneca boy-artist, increase the interest of this publication.

A. C. Haddon.

SHORT NOTICES.

Die Germanische Tempel: mit 2 Karten. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Hohen Fakultät der Universität Leipzig, Vorgelegt von ALBERT THÜMMEL. Halle-a-S.: Karras, 1909. 8vo, pp. 124.

IN this fragment Mr. Thümmel describes in detail the remains of supposed temples in Iceland and elsewhere. There is very little outside Iceland; for South Germany he has nothing but Tacitus's description of the consecrated groves. For our purpose, nothing of importance emerges except that the Icelandic temples were set on hills. The author discusses their shape, the building materials, and other archaeological details.

Folktales of the Maori. By A. A. GRACE. Wellington, N.Z.: Gordon & Gotch. 8vo, pp. 257.

MR. GRACE's book consists of short stories founded on materials supplied by a native; some of them with an element of demons, fairies, and magic in them; but others only rather trivial anecdotes, seasoned for pakeha use, entertaining enough for those who wish to make acquaintance with Maori life, but, as usual with Anglo-Maori stories, rather sugary and sentimental, and in any case of little use to the folklore student. In a note on p. 53, where pigs are spoken of in an apparently old story, the author supposes the mention of them to be a recent interpolation, since Captain Cook introduced pigs into New Zealand. It is certainly the accepted belief that New Zealand was pig-less until the coming of the British. But the story may have survived from a prehistoric period, evidenced by language, when there were native pigs. The Maori-Polynesian race carried its own breed of pigs with it in its migrations about the Pacific, and, if the animal had in fact died out in New Zealand by the time of Cook's arrival, at any rate the name still survived, for "poaka" is native Maori, and its resemblance to "porker" is purely accidental.

GEORGE CALDERON.

Books for Review should be addressed to
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,
c/o DAVID NUTT,
57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXI.] JUNE, 1910. No. II.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16th, 1910.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the December Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the Rev. J. Wood Brown, Miss Edith Carey, Miss F. Kirby Green, Mr. W. R. Halliday, Mr. A. M. Hocart, The Hon. Mrs. G. Macdonald, and Mr. Hutton Webster as members of the Society was announced.

The murder of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, and the resignations of Mr. S. L. Bensusan, Mr. A. G. Chater, Mr. G. W. Ferrington, and Dr. D. M'Kenzie were also announced.

Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, on behalf of Prof. F. Starr, exhibited (1) two figures, in black wax pierced with pins, of persons (in one case a witch) whom it was desired to injure by means of sympathetic magic, from near Zacoalco in western Mexico; and (2) an amulet of bamboo and shells suspended under the eaves of a house by the Ilocanos and other tribes from Agoo, La Union Province, Luzon,

Philippine Islands; and announced that the Professor had presented these objects to the Society. It was resolved that the hearty thanks of the Society be accorded to Prof. Starr for his gift, and that the objects be added to the Society's collection in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

Mr. Hartland also read a paper entitled "The Cult of Executed Criminals in Sicily" (pp. 168-79), which was illustrated by lantern slides.

The Rev. J. H. Weeks read a paper entitled "The Congo Medicine-man and his Black and White Magic," and in the discussion which followed Mr. R. E. Dennett, Mr. Hartland, Mr. Tabor, Mr. Wright, and Dr. Hildburgh took part. Mr. Weeks exhibited the following objects illustrative of his paper:—male and female fetish figures, horn amulet, fibre cloth, and a medicine-man's charm for curing lung diseases from the Lower Congo; a pipe bowl and basket from the Upper Congo; and brass rods which are currency on the Upper Congo.

Mr. Hartland exhibited and presented to the Society two models of house posts carved and painted by Joe Hayes, a Nootkan Indian, and representing the legends of his family, from Clayoquot on the west coast of Vancouver Island; and Miss D. Moutray Read, on behalf of her brother Capt. B. Moutray Read, exhibited a drum and an "Abiriwa" fetish dress from West Africa.

The meeting concluded with hearty votes of thanks to Mr. Hartland and the Rev. J. H. Weeks for their papers, and to Mr. Hartland for the objects which he had so kindly presented to the Society.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16th, 1910.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss Musson as a member of the Society was announced.

The resignation of Mr. J. L. Freeborough was also announced.

Dr. Hildburgh exhibited the following objects: three hanging lamps with (*a*) earthenware oil holder, (*b*) toothed bar for adjusting height, and (*c*) a figure of a cock and a head of iron, from Amiens; two hanging lamps with drip pans, from Rouen; a brass object presumably representing Jonah and the whale, and a silver votive offering representing a ship, from Antwerp; two votive offerings of white metal from Corfu; a metal bowl with magical inscription for imparting magical properties to liquids, probably from Persia; an iron candlestick from Ghent; a coil-type adjustable candlestick and a collection of whistles, from Brussels; and a heart-shaped object of copper, said to be a Jewish amulet, from London.

Miss Eleanor Hull read a paper entitled "The Ancient Charm Hymns of Ireland," and Mr. Rolleston read some examples of charm hymns in Latin. Dr. Gaster offered some observations upon the paper, for which a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Miss Hull.

The Secretary read a paper by Mr. Andrew Lang entitled "Method and Minotaur" (pp. 132-46), and in the discussion which followed Dr. A. J. Evans, Dr. Gaster, and the President took part.

The meeting concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Lang for his paper.

METHOD AND MINOTAUR.

BY A. LANG.

(*Read at Meeting, March 16th,* 1910.)

WHOEVER, as a child, read Kingsley's *The Heroes* with delight, must have been thrilled strangely when he learned that Mr. Arthur Evans had found in Knossos the palace of King Minos, and even representations of his bull-headed, bull-hoofed, and bull-tailed man-monster, the Minotaur. That find was first made some ten years ago, and it was a not unnatural inference from the discovery that the people of ancient Crete, (whose race and language we know not), had a bull-headed god. It was also a natural inference that the lads and lasses in Athenian stories sent to encounter the Minotaur were, in fact, offered as human sacrifices to this being. But a great deal of doubt has been thrown on these theories by the later discovery that Cretan art rejoiced in many things as fantastic as the grotesque non-religious sculptures on the walls of mediæval cathedrals. The Cretan seal-rings display many purely fanciful figures of goat-headed, ass-headed, lion-headed men, and of an eagle-headed woman. Archæologists as a rule do not take these figures as representations of theriomorphic merging into anthropomorphic objects of worship. Mr. A. B. Cook and Mons. Reinach (in a recent article in *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*) are, I think, of that opinion, which certainly needs discussion. But the bull-headed figure appears to be the only one of these grotesques which is employed as a link in a certain long and labyrinthine

series of scientific hypotheses. They begin with Zeus. It is proved that he was in Greek religion the god of the sky, of the air, of the earth, of what is under the earth, of the rain, of the sun, of the stars, of the oak-tree, and of any other tree that was present where oaks were scarce, say poplar, plane, palm, and so on. No doubt all these and many other provinces were claimed for Zeus *in historic Greece*, though in each department he had many divine under-studies. But we, if interested in the Minotaur, want to know what the religious professors in prehistoric Crete thought about Zeus, how they worshipped him, and with what rites. On this part of the subject our only light comes from works of Minoan art, with inferences from the rites of Greeks in Crete in historic times. A new theory, however, concerning the Minotaur goes on to argue that, in late Minoan Knossos, (not yet Greek), a highly-civilized, wealthy, peaceful, and monarchical city, with a royal palace of enormous extent and surprising magnificence, and with a population who lived in eligible villa residences with every modern sanitary requirement, religion took the following shape:—The king (or Minos) was a priestly king, and was believed to be the living embodiment of Zeus,—in especial of the god as Lord of the Sun. He was obliged every nine years to fight, run, or take part in some other athletic contest. If defeated, (and the veteran could hardly expect, if he won at eighteen, to retain the prize at thirty-six), he was done to death, and the victor obtained the crown. "It may be conjectured . . . that the ritual costume of Minos was a bull mask," says Mr. A. B. Cook, "and that this gave rise to the legend of the bull-headed Minotaur."[1]

Now, according to the Athenian legend, (which educated Greeks of the fifth century B.C. proclaimed to be a mere

[1] *The Classical Review*, vol. xvii., p. 410. Mr. Cook has since modified his theory; it was not the king of Crete, but his son, who did and suffered these things, (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xv.).

poetic fiction contradicted by Homer and Hesiod,[2] human victims were offered to the Minotaur, while, according to Mr. Cook's theory, the Minotaur, or (by his amended system) the Crown Prince of Knossos, ended by being a victim himself.

That in a highly-civilized community of white men, where the king had great wealth, drilled troops (Cretan art proves that fact), and a powerful navy, the monarch should submit to such conditions is *prima facie* not probable. That any king, anywhere, has ever been regarded as the embodiment of the Supreme Being and, as such, slain, is not proved, to my knowledge, in a single verifiable instance.[3] It is therefore my purpose to examine the scientific theory of the Minotaur as held by Mr. Cook (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xv., and *Classical Review*, vol. xvii.), and to point out what I humbly conceive to be perilous errors in the method of the extremely erudite school of the New Mythology.

But my task is most complicated. I have re-written this paper several times, to tell the truth, and am not sure that I can make the matter clear. If you want lucidity, go to a Frenchman, and, at last, I have followed the clue of Ariadne as constructed by the Rev. Father M. J. Lagrange.[4]

Our first question is,—what was the nature of religion in civilized, prehistoric Crete? For a reply we first examine the contents of the caves which were held sacred even in the time of Socrates and later, and one of which was in the time of Socrates regarded as the birthplace of the Cretan Zeus, whatever the name of the god may have been in prehistoric times. Remember that, in Greece itself, as Pausanias writes in the second century A.D.,—"It is difficult to count all the peoples who attest that Zeus was born and bred among them," and he gives several

[2] Plato, *Minos*, 318[d] to 320[d]. [3] Cf. *Magic and Religion*, pp. 82-107.
[4] *La Crète Ancienne*, Paris, 1908.

instances.[5] As the belief was so common in so many parts of the Greek mainland, it is probable that, when Homer's Achæans settled in Crete, they found it already present as to the local cave-birthplace of a god whom they styled Zeus.

Now the contents of one Cretan cave of Zeus, in Mount Ida, show relics of comparatively late non-Minoan art and worship, with an inscription in Greek characters. The pottery is not Minoan, but in the geometric style of decoration influenced by Assyrian art, through Phœnicia. This is an early Dorian style, shown in the excavations at Sparta. Dorians dwelt in Crete in the time of the Odyssey. The other cave, (where, according to the Platonic dialogue *Minos*, King Minos met Zeus and took his instructions), is that of Dicte, near Psychro and near the ruins of Lyttos. This cave and its legend were already known to Hesiod, say 700 B.C.[6] The cave has been excavated by Mr. Hogarth.[7] The contents prove what representations of worship in Minoan art do not prove, that animals, oxen, goats, and deer were sacrificed, perhaps to the Mother of the Gods, perhaps to her associate, whom the Greeks called Zeus, her child. The double axe, often a symbol of divine power, was present, in art and in bronze votive offerings; all this certainly in Minoan times before the coming of Homer's Achæans.

That any divine being is represented by a bull-headed man is doubtful. Gods in the art are usually anthropomorphic; by far the most prominent is female. The male gods with haloes have human faces. One monster, with an earless and hornless head, a forked tail, human feet, and an arm ending in a hoof, is seated on a low camp stool, and gods are often seated. Beside him is a man who, contrary to Minoan usage, is short-haired and

[5] *Pausanias*, bk. iv., c. 33; bk. viii., c. 8, 28, 36, 38.
[6] *Theogony*, v. 477.
[7] *The Annual Report of the British School at Athens*, vol. vi., pp. 96 *et seq.*

bearded.[8] This is the most plausible example of a divine indeterminate bestial-headed monster. He is dubious. It is certain that the bull was a favourite victim in Minoan religion, and that, as in the Egypt of the period, the *boukranion* or bull skull, with a rosette or double axe between the horns, is a common decorative motive in Cretan art, as also in the tombs of the Acropolis at Mycenæ.[9] The Elamites also, 3,000 years before our era, represented Minotaurs in their art, apparently in an attitude of adoration. These are probably the prototypes of the Cretan Minotaurs or bull-headed demons. The ox does not appear in any form in the more primitive archæological strata of Crete.[10]

As regards the divine bull, or the bull-headed god, the Minotaur, (whose existence as a being divine and worshipped is quite problematic), we have little to add. As late as Euripides a tradition of strange and wild feasts on raw bull's flesh in Crete existed. These, in the fragmentary chorus from his fragmentary play, *The Cretans*, are contrasted with the pure and vegetarian life of the devotees of the Idæan Zeus. But Miss Harrison, in contradiction of several learned Germans, thinks that Idæan Zeus, the pure, is merely another aspect of Dionysus Zagreus, the impure, whose orgies involved "red and bleeding feasts" of raw bull's meat.[11] Miss Harrison shows that Plutarch and the early Christian fathers speak with horror of wild savage rites, "eatings of raw flesh and rendings asunder," as being still extant; while there are traditions in very late sources of tearing a living man or child in

[8] See Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 483, Fig. 146.

[9] Cf. Fig. 9 (Plate II.), *ante*, p. 64.

[10] Lagrange, *op. cit.*, p. 85, Figure 66; *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxi. (1901), p. 152.

[11] *Op. cit.*, pp. 474-501. Compare Helbig, s.v. *Minos*, in Roscher's *Lexicon* for the opposing view.

pieces in honour of the Cannibal Dionysus. Moreover, Clemens Alexandrinus says that the abomination, according to Antikleides, author of an epic on the Return of the Heroes from Troy, was practised by the Cretan Lyctii, apparently of Mount Lyttos, where is the cave of Dictæan Zeus.[12]

We have certainly a most unholy mixture of bulls and human sacrifices and Zeus reported from Crete. Is the Athenian legend of the victims of the Minotaur a refraction from actual facts of human sacrifice to a bovine god? That is our problem. I may first remark that Mr. Evans, as he tells me, has found no hint of human sacrifice in prehistoric Cretan art, or in any other relics of that age and country. Secondly, in the transition from Euripides to Clemens Alexandrinus we do not get,—at least I do not get,—the impression that these savage survivals or recrudescences were national, or were affairs of civic worship. Rather they seem to be the delight of secret societies of *décadents* like de Sade and Gilles de Rais. If so, worse things than they did may have been attributed to them. Compare pagan charges against the early Christians, mediæval charges against the Jews, and the allegations against witches even later. The public worship of highly-civilized Minoan Crete, as far as Cretan art shows, consisted of prayer and offerings of fruit, flowers, and libations. The only sacrifice of animals is represented on a painted *larnax* or coffin from Hagia Triada, and the recipient seems to be the ghost of a dead hero.[13] Father Lagrange himself thinks that the god had the main part of the sacrifice, but the hero seems to be accepting a calabash of ox's blood. There is no hint of fire and sacrifice.

Here it may be well to say that there is very little evidence for human sacrifice in prehistoric Hellas, while, as for the *pharmakos* of historic Hellas, the wretch may

[12] See authorities in Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-6.

[13] Lagrange, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-7.

or may not have been put to death, probably *not*, in historic Greece: but that he was no sacrifice to a god, and merely a human scapegoat bearing the pollutions of the city on his head, Miss Harrison and Mr. Murray seem to have proved.[14] Miss Harrison thinks that the two human scapegoats were criminals already condemned, and that they *were* done to death. Certainly a writer of 230 B.C., with another rather silly gossip of 1150 A.D. (Tzetzes), and a scholiast on Aristophanes, leave the impression that the men were killed, to prevent them from returning. But scapemen are one thing, and altars of the Olympians stained with human blood are another.

As to pre-Homeric times, Miss Harrison says, (p. 109), —"It may indeed be doubted whether we have any certain evidence of 'human sacrifice' . . . among the Greeks even of mythological days." Iphigenia and Polyxena, she thinks, were slain, (of course not in Homer), to placate a ghost. Polyxena, in the Ionian epics of 750 to 600 B.C., was slain over the grave of Achilles, but the same poets tell us that Achilles was not buried in Troyland, he was carried by Thetis to the Isle of Leuké in the Euxine, where he was worshipped, and, says Pausanias, married happily, his wife being Helen of Troy!

The post-Homeric legends, whether in Ionian epics, historians, the tragic poets, or scraps preserved by antiquaries down to 1150 A.D., are all at odds, and only prove that such or such a writer or chapel-sacristan thought such or such a sacrifice feasible in prehistoric times. As a matter of method, all such evidence is suspicious, and we ought to use it with the utmost critical care; especially we must not select scraps which suit our theory and ignore others which contradict it. When the Achæan traditions in Homer backed by Hesiod take one view of a legendary personage, such as Minos, while the Attic traditions, really

[14] Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-110; Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, pp. 253-258.

hostile to the Achæans, take the opposite view, we must not ignore Homer and Hesiod and treat the figments of Attic poets as in a way historical.

Now, to return to the Minotaur, we must steadily remember that the whole story about him and his victims is an Attic, a non-Achæan, legend. Socrates, in the *Minos*, justly says that it was an invention of Attic poets, made because they were on ill terms with Minos, whom Homer applauds, with Hesiod's consent, above any other mortal man. Next, we must remember that the story of Theseus and the Minotaur, and *all* the pseudo-historic legends of the Greek states, (except probably as to migrations of peoples), are merely the "saga" forms of *märchen* of world-wide diffusion and of dateless antiquity. The story which a Greek tells of Theseus or Œdipous, of Pelops or Minos, of Orpheus or Zagreus, of Hesione or Andromeda, is only a *märchen* or folk-tale, equipped with names of legendary heroes and heroïnes, and of known places. The Bechuana, the Samoans, the Samoyeds, the Santals, even the Arunta, the Huarocihiri, the Maoris, not to mention the folk-tales of Europe, repeat the same stories and story-incidents about unnamed persons in No-man's-land. It appears to me that some of our most erudite mythologists have not these facts present to their minds in each case. Therefore, when they find in the pseudo-historic legend and in poetry traces of a *custom*, say the bride-race, or royalty acquired by success in running or boxing, or by solving a riddle, or bringing some rare object through many perils, or slaying a monster like the Minotaur; or find exogamy, indicated by the crown going to an alien adventurer who wins the heiress by answering her riddle, or defeating her in a race, or making her laugh, or who runs away with her after she has magically enabled him to achieve some perilous adventure, (Theseus and Ariadne, and Medea and Jason); mythologists leap to the conclusion

that *one* of these methods, the contest for the crown in a race or a fight, was the recognised and customary way of settling the succession to the throne in ancient Greece.

Meanwhile all these incidents are *märchenhaft*; they are romantic stock situations; if such modes of acquiring royalty were once universally customary, it must have been in the world of early human fancies, not of facts.

Before we can infer that even one of these many incidents was ever matter of custom so widely diffused that it has coloured the *märchen* of the world, and the shape that they take in Greek saga, we must discover many examples of the custom with valid historical record, observed and described by competent witnesses. For one incident, the bride-race, or the race for the crown, Mr. Frazer cites the Alitemnian Libyans,[15] while the *Svayamvara*, where the maiden chose one of her crowd of suitors or was offered as the prize in a trial of skill, "was occasionally observed among the Rajputs down to a late time." Several German and one English treatise on Hindu Law are cited in support.[16] Of course sporting Rajputs may have imitated what they knew from *märchen* or from sagas (the *Mahabhârata*). Or the Rajputs may really, like the Alitemnian Libyans, have had the usage of giving the crown, or the bride, to the swiftest or most dexterous competitor. But examples of this one usage, historically observed in the ancient world, have only the authority of Nicolaus Damascenus, in one instance, so far as I am aware. Surely that is not enough to prove that all the body of such eccentric customs in the *märchen* of the world are survivals of universal usages. The usage, necessary to Mr. Cook's Minotaur theory, of slaying unsuccessful competitors, is, as far as I know, without

[15] Nicolaus Damascenus in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xliv. 41; Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, p. 260.

[16] Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 262, note 2.

example in practice. Nor can we infer, with Mr. Cook, that in highly-civilized Knossos, with its wealth, its palaces, its bijou villa residences, and its pretty *Parisiennes* in every variety of mediæval and modern costume, the King or the Crown Prince, wearing a bull's mask, had at stated intervals to fight or run for his life and his royal rights, and was, in fact, the Minotaur defeated by Theseus! This is the theory of the Minotaur advanced by Mr. Cook in his "Zeus, Jupiter, and The Oak," in vol. xvii. of *The Classical Review*, and, with variations, in his "The European Sky God" in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xv.

Now for the story of conflicts with the Minotaur we have no evidence, I repeat, beyond the Athenian adaptation of the *märchen* of the Lad, the Giant (or Elephant), and the Giant's Daughter to the names of Theseus, Minos, and Ariadne. To this I shall return; but, meanwhile, the Greek (chiefly Attic and Ionian) legends of sacrificed princesses appear in Attic *märchen* so primitive that a large percentage of the characters become birds, as in Australian, or American-Indian, or South American folk-tales. One form of such sacrifice is exposure of the royal maiden to a monster, (Andromeda and Hesione). That is pure *märchen*, and is no proof of such a custom in pre-historic Greece or at Troy. The *märchen* is carried on into pseudo-historic legend.

The other human sacrifices are done in obedience to the command of an oracle, so that some curse on the country may be removed. But in the famous Minyan case of Phrixus, Hellê, and the Ram,[17] (whether his fleece was golden or purple, or merely white), in my earliest excursion into these fields[18] I showed that the Phrixus story is the saga form of the world-wide folk-tale of children with a ram, lamb, or other friendly animal, fleeing, *not* from sacrifice, but from cannibalism. The modern Epirote

[17] See Phrixus in Roscher's *Lexikon*.

[18] "Mythology and Fairy Tales," *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1873.

variant *Asterinos and Pulja* is in Von Hahn[19]; the Samoyed, with beaver for ram, in Castrén.[20]

The Greeks merely adapted the *märchen* to certain names,—(Hellê is simply, as Seeliger says, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, the eponymous heroine of the Hellespont),—and to certain places, which were localised variously as geographical knowledge widened. For cannibalism the Greeks substituted human sacrifice in some great need of the State. It is in Attic myth that the story is constantly repeated, like a formula of *märchen*. I cannot deny that the idea was much present to the ancient story-tellers who converted *märchen* into saga or pseudo-history; but I agree with Miss Harrison, as already quoted, that "it may be doubted whether we have any certain evidence of 'human sacrifice' among the Greeks even of mythological days."

Again, it was customary for classical antiquaries to explain various rites as offerings of "surrogates," or sacrifices for human victims.

One case of such an ætiological myth is notorious. We know the *oscilla*, masks of human faces, which in parts of Italy were suspended on fruit trees and vines.[21] The old antiquaries of Rome explained these masks as substitutes for heads of human victims, which the Dodona oracle bade the Pelasgians offer to Saturn (Kronos). For the story of an oracle older than Heracles' time they quoted L. Manilius, who saw the oracle inscribed on a tripod. It contains Latin words, "the *Saturnian* laws," "the *aborigines*," and is a clumsy forgery.

Meanwhile, Mr. Stephen Ponder points out to me that Maori chiefs of old hung their own portrait masks (*rahui*), with their own well-known tattooing, in each case, about

[19] *Griechische und Albänische Märchen.*

[20] *Ethnologische Vorlesungen über die altaischen Völker etc.*

[21] Virgil, *Georgics*, ii. 389, and see examples in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, *s.v.* Oscilla.

their own grounds as a mark of ownership,—and of tabooed soil, I presume. "Trespassers, beware!" that was the meaning.

Miss Harrison also[22] quotes savage masks whose function is permanently "to make an ugly face" at you if you are robbing a neighbour or his orchard. Miss Harrison is not discussing *oscilla*, but I think that she and Mr. Ponder have hit on a more probable explanation of *oscilla* than that which Mr. Cook shares with L. Manilius and other Roman antiquaries. Mr. Cook holds, with them, that the masks are evidence of human sacrifice in the past.[23]

The forged oracle in Pelasgian Greek and Latin, more ancient than Heracles, was also used to explain the *Argei*, or straw puppets, thrown over the Sublician bridge at Rome. They were originally men offered, on the demand of the same forged oracle, to Saturn. In the case of the puppets, the presence of the wife of the Flamen Dialis, mourning, *may* indicate that the Latins once drowned men, as the Trojans drowned horses, to propitiate their river.

Now I hope that I have made my position, the shadowy nature of mythological evidence for Greek human sacrifices to gods, clear enough to procure suspended judgment, or even a verdict of "not proven."

Returning to Minoan Crete, we have had no proof of human sacrifices in that isle in prehistoric times. But that topic, with the whole theory that the Minotaur was the king, or prince, of Knossos embodying the god of the sun, the sky, the stars, and the oak tree, and that, masked as a bull, he, or his son, fought every nine years for his rights and his life (Mr. Cook's view), or was butchered in a cave, while another man came out in the same mask (Mr. Murray's view), cannot be dealt with in our space. Meanwhile, let the reader ask himself, "Was the arrangement likely to be submitted to by the wealthy and powerful monarch of a highly-civilized state, in touch

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 138. [23] *The Classical Review*, vol. xvii., pp. 269-70.

with the Egypt of the sixteenth century B.C.?" The solitary historical example of kings who, at the end of twelve years, had to commit suicide, is that of Calicut, but there the king (a vassal or subject prince) adopted measures which secured his safety before 1683.[24] Not a hint of any such measures occurs in Greek tradition. I have not read that this king of Calicut was looked on as an embodiment of such a deity as the Zeus of the Greeks.

Again, in the Attic fable, Theseus, after slaying the Minotaur, does not succeed to the rights of the Crown Prince in Knossos. He simply sails away.

Finally, the whole theory that the Minotaur has to do battle for his life and rights at stated periods, rests solely on one line of the *Odyssey*, in which, whatever Homer means to say, he certainly says not a word about any such contest. The line is *Odyssey*, xix. 179; it runs, being interpreted, "Cnossos, and there Minos reigned ἐννέωρος, he who spake face to face with (or was the comrade of) great Zeus."

The meaning of the word ἐννέωρος in this passage is unknown. If we translate it "Minos ruled in periods of nine years," or "Minos conversed with Zeus every nine years," we get a recurrent period. Mr. Cook holds that at these periods the son of Minos fought for his crown. Mr. Murray holds that Minos himself, wearing a bull's mask or *protomê*, was butchered in the Dictæan cave. If you consult Mr. Monro's edition of the *Odyssey*, you will find that he knows not how to interpret the passage. You will get no more satisfaction from another great scholar, A. Ludwig, in his essay on Minos (Prague, 1903). Ludwig equates Minos with the German *Mannus*, and thinks him a purely mythical being.

In short, as Professor Burrows, Dr. Hawes, and other scholars see, the possible historic fact in the Attic myth

[24] Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 293-296.

of Theseus and the Minotaur is the sending of Attic captives into the Cretan bull-ring (*taurokathapsia*), where boy and girl acrobats, on foot, played perilous tricks with bulls, as often depicted in Cretan art. The rest of the myth is a common *märchen* localised.

I have tried to keep the discussion within the limits of *Folk-Lore* and of historic fact, and am dealing elsewhere with other elements in Mr. Cook's system. For example, the late Cretan explanation that Athens had to provide young people, in revenge for the death of Androgeos, as prizes at periodical games at Knossos, cannot be earlier than the non-Homeric institution of games *at fixed periods*. No evidence, I think, is produced (as in the case of Dodona) for such games at Knossos. Again, the passage cited from Diodorus, in proof that Kings of Egypt did wear bestial masks, is a mere ætiological myth to explain the Odyssean story of Proteus. He, said the Egyptian priests, was a King of Egypt, and such kings wore trees and fire on their heads, as well as bestial masks. This is absurd: they only wore the golden uræus-snake of Royalty.

The Attic Theseus story is but a world-wide *märchen*, coloured, probably by a memory of the sports in the bull-ring, (at which captives may have been the performers), and perhaps by representations in art of men with bovine heads. From such figures it is a far cry to inferences about the king as an embodiment of an universal god, and as fighting, in person, or in the person of his son, for his life and crown. A far cry, too, it is to the sacred wedding of the Queen with a Bull-god. If such a rite in any place occurred, it was at Athens. The Athenians would understand that the affair was mystic and symbolic, not abominable. But it is the Athenians, not the Achæan poet, Homer, who degrade the whole kith and kin of Minos by the most disgusting inventions, including the birth of the Minotaur. These tales, *inter*

Christianos non nominanda, may be read in the articles on "Minos" and "Minotaur" in Roscher's *Lexikon*. The article on Homer's stainless Achilles illustrates even more powerfully the horrors with which historic Greece defiled the memories of the heroes of the conquering Achæans; against whom the later Greeks, descendants, mainly, of a conquered population, entertained an undying grudge. It survives in the *Troilus and Cressida* of Shakespeare.

A. LANG.

THE FORCE OF INITIATIVE IN MAGICAL CONFLICT.

BY W. R. HALLIDAY.

ALL magic is in a sense a conflict. It is not, however, with the machinery of this conflict, nor with the weapons with which it is carried on, that we are here concerned, but rather with the deeper causes of victory or defeat. The result of reflection on the relation between sorcerer and victim, witch and bewitched, and an examination of the psychological presuppositions on which are based their success or failure, may, perhaps, prove of some interest and even importance in connection with the general question of the basis of magical efficacy; and at the outset, in view of the vexed controversy in which the larger question is involved, some declaration of creed may be thought necessary. Certain views, at any rate, I must put forward as briefly as possible, more or less after the manner of postulates deprived by lack of space of the justification which, in some cases, they may seem to require.

It is now widely admitted by anthropologists that magic is based on power. A rite which has efficacy *in se* is exactly analogous to a word of power. It is by his power or *mana* that the sorcerer or medicine-man works his will. But it is important to notice that in the lower culture the sorcerer's power differs not so much in kind as in degree from that of the ordinary man. Everyone has some power, some personality. For example, on the Rio Grande people are warned not to leave their hair clippings about, not because an enemy might make magical use of them, but

for fear that they should do harm to others,[1] and, in the East, Ahura Mazda advises mankind in much the same fashion.[2] Again, it is the sick and weak that witchcraft easiest attacks. Infants before baptism, *i.e.* before they have a spiritual personality, are easy victims to dangers which have no power to harm adults. The evil eye most easily assails infants, animals, and young animals.[3] Adults possess a power which, if alert, will serve for their defence. In Apuleius' story of Thelyphron (*Metamorphoses*, ii. 21), if the watcher of the corpse relaxed his attention, the body was mutilated by witches, but so long as he kept awake all was well. This innate power in every grown human being is a motive for the secrecy of magic. The ideal plan presumably is to work magic secretly, and then let your enemy know that you have done it and he will die of fright. In any case, if the aggressor's *mana* is not strong enough for a direct attack, he effects by secrecy a breach in the enemy's defence. He secures, unknown, his image or his hair; he takes him off his guard. When the Iroquois goes hunting, his *orenda* conquers the *orenda* of his quarry.[4] A similar conflict underlies all magical usage. The existence of a modicum of power in every human being of necessity implies it.

Now the so-called sympathetic magic is based, not on a supposed axiomatic law that like causes like, but on the contagion of qualities. But qualities are, as it were, *mana* specialised, and the belief in the contagious infection of qualities is but an extension of the belief that *mana* affects that with which it is brought into contact. The wide area of personality as it is conceived in the Lower Culture

[1] Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii., p. 68, note 5.

[2] Reinach, *Orpheus*, p. 99.

[3] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conv.*, v. 7; Virgil, *Eclogues*, iii. 103; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 9-10; Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 4, 10-12.

[4] Hewitt, *American Anthropologist*, N.S. vol. iv., p. 38.

enables persons quite easily to be united, or brought into contact, with power. Modes of contact for example are,—seeing, touching, spitting on, speaking to, the use of hair, fæces, images, or name, the giving of presents, and, in some cases, the payment of money. Union or contact with power is the foundation of magic, and in religion communion with the divinity is the basic idea: sacrifice has ultimately, as its *raison d'être*, the bringing into contact of worshipper and God.[5] The agent brings himself voluntarily into contact or union with a beneficent power, as, for example, in the cases of union with the healing well or sacred tree.[6] Further, of course, this union may be effected for the benefit of someone by a third party. Thus Tûm, Safekht, and Thoth inscribe the name of Rameses II. on the sacred tree of Heliopolis, thereby endowing him with eternal life.[7]

But magic, no less than religion, is based on this notion of contact or union. The medicine man can add to his *mana*. The possession of the *kin* gives the Australian the magic power which is in them; the power of the *migis* passes to the Mide into whom it is shot. By eating a dead enemy you may add his power to your own. The religious sacrament is to some extent a self-surrender. There contact with a stronger power is undertaken, but the power is known to be beneficent; in union the worshipper is absorbed, but not annihilated, by the divinity. But, in the case of the accumulation of *mana*, the power is absorbed by the stronger party. When Isis knew Ra by his name, the god's power passed into the goddess. Thus, magical encounter is at once a union and a conflict. For union is fatal to that party whose identity is absorbed by

[5] Messrs. Hubert and Mauss have made it clear that the main function of sacrifice is to bring into union God and worshipper. The ritual of sacrifice primarily exists for the purpose of minimising the risk attendant on the contact of sacred and profane. Cf. "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice," *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions*, pp. 1-130.

[6] Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii.

[7] Clodd, *Tom Tit Tot*, p. 160, (quoting Wiedemann).

the other. That is why failure is fatal to ogres. The Sirens must die when Odysseus passes in safety; the Sphinx, when her riddle has been answered, is doomed. In the case of witchcraft, again, may be seen how, beneath the conflict, lies still the idea of union,—the victim simply by being bewitched becomes part of the witch's personality. The regular charm against witchcraft is to attack the witch by sympathetic magic; it is noticeable that part of the victim is in this process as efficacious an instrument as the excreta of the witch. For example, a Somerset farmer cut off the ears of his bewitched cattle and burned them, "that the Witch should be in misery, and could not rest till they were pluck'd out."[8] Glanvill narrates of another house where the furniture was bewitched "which they of the house being fully persuaded of, roasted a Bedstaff, upon which an old Woman, a suspected Witch, came to the House."[9]

Magic then might almost be expressed as a conflict of wills. Powers or personalities are brought into contact, with the result that the identity of one party is absorbed or annihilated by the other. In the simple case of the accumulation of *mana* by the medicine-man, the power of the conquered enemy becomes, in the eating, *ipso facto* the power of the victor. The stronger absorbs the weaker. My object here is to suggest that throughout magical conflict this holds good and the stronger party wins. The aggressor, the party who takes the initiative, who recognises the seriousness of the conflict and acts with intention, is the winner; failure is of the weaker party, who is taken unawares, who gives himself away, who allows the enemy to get an advantage.

Let us take, first, the effect produced by very great *mana* on that with which it comes into contact. Contact with

[8] Glanvill, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, 4th ed. p. 327. (Trial of Julian Cox at Taunton, 1663.)

[9] Glanvill, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

persons highly charged with *mana* may be beneficial or highly dangerous. When Arise Evans rubbed his fungous nose on Charles II.'s hand, the king, we read, was disturbed, but the patient was cured.[10] The relics of saints have been known to effect cures by their intrinsic holiness.[11] But at the same time this awful power was not lightly to be approached. Great power may be hurtful as well as beneficial to that with which it comes in contact. In Bechuanaland *molemo* means poison as well as medicine,[12] and the Gorgon's blood was powerful to heal or kill.[13] Eurypylos, son of Euaemon, received a chest among the spoils of Ilium which fell to his share; inside it was an image of Dionysos. No sooner did he look inside and see the image, than he went out of his mind.[14] On the return of the ark from the Philistines, the Lord "smote the men of Beth-shemesh, because they had looked into the ark of the Lord, even he smote of the people fifty thousand and three-score and ten men. And the men of Beth-shemesh said, Who is able to stand before this holy Lord God? and to whom shall he go up from us?"[15] And, as David brought the ark in solemn procession to his new capital, Uzzah, one of the drivers of the cart, "put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God."[16] A Samoan high priest's glance was so deadly that, if he looked at a coco-nut tree, it died, and, if he

[10] Aubrey, *Miscellanies*, (1st ed., 1696), p. 101.

[11] Cf. St. Paul's handkerchiefs, *The Acts*, c. xix., v. 12.

[12] Frazer, *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor etc.*, p. 161, note 4. Cf. Servius on *malum virus*, *Georgic* i. 129.

[13] Euripides, *Ion*, 1010-1015, *Apollodoros*, iii., 10. 3. 9.

[14] Pausanias, vii. 19. 7.

[15] I. *Samuel*, c. vi., v. 19-20.

[16] II. *Samuel*, c. vi., v. 6-7.

glanced at a bread-fruit tree, it withered away.[17] The holiness of Rabbi Juda of rabbinical tradition blasted four-and-twenty of his scholars in a single day.[18] Thus it is that the superman of the Lower Culture is hedged about with taboos. Of course, you must protect the External Soul of the community from possibility of harm, but you must also protect his subjects from the awful consequences of unwary and accidental contact with his supreme sanctity.

Now, if we ask when or under what circumstances is contact with very great *mana* beneficial and when is it dangerous, it is possible, I believe, to diagnose the general feeling which underlies the distinction. If we take the case of Rabbi Juda, an analogy may be witnessed in the relations of more modern teachers to their pupils. A person of strong character may stimulate or crush that of his pupils in proportion as their own *mana* is strong enough to benefit by the influence or weak enough to lose entirely its own independence. It is the utter disproportion of the two *manas* which is fatal to the smaller. "Who is able to stand before this holy Lord God?" Moses may not see the face of Jahwe; "he said, Thou canst not see my face; for there shall no man see me, and live."[19] To come into contact with *mana* without disaster and even with beneficial results, it is necessary that your own *mana* should be sufficiently strong to bear it. Your intention, the seriousness of your attitude, your courage, or the sanction given by the performance of certain rites are essential. Thus, for example, the danger of blasphemy lies in the levity with which Power is approached. In Lincolnshire "old fashioned people at the end of the last century [*i.e.*

[17] Turner, *Samoa etc.*, p. 23, quoted Hartland, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 144; cf. Clodd, *Tom Tit Tot*, p. 52.

[18] Hartland, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 144.

[19] *Exodus*, c. xxxiii., v. 20.

the 18th] used to make it a matter of conscience when they read *Holy Scripture, or talked on religious subjects*, to speak of the devil; but when they had occasion to use the word in oaths, or in talk of a lighter sort, they were careful to say *Divil*."[20] The development of this double aspect of *mana* into the ordeal of itself bears witness to the deep-rooted feeling that the intention or the attitude of mind of the person who comes into contact with great power is of the most vital importance.

We have seen then that contact with *mana* may kill or cure, and that, on occasions where the contact is accidental and the agent lacking in seriousness of intention, the result is liable to be fatal. There are, indeed, two ways of dealing with hostile magic powers: (1) to avoid the possibility of contact, to conceal your name, to keep silence, to keep still, to conceal carefully the fragments of your clothing, hair, nails, etc.: (2), if contact is unavoidable, to get the upper hand by taking the initiative, by anticipating the contact, by asserting your own *mana*. Unless the victim gives himself away his *mana* will suffice for defence, and the enemy has no power over him. Here lies the basis of responsibility in temptation and the ruses by which victims are entrapped into giving themselves into the enemy's hands. Fairies could not seize any victim they chose; it was only those who went to sleep under a rock or on a green hill after sunset, or those who joined voluntarily in their revels or entered the fairy circle. If some adventurous wight penetrates to the land of the dead, to the realm of Faerie or to Hell, his return can only be prevented if he is unwary enough to eat pomegranate seeds, sit in the chair of Lethe, play on a demoniac bagpipe, consume the repast offered him, pluck a flower there growing, or perform some similar act of aggregation. Had True Thomas eaten the fruit, the Queen of the

[20] Gutch and Peacock, *County Folklore*, vol. v. (Lincolnshire), p. 66.

Middle Kingdom could not have sent him back to earth.

He pressed to pulle fruyt with his hand
As man for faute that was faynt:
She seyd, Thomas, lat al stand
Or els the deuyl wil the ataynt.[21]

Compliance is fatal. The Butler in Glanvill's eighteenth relation is warned "Do nothing this Company invites you to."[22] Those who obeyed the magic voice which murmured in their ear,—"Thou art a handsome youth, a handsome youth. Only look in the glass," put themselves by compliance into the enemy's hand.[23] Similarly, thoughtless invitation of evil powers is fatal.

"But I had not the power to come to thy bower
Had'st thou not conjured me so,"

says the lover's ghost to his mistress in one of Sir W. Scott's poems.[24] And the result of thoughtless imprecation is recognised all the world over. An irate Malay mother once exclaimed to her naughty boy,—"May the 'Toh Kramat Kamarong fly away with him." Next day the boy disappeared, and three days later 'Toh Kamarong appeared to her in a dream and told her that he had taken him off.[25] "Deevil," cried the witch of Mucklestane Moor, incensed at the obstinacy of the geese, which she was trying to drive, "that neither I nor they ever stir from this spot more." She and her flock turned immediately to stones, which remain to this day.[26] Among the Chukchi, "if a herdsman, angered with his flocks for their restlessness,

[21] Appendix to Thomas the Rhymer, I, in Sir W. Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (Edinburgh 1853), vol. iv., pp. 122 *et seq.*

[22] Glanvill, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

[23] Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. iii., p. 102.

[24] "The Eve of St. John," Scott's *Poetical works* (Lansdowne Poets), p. 348.

[25] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 70.

[26] Sir W. Scott, *Black Dwarf*, c. ii.

should say to them "Let the wolves eat you," as is usual with the reindeer Chukchi, he is considered to have promised his entire flock to the kêlat, to whom the wolves are said to be akin, and the promise must be redeemed by slaying several of his best animals."[27]

In possession by the Devil is to be found just the same responsibility on the part of the victim. He must have let the fiend within the circle of his defence. He must have put himself in the weaker position. The disciples suppose that an unfortunate cured by Jesus must have committed in his own person or that of his parents some grievous sin. So those who omit obvious precautions are liable to possession. "A Nunne did eat a lettice without grace or signing it with the signe of the cross, and was instantly possessed (sine cruce atque sanctificatione sic a demone obsessa. dial. Greg. pap. cap 9). Durand, lib 6. Rational. cap. 86. num. 8, relates that hee saw a wench possessed in Bononia with two Divells by eating an unhallowed Pomegranet, as she did afterwards confess, when she was cured by exorcismes."[28] Exactly analogous is the case of the savage who leaves his fragments lying about. His carelessness puts him in the weaker position. It is his own fault that his enemy can come to close quarters with him. The case of the name is particularly instructive from our point of view. Of course, it is dangerous to let people get hold of your name, which they can use as easily as a piece of your clothes as an instrument of secret magic for your undoing. But the most fatal thing of all is to tell your name yourself. "In the west of Ireland," says Dr.

[27] Bogoras, "The Chukchi of Northeastern Asia," *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. iii., p. 106. For further examples cf. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. iii., pp. 120-122, 124; Heywood, *Ensamples of Fra Filippo*, pp. 282-283; *The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles*, (translated from Spanish of Anthonio de Torquemada, London, 1600), fol. 63; *Gesta Romanorum*, clxii., "Of avoiding imprecations"; Gervase of Tilbury, ap. Scott, *Minstrelsy of Scottish Border*, vol. iv., pp. 220-271.

[28] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, part 1., sect. 2, memb. 1, sub. 2.

Haddon, "and in Torres Straits people have refused to tell me their names, though there was no objection to someone else giving me the information."[29] Mr. Clodd quotes examples of a similar feeling as prevalent in British Çolumbia, among the Abipones of S. America, the Fiji Islanders, the North American Indians, and the Negroes of Trinidad.[30] Here obviously stress is laid on the danger consequent on the *act of giving yourself away.*

We see then that, if you are weak enough to put yourself in the worse position and give the enemy a point of vantage by carelessness or compliance, you are more or less at his mercy.

It is fatal to put yourself in the weaker position, and the converse holds good. If you know that a person is a suspicious character, the best thing to do is to take the bull by the horns.

> ὁππότε κεν Κίρκη σ' ἐλάσῃ περιμήκεϊ ῥάβδῳ,
> δὴ τότε σὺ ξίφος ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ
> Κίρκῃ ἐπαΐξαι ὥς τε κτάμεναι μενεαίνων.[31]

Bogies are powerless before the lad who didn't know what fear was.[32] There is no need to quote all the examples of the Proteus type of story and that of the victory of a human warrior over a ghostly enemy. Against courage metamorphosis avails not, and to a Jacob or an Osbert spirit antagonists are forced to yield. He who has courage to rush upon a fairy festival and snatch from them their drinking cup or horn will find it prove to him a cornucopia of fortune.[33]

The secret of success is to be the aggressor, to assert

[29] Haddon, *Magic and Fetichism*, p. 22.

[30] Clodd, *Tom Tit Tot*, pp. 82, 84-85, 87.

[31] Homer, *Odyssey*, x., 293.

[32] Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, 4, 121, 193, 195; cf. Croker, "The Legend of Knocksheogow," *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 1-10.

[33] Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. ii., p. 276.

your power; to secure the upper hand and to keep it is of vital importance. Michael Scott was obliged to keep his familiar under control by ceaseless employment. After making him bridge the Tweed and split the Eildon Hills, the magician hit on the ingenious device of setting him to the manufacture of ropes of sand.[34] Loss of faith or of courage means failure, if not disaster. For the success of a charm two brothers sent to fetch magic water are enjoined "nocht to speir ane word all the way, and quhat euir they hard or saw nawayis to be affrayed: saying, it micht be that thai wold heir grit rumbling and sie uncouth feirfull apparitiones, but nathing suld annoy thame."[35] Mr. Hartland mentions a certain John Gethin who was overcome with fright on raising the Devil, and so put himself into the enemy's power. A fight ensued between the Devil and Gethin's bolder companion, and the unfortunate man was rescued after being nearly torn in two.[36] When St. Peter walked on the sea, so soon as he began to be afraid he began to sink. Fear was fatal to the man who saw Heracles and Cerberus.

> tria qui timidus, medio portante catenas,
> colla canis vidit; quem non pavor ante reliquit,
> quam natura prior, saxo per corpus oborto.[37]

Again, the principle that victory goes to the party which puts itself in the stronger position is very clearly brought out in cases where speaking is the mode of contact. A few examples may be quoted from Mr. Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*. In a German tale, the hero, returning with a branch of the Tree with the Golden Fruits, hears someone calling him, and turning to reply becomes a pillar of salt. This fate also overtakes his eldest sister, but the younger

[34] Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, note 18.

[35] Dalyell, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[36] Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii., p. 105.

[37] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, x., 65.

resists the temptation to answer and restores her brother and sister with the Leaping Water.[38] In the Kabyle story of the children and the bat, the brothers, one after the other, are sent to find the bat. "What wild beast comes here?" asks the bat from the top of the tree. "Go to sleep, old head," answers each lad, with the result that the bat changes their guns to pieces of wood, and renders each of them in turn "microscopic." Their sister is more circumspect; she does not answer the bat, but waits until it is asleep, climbs the tree, seizes the bat creature, and compels it to restore her brothers. In a story from Mirzapur, those who answer when addressed by the nightingale are turned to stone.[39] A Lincolnshire man whose wife was bewitched went out to gather "wicken." "On the way he met a woman belonging to the village, who said, "Mr. W——, what time is it?" but he would not reply, because he knew it was the witch."[40] It is very dangerous to answer questions addressed to you by strangers or suspicious persons.[41] But sometimes Greek meets Greek. In another story, a Moor, who finds the second brother stretched on the grass, asks him,—"What do you want here?" He replies "Nothing." The Moor spits on him, and turns him to stone. The youngest brother, when confronted with the Moor, replies with *another question*,—"What are all these many stones I see around me?" The Moor answers that they were men whom his spittle had turned to stone, and threatens him with the same fate. Thereupon the magic nightingale with which the hero was returning began to sing, and

[38] Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. iii., p. 97.

[39] Hartland, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 97.

[40] *County Folklore*, vol. v. (Lincolnshire), p. 99.

[41] *e.g.* at night when evil spirits are about, (Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, pp. 140, 201, 365), or on your marriage day, when enemies may seek to cast a spell, (Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 290).

the Moor fell down upon the ground a heap of ashes.[42] The Moor, like his former victims, had put himself in the weaker position by answering a question. To this necessity for getting the upper hand in a verbal encounter may be traced the formal acceptance of omens in classical antiquity. The omen is ratified by acceptance, and the fatal word can thus be made sure, even in a sense which is contrary to the speaker's intention. For example, the Spartans, on the advice of Delphi, sent an envoy to Xerxes, to demand justice for the murder of Leonidas. After hearing the complaint, Xerxes turned to Mardonios, who was standing by, and uttered the fatal words, "τοιγάρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἵας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει." The envoy accepted the omen, and departed.[43] The victory again goes to the party who is astute enough to take the offensive.[44]

Now there is a class of rites in which contact with a dangerous power is deliberately anticipated in order to secure safety or to annul harm magically inflicted by that power. For example, there are those ford rites in which the traveller throws in some articles of small value, spits in the stream, washes his hands, or takes a ceremonial sip before braving the danger of crossing. Peruvians, Indians of the Cordilleras, Sinhalese, Zulus, Bantus, and Badagas of the Neilgherry Hills observe one or other of these forms of ritual.[45] Hesiod warns the traveller against crossing

[42] Hartland, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 101.

[43] Herodotus, viii. 115. For other examples of the formal acceptance of omens, cf. Herodotus, viii. 137, ix. 91, i. 63; Cicero *De Div.*, i. 46, 103; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 306 C. So the technical word for the ceremony of averting an omen implies refusal. Of Hippias we are told, ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν, ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπὴν ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾷ, (Herod., v. 56).

[44] Cf. the story in Herodotus, viii. 137. Perdikkas' acceptance of the opportunity is contrasted with his brother's dulness of apprehension.

[45] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 210; Hildburgh, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute etc.*, vol. xxxviii., p. 189; Frazer, in *Anthropological Essays etc.*, pp. 140–141.

a river without washing his hands in its waters.[46] By effecting a contact with the power of the water, you prevent its harming you. Again, a wounded man, who might cause the Zulu cattle to milk blood, is given to drink the parboiled entrails of a young heifer.[47] Among the Bechuanas a woman, whose husband is dead, must boil her food in a mixture of milk taken from every cow in the herd, and must smear herself with dung from the cattle pens, in order to avert the danger to the cattle consequent on contact with her.[48] In the Highlands a stranger suspected of overlooking a cow is made to drink some of her milk.[49] In Melanesia a madman is supposed to be afflicted by an angry *tindalo*. In such a case "they will put bits of the fringe of the mat which has belonged to the deceased," (i.e. the man whose ghost has become the *tindalo* in question), "into a coco-nut shell and burn it under the nose of the possessed."[50] Mr. Crawley has drawn attention to what he calls "Inoculation"[51] in the Lower Culture. "Inoculation," he says, "is the avoiding of the dangers of taboo by boldly courting them; taboo is minimised by breaking it."[52] Zulus apply the principles of homœopathic medicine, eating in the case of sickness the flesh of animals supposed to be the cause of the disease; among the same people things struck by lightning are held to have the power of lightning. With these witch-doctors inoculate themselves, and priests sometimes make the people eat an ox that has been struck by lightning.[53] A Zulu, before crossing a river full of crocodiles, will chew crocodiles' excrement and spatter it over his person.

[46] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 737-741.

[47] Frazer, *loc. cit.*, p. 158.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[49] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 9.

[50] Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 219.

[51] Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 81 *et seq.*, 236 *et seq.*, 308 *et seq.*, 371 *et seq.*

[52] Crawley, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

[53] Crawley, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

In West Africa,[54] and among the Nandi,[55] the blood of a slain enemy was drunk, and in New Britain it is believed that if you eat your enemy his friends cannot do you hurt.[56] "About two years ago a coroner's inquest was held at Kirton-in-Lindsey, and it was noticed as very strange that one of the jurors did not touch the corpse. It appears that it is held that everyone who has had occasion to see a dead body, whether it be that of a relative, a friend, or a stranger, should not leave it without laying his hand on the body; if he does not do so he will be haunted by the spirit of the departed, or at least suffer from his presence in evil dreams."[57] Kaffirs rub their eyes with a piece of the lion's skin before they venture to look at his dead body;[58] Africans, "in passing through a country where leopards and lions abound," "carefully provide themselves with the claws, teeth, lips, and whiskers of those animals, and hang them round their necks to secure themselves against being attacked. For the same purpose the point of an elephant's trunk is generally worn by elephant-hunters."[59] The Sinhalese, to protect themselves from snakebite, wear a picture of the king of the cobras tattooed on their arm, recite a mantra which identifies them with the serpent king, or carry a jewel which is supposed to be a serpent stone. Similarly, since smallpox appears in tiger form, parts of tigers are efficient amulets against it.[60] One method of gathering

[54] Crawley, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[55] Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 27. It is washed off the spears, and drunk by the slayer.

[56] Crawley, *loc. cit.*

[57] *County Folklore*, vol. v. (Lincolnshire), p. 142.

[58] Arbousset, 214, (Crawley, *loc. cit.*)

[59] Haddon, *Magic and Fetichism*, p. 32.

[60] Hildburgh, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute etc.*, vol. xxxviii., pp. 187-8. Cf. Cornish charms, the milpreve, the snake-stone ring, or the body of a dead snake bruised on the wound, Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 2nd S., p. 215.

the herb Baharas is thus described by the author of the Spanish Mandeville. "Neither can it be found, unlesse you first cast upon it" a certain liquid, "poured downe all at once upon it, which beeing done, it discovereth it selfe presently to the viewe of those that seeke it, who die at the very instant, unlesse they have a *peece of the roote of the same herbe gathered before*, bound to theyr arme, having which, they remaine secure, & may gather it without any perrill or danger."[61]

Now Mr. Crawley's *Inoculation* seems to me an unfortunate and perhaps misleading description of these kinds of practices. Inoculation necessitates a mild attack of the disease. But, as a matter of fact, I have not come across any example in which there seems any ground for supposing the motive suggested by Mr. Crawley to be really present. The object is not to "avoid the dangers of taboo by boldly courting them," but to avoid the dangers entirely. There is no desire to court them even as a precautionary measure. For example, when the Nandi warrior washes the blood off his spear and drinks it, his object is to get rid of the dead man altogether; an inoculation theory would seem to demand as his object the voluntary submission to an unpleasant interview with the ghost instead of a necessary and dangerous one. The efficacy of these practices lies, I believe, in that feeling, that victory goes to the aggressor in magical conflict, with which we have been dealing. The fact that you *deliberately* unite yourself to the evil power gives you the whip hand. The wild dogs of the jungle are considered by the Malays to be the "ghost" dogs of the Spectral Huntsman. They are regarded as most dangerous to meet, for, according to a Malay informant, "if they bark at us, we shall assuredly die where we stand and shall not be able to return home; if, however, we see them and bark at them before they

[61] *The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles*, fol. 38.

bark at us, we shall not be affected by them. Therefore do all Malays give tongue when they meet the wild dog in the forest."[62] It is the same with the classical superstition about the wolf:

> Nunc oblita mihi tot carmina: vox quoque Moerim
> Jam fugit ipsa: lupi Moerim videre priores.[63]

It is priority of action and initiative which constitutes the success of the man who seeks safety in a voluntary contact with a dangerous power.

But, further, this deliberate contact with the dangerous power may be efficacious as a charm when the victim has already been bewitched. This is the original basis of the medical practice which is inspired by the belief "similia similibus curantur." The idea of transference, which is advocated by Messrs. Hubert and Mauss,[64] is here, I am convinced, a later development, just as it is a later development in the case of the rites attaching to a sacred well and tree.[65] A few examples will suffice. A large number of the charms against the evil eye consist of the wearing of amulets which take the form of the dangerous power. An effective method of dealing with witchcraft is to employ those very modes of contact which witchcraft itself uses. Thus you may spit upon the witch. After quoting examples from Russia, Corsica, and classical antiquity, Mr. Hartland continues,—"The intention here is by spitting on the evil thing so to bring it on your side as to prevent its doing you any ill." In Italy a successful charm is to fling the dust of the witch's footprint over the person or cattle bewitched. The Persians scrape mud from the sorcerer's shoes, and

[62] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 183, note 2.

[63] Virgil, *Eclogues*, ix. 53; cf. Plato, *Republic*, 336 d.; Theokritos, xiv. 22; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 22 (34).

[64] Hubert et Mauss, *L'Année Sociologique*, vol. vii.

[65] Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii., pp. 146 *et seq.*, 214 *et seq.*

rub the part affected.[66] Again, you may drink the witch's blood as "a means of destroying her witchcraft, and doubtless for the same reason: it united her with her victim."[67]

In all these cases the charm consists in setting up a fresh union. We have to ask why they are successful; why is it that, when the witch touches you, you are the victim, and that, when you drink her blood, you are the victor? The only possible answer lies surely in the feeling, which we have been trying to demonstrate, that victory lies with the party who takes the initiative. For, as we urged above, magical contact is a union in which one party is absorbed. The victim becomes part of the witch, and successful charming means the annihilation of the sorcerer. As the Cherokee poetically puts it, the object of a charm is "to shorten a night goer on this side."[68] When two powers are brought together in magical contact, one or other of them must become subordinated, and lose its separate existence. The reason why spitting on the evil thing "brings it on your side" is because you make the attack. If a case of witchcraft and charming is analysed, it will be seen that there are no remedial measures in magical conflict; it is all a matter of attack and counter-attack. A witch overlooks a farmer's animals. The charm is retaliation and an attack on the witch; the farmer burns the beast's ears in the fire. To counteract this, the witch has to endeavour to set up a fresh connection; she will come round and try to borrow something. In dealing with magical powers the motto of the successful man is *toujours l'audace.* It will hardly be denied that the implicit psychology of magical conflict, which gives the

[66] Hartland, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 272-3.

[67] Hartland, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 244.

[68] Mooney, "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," in *Seventh Annual Report of American Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 384.

victory to initiative, to aggression, to assertion of the will, is a tacit recognition of the efficacy of power. It is important, then, as evidence that power is the presupposition which underlies, not merely the wonder-working of the sorcerer, but all sympathetic magic. But the cogency of this kind of evidence may perhaps be called in question,—though not, I believe, with reason,—as being of too fanciful a nature. To regard magic as a formal abstract science was a mistake that has led us far astray. It must always be remembered that in magic, as in religion, we have persons acting under the stress of passion, or in a highly strung, tense, emotional state. Like religion, magic is the field, not of rational consideration, but of belief or faith. Its forms must not be mistaken for the content of its efficacy. It is to the emotions with which its formulæ are regarded by agent and victim that we must have recourse in order to understand the belief in its efficacy. The mediæval scientist, for example, was feared by the ignorant as a sorcerer precisely because it was believed that he was able to violate the laws of causality by some mysterious power of his own, or with the aid of devils, not because the categories of similarity and identity were confused. It is not the possession of knowledge, but the supposed character of the knowledge he possesses, that clothes the sorcerer with awe and fear.

The apotheosis of ritual at the hands of anthropologists has not been altogether fortunate in its results. It is true that the recognition of the value of ritual as the most concrete kind of evidence at the disposal of the student of religions was a valuable discovery, but the consequent neglect of the psychology of the persons for whom ritual was but an instrument, and in the last resort but a distinctive mode for the adequate expression of their emotions and purposes, has created many difficulties and misunderstandings. For, indeed, to attribute the basis

of magical efficacy purely to the form of its ritual would be an error analogous to that of attributing the spirit and efficacy of the poet to the rules of prosody or to the "Gradus ad Parnassum." In magic, as in poetry, there is the perpetual interreaction of form and meaning, due to the fact that the analysis of the form of the mode of expression belongs to a later date than its creation. But in magic and religion the apotheosis of form leads to sterility, and for further advance there is a cast back to the reapplication of fundamental notions.

To get at these fundamental notions we must take account of the factor of the mental state of the agent, as well as of the content of the forms in which he expresses it, and, before any clear and proper notion of magic and religion is to be obtained, much of the ground, on which imposing structures of the schematism of ritual have been built, must, I am convinced, be cleared. Let me take as an example those laws of contact and contiguity which sympathetic magic is said to employ. Here is a misapprehension arising simply from the neglect of the psychology of human nature, and resulting in the gift of a false appearance of system to that which is not systematized. There are no *laws* in question at all. The conception of personality in the Lower Culture is but little more vague in its extent than our own.

"A clod,—a piece of orange peel,—
An end of a cigar,
Once trod on by a princely heel,
How beautiful they are!"

A man's personality embraces everything by which you can think of him, or on seeing which he is naturally recalled to you. It is because the footprint is *his*, not because his feet have *touched* the earth, that you can use it against him.

There is, therefore, I would urge, some utility in endeavouring to analyse the psychological presuppositions

underlying victory and defeat in magical conflict, and the results, if they are admitted to be proven, can rightly claim to be given some weight in the consideration of the basis of magical efficacy. Power is the fundamental principle on which magical efficacy is based, and, throughout the varied manifestations of magical practice, at least the tacit presupposition of the exercise of power can be traced; for, without it, its forms are invalid. Hotspur put the case in a nutshell to Owen Glendower:

"*Glendower.* I can call spirits from the vasty deep.
Hotspur. Why, so can I, or so can any man;
But do they come when you do call for them?"

W. R. HALLIDAY.

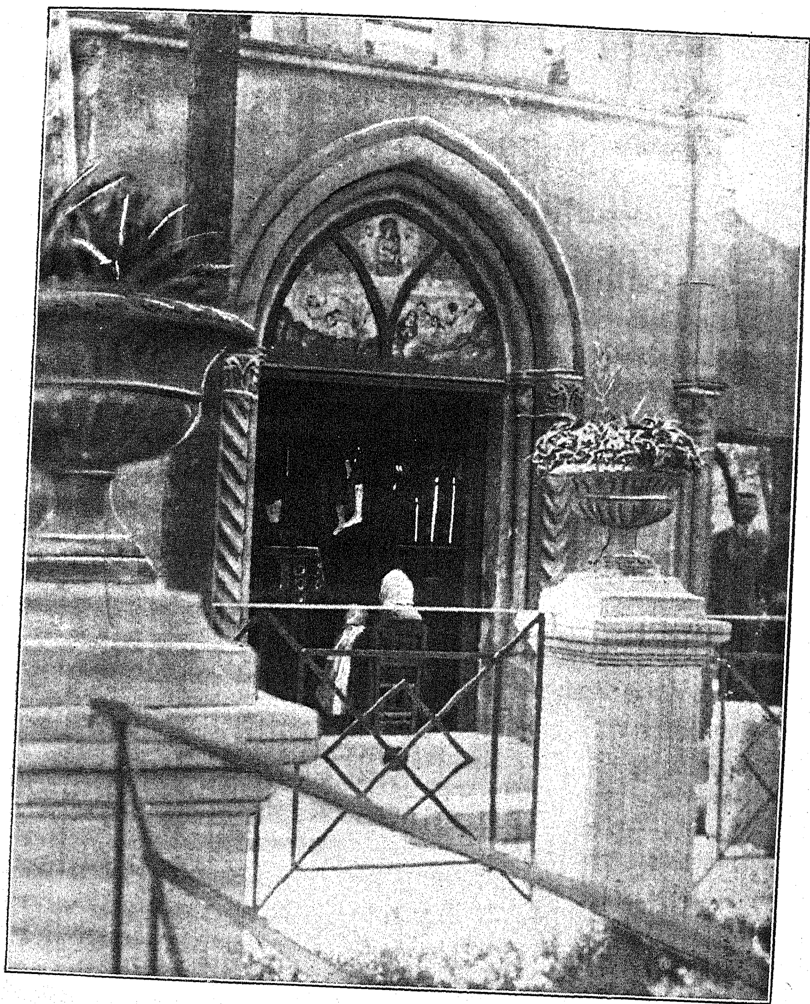
THE CULT OF EXECUTED CRIMINALS AT PALERMO.

BY E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A.

(Read at Meeting, February 16th, 1910.)

JUST south of the city of Palermo the river Oreto flows down from the adjacent mountains to the sea. It is crossed by a bridge of acutely-pointed arches, the famous Ponte dell' Ammiraglio, built in 1113 by the Admiral Giorgio Antiocheno, one of the companions of the Norman Count Roger, who with his brother Robert Guiscard conquered the island from the Saracens. The bridge is now disused in favour of a more modern structure immediately beside it. If you go from the city towards the bridge, just before reaching it you may see on the right, down below the road, a little church mentioned in no guide-book and frequented only by the poorer classes of Palermitans. It is a dilapidated, a pathetic structure, without any architectural pretensions; the front is cracked from top to bottom, and shored up with timber and stones. The site was perhaps once a part of the river-bed, and the building itself is probably not much more than two hundred years old. The original dedication seems to have been to the Virgin, for it was known as the Church of the Madonna del Fiume or Madonna del Ponte. For more than a century, however, it has been known as the Chiesa delle Anime de' Corpi Decollati, or more shortly as the Chiesa dei Decollati. It occupies the far end of a small quadrangular graveyard protected by high stone walls and shaded with cypress trees and oleanders.

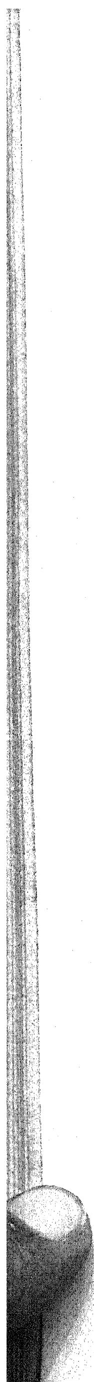
The Decollati are executed criminals. Herein lies the



CHIESA DEI DECOLLATI.

The Chapel.

To face p. 168.



interest of the church. Formerly, criminals of rank whose friends did not succeed in obtaining their bodies for burial elsewhere, or whose sentences did not extend to quartering and the distribution of their members for public exhibition until they rotted away, were buried here, and the graveyard is filled with their tombs. The church in consequence is the shrine of a remarkable cult, the cult of the *Anime dei Decollati.* A tiny side-chapel opening directly on the burial ground forms the special centre of this cult (Plate VIII.). It is filled with votive offerings of wax,—legs, heads, feet, babies, and so forth,—testifying to the various benefits for which the intercession of the Decollati is besought. In a side-case is a representation in relief of Purgatory with three or four persons in the flames. Their necks are hung with hearts and other amulets. Above in the case is a crucifix to which they are apparently praying, and in the case are also several pairs of votive eyes in wax. The money box beneath is inscribed "Elem[a] Messa nei Primi Lunedi." The front of the chapel has been restored. Over the door in the tympanum of the arch are representations of souls in Purgatory praying to the Virgin. Similar representations are on the gateposts of the churchyard and on the pier at the northern angle of the churchyard wall.

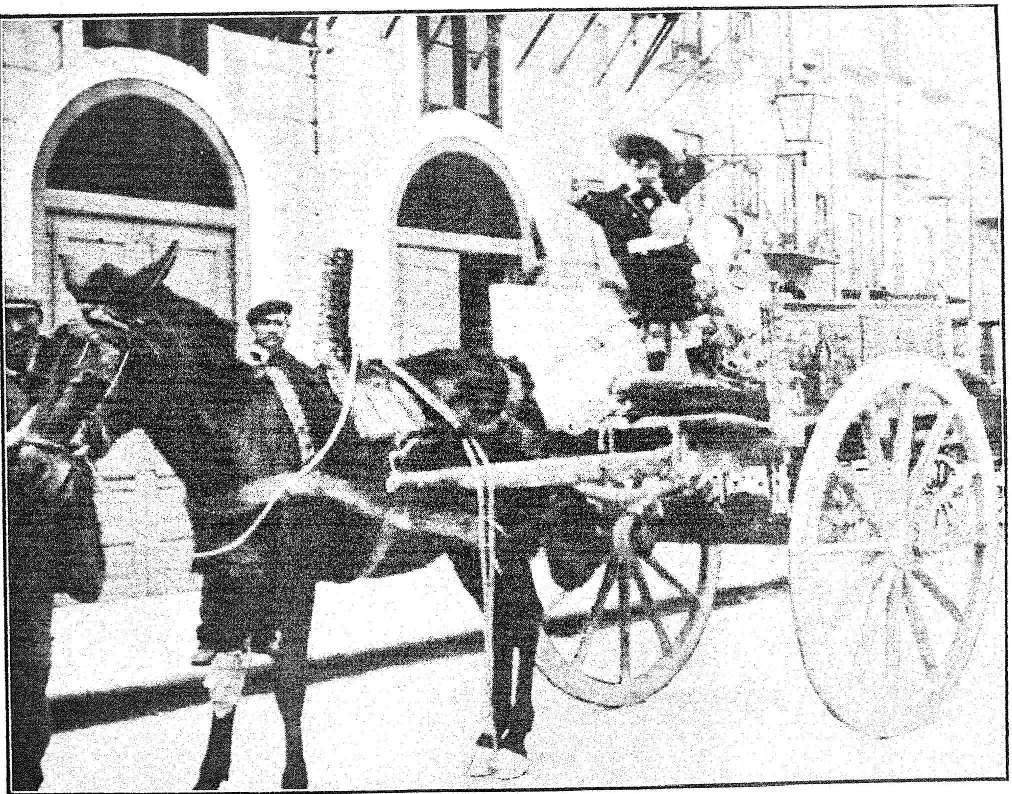
Most curious of all, however, is a case of rude water-colour drawings outside and adjoining the church on either wall of the burial ground. These drawings represent persons suffering from internal hemorrhage or various wounds; they represent accidents, shipwrecks, and attempted murders. Some unfortunates are tumbling from scaffolds; some are being crushed by tramcars, some by falling trees, and so forth. Bystanders or relatives are represented in attendance. They, or the persons more immediately concerned, appear to be praying to the Decollati, who are shown in one of the upper corners to the number of three or four up to their waists in the flames

of Purgatory. They are generally manacled. Some of them have ropes round their necks, and in one instance at least there is, in a sort of inset in the scene in Purgatory, a representation of the execution by hanging. The Decollati in turn are praying from Purgatory to the Virgin and Child shown frequently just above them. The date of the miracle or answer to prayer usually appears beneath the drawing, together with the initials V. F. R. (*Voto fatto, ricevuto*) or V. F. G. A. (*Voto fatto, grazia avuta*).

The characteristic Sicilian vehicle is a light cart mounted on two wheels and coloured a bright yellow. It is a conspicuous object everywhere, and is often elaborately carved. On the sides and tailboard are painted scenes from the history and traditions of the island. Photographs of two of these carts are shown in Plates IX. and X. The second of them is adorned with paintings of the Decollati. It is a sufficient witness to the popularity of the cult.

My attention was first directed to the cult by the writings of Dr. Pitrè, the eminent recorder of Sicilian traditions, whose *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane* is one of the most highly prized treasures of students of folklore. From that source the additional particulars I am about to give are drawn.

The veneration of the souls of departed malefactors is by no means confined to Palermo and its neighbourhood. On the contrary, it is known from Acireale on the east coast to Trapani at the extreme west. Its shrines are found in many a commune all over the island, even to Noto in the far south. But the most famous of all is the church at Palermo. Palermo has been the seat of government since the Saracen Conquest, and there naturally what was called justice claimed its most abundant hecatombs. The executions were public. They were surrounded with every circumstance calculated to attract the sympathy of the crowd. There were several places of execution in and around the city. One of them was on



SICILIAN CART.

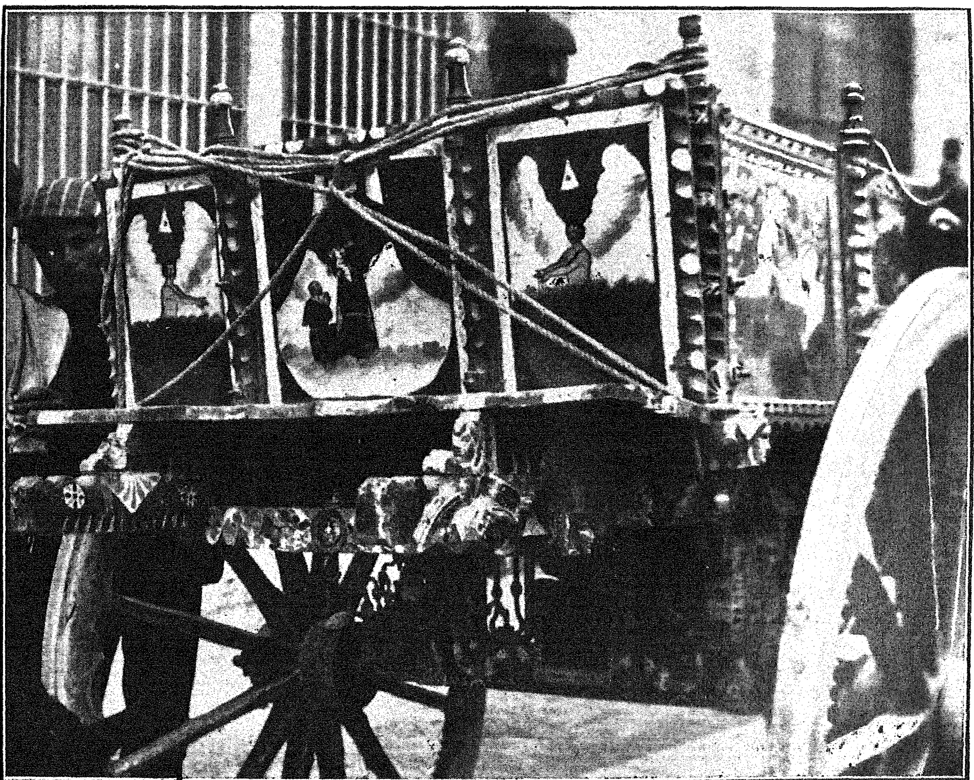
the road to Bagheria which leads past the Chiesa dei Decollati. The gallows there was not taken down until nearly the end of the eighteenth century, and, so long as it stood, the rotting members and the bones of many of the victims remained to poison the atmosphere and horrify the passers-by. The neighbouring Ponte dell' Ammiraglio had another name by which it was commonly known, the Ponte delle Teste, from the number of heads constantly on view there. These things could not fail to impress the inhabitants. Accordingly various churches of the city witnessed at different times a cult similar to that which has now concentrated at the Decollati.

The lives of these deceased malefactors had presumably been passed in crime and deeds of blood, and their disembodied souls cannot forget blood. But, whereas in their earthly life they had no pity on their neighbours and paid regard neither to their substance nor their honour, being dead and reconciled to the Church they take the part of the weak; they become the shield and defence of those who are attacked. They hate violence, and, if they do not always punish it in those who commit it, at least they ward off its worst effects from the victims. They frequently interfere to protect their devotees from robbers. An old lithographic print reproduced year after year records one of these miracles. A warm adherent of the cult was once riding by night with a sum of money. Some robbers who had got wind of it were on his track armed with daggers, knives, and guns. The unfortunate man, not knowing what was best to do, turned with true faith, (an indispensable condition in such circumstances), to the Decollati, and all at once you might have seen the skeletons of these executed criminals rising from the grave, laying hold of their bones and running to the help of their adorer, knocking the robbers right and left, killing some outright, and driving the others half-dead with terror to save themselves by flight. But it is not only deeds of blood; blood

in any form draws the compassion and help of the Decollati. Accidents of every kind and haemoptysis are the subjects of their special care. There are numerous and ghastly examples of these among the votive drawings.

The special days of devotion to the Decollati are Monday and Friday. On these days pilgrims, (chiefly women), from not only Palermo but also other parts of Sicily, may be seen wending their way to the little church beside the Oreto. At eight o'clock in the morning the performance is at its height. Arrived at the church of the Annegati, half-way from the Porta Garibaldi to the Chiesa dei Decollati, the pilgrim, if his vow was to walk barefoot, takes off his shoes and begins his rosary. The prayers include addresses in rhyme to the "Armuzzi di li corpi decullati," requesting their intercession with the Eternal Father on behalf of the petitioner. When he reaches the church, he offers the rosary and prays before the altar of St. John the Baptist, who is naturally the patron of the Decollati. Then he adjourns,—or at least every devout woman who makes the pilgrimage adjourns, —to the little chapel already mentioned. There, just on the right inside the door, is a stone under which the souls are believed to crowd in the greatest numbers. There she makes known her wishes, speaking audibly or murmuring and praying earnestly. When she has finished she applies her ear to the stone, and trembling waits for an answer. The slightest sound is taken for a favourable reply; and naturally it is not wanting to a fancy wrought to the utmost tension by the religious exercises and excitement of the morning. Her countenance instantly flushes and her eyes sparkle, as she rises filled with the joy of conviction that the favour she has sought so earnestly is granted. The scene, Dr. Pitrè writes, should be witnessed by others as well as those who are especially interested in folklore. Foreign friends whom he has taken to the chapel have looked at it with open-mouthed

Plate X.



SICILIAN CART WITH PAINTINGS OF DECOLLATI.

astonishment, hardly able to believe that they had not alighted on a different planet.

But it is not everybody who has a petition to the Decollati who can undertake a pilgrimage to their shrine. Where this cannot be done there is still the possibility of reaching their ears. In the stillness of the night a taper is kindled before their picture. A ghastly picture it is, of bodies hanging from the gallows or burning in the midst of the fire, the latter being usually taken for a scene in Purgatory. The cottage door or the window is opened. The devotee falls on her knees, and tells her beads. Among her prayers she states in plain terms what she wants,—for there is no need to beat about the bush with the Decollati,—winding up with a last orison in rhyme threatening them with indifference for the future if they do not grant her what she has in mind. All sorts of petitions are thus presented, nor is it only women who are the petitioners. One man will ask for success in business, and another for three lucky numbers in the lottery. The mother will pray for her children, and the wife for her husband. The maiden who has quarrelled with her lover will pray thus:

	literally
Armi 'i corpi decullati	Souls of the beheaded bodies,
Tri 'mpisi, tri ocisi, e tri annigati,	Three hanged, three slain, and three drowned,
Tutti novi vi junciti,	All nine of you join,
Nn' 'u mè zitu vi nni jiti,	Go into my sweetheart,
Tanti e tanti cci nni dati,	Give him such and such [torments]
No pi fallu muriri	Not to make him die
Ma pi fallu a mia viniri.	But to make him come to me.

This reminds us of the common English charm:

It's not this bone I mean to stick,
But my true lover's heart I mean to prick,
Wishing him neither rest nor sleep
Until he comes to me to speak.

During this prayer, and indeed the whole of the rosary, the suppliant listens for what is called the echo of the souls, and by the sounds she hears she judges whether her prayer be granted or not. Among good auguries are the crow of a cock, the bark of a dog, a whistle, the sound of a guitar or of bells, a song (especially a love-song), a knocking on a neighbour's door, the rapid shutting of a window, and the rapid passing of a carriage. On the other hand the mew of a cat is a fatal augury for relatives who are travelling. The bray of an ass, a dispute, the sound of weeping or lamentation, and that of water flung into the road are all evil omens. The chance words overheard from passers-by are also very important, and inferences good or bad are drawn from them.

Whatever manifestations are vouchsafed on these occasions appear to be given to the ear only. But the Decollati also walk by night in human semblance, speaking in clipped and broken words, and giving good counsel and warnings. Sometimes they appear white-robed and wandering on the banks of the Oreto. One woman saw some of them in front of their church. A devoted girl, who had them ever on her lips and in her heart, saw them one night clad in long white garments among the poplar-trees outside the Porta San Giorgio at Palermo. At that moment she was assailed by robbers intent on taking a sum of money in gold that she was carrying. She cried out to the Decollati, and they came to her assistance. Only just before, she had left that very money in a shop, having forgotten it, and the Decollati had by dint of repeating behind her "Go back, go back!" made her return and fetch it. A carter who was conveying sulphur from Lercara to Palermo was robbed of a portion of his load by his foreman. When he got to his destination the quantity was found short, and he was required to make it up and was dismissed from his situation. But his wife prayed to the Decollati to clear her husband

and punish the foreman. Her prayer was answered. The foreman, coming to Palermo not long after, was attacked by unknown persons and given such a thrashing that he remembered it all the rest of his life. The unknown persons were of course Decollati. The poor carter in some way was discovered to be innocent, and reinstated in his position.

All this and more may be read in Dr. Pitrè's interesting pages.[1] The concentration of the cult in Palermo and at the little church beside the Oreto I have already accounted for. Its general popularity in the island is doubtless attributable to the generations of tyranny suffered by the inhabitants at large and particularly by the poorer classes. These classes supplied most of the victims of the law. Tyranny produced lawlessness. The poor had little to lose, and the violence of brigands and marauders was chiefly directed against the wealthy and the powerful. A brigand became the hero of the countryside. When he was caught and put to death with the forms of justice after due confession and the rites of the Church, and with all the pomp and circumstance of a public execution, the sufferer, (*l'afflitto*, as he was called), received the rank of a martyr, and honours quasi-divine were paid to him. These honours were extended by analogy to all other criminals, however atrocious, provided they met their death in the same conditions. It was impossible to distinguish between them, for popular sympathy was always and inevitably against the rulers. Priests lent themselves to the development of the cult, nor need it be supposed that their motives were wholly unworthy. They were probably themselves drawn from the lower strata of society, and may be supposed to have had a

[1] Pitrè, *Biblioteca*, vol. xvii., pp. 4 *et seq.*; vol. i., p. 77; vol. ii., p. 38. *La Vita in Palermo*, vol. ii., c. xviii., where an impressive account is given of executions in Palermo to the end of the eighteenth century. *Mostra Etnografica Siciliana*, pp. 51, 80.

sympathy by no means superficial with persons who may have been in many cases innocent, and always were rather the victims of an inequitable social order than malefactors without excuse. Such victims even in their eyes would without difficulty assume the unspotted raiment of martyrs.

Throughout Christendom the qualifications of a martyr were vague; a violent death was, (perhaps it still is), the only condition absolutely necessary to satisfy. In our own country we have only to refer to the honours paid to Saint Kenelm, king and martyr, to King Edward the Martyr, and to Simon de Montfort, Edward II., and Charles I., as examples of the extreme latitude of interpretation of the term *martyr*. More might easily be cited, and from other countries hundreds.

Some peoples indeed go to the length of putting to death a holy man in order to provide an object of devotion. At Gilgit there is the shrine of a famous Mohammedan saint who is said to have been thus murdered; and similar stories are told about many shrines in Afghanistan and on the north-western frontier of India.[2] These stories are very often true; for it is well known that the late Sir Richard Burton, when exploring some remote places disguised as a Mohammedan fakir, had a narrow escape from being thus honoured. The practice is of long standing, and embodies ideas of wide range in the East. Marco Polo relates that the people of a province he calls Carian were villainous and wicked. A stranger of learning and bodily perfection coming that way would be put to death at sight,—not, they declared, for the purpose of robbery, but that his beauty and learning might abide in them and their country. The Great Khan, however, conquered the province in 1296, and put down the practice.[3] Half-a-century ago it was a common prac-

[2] Dr. Leitner, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 2d. S., vol. v., pp. 156, 161 note; Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, vol. i., p. 29 note; Burton, *Sindh*, pp. 86, 387.

[3] Marco Polo (ed. 1597), ch. 86.

tice with the Lhota Nāga, a tribe on the north-eastern frontier of our Indian Empire, to cut off the head, and hands and feet, of any one they could meet with "without any provocation or pre-existent enmity, merely to stick up in their fields to ensure a good crop of grain."[4] This approaches very closely to the famous Meriah sacrifice of the Khonds, but perhaps involves the idea rather of a guardian than of a fertilizer. More personal is the relation between the head-hunter of the Malay Archipelago and the skull of his victim. The soul of the victim seems to be attached to the skull, and becomes the bringer of luck to, and the guardian-spirit of, the murderer and possessor. So among the Eskimo of Behring Strait a man will sometimes cause the death of a new-born child and secretly steal its body to carry about with him. He believes that the child's shade will then accompany him and secure success for him in hunting.[5]

Whether the shrines of any European saints have originated like those in Afghanistan and India just referred to I do not know. The idea at least is not quite unknown. Southey put into verse the curious tale of Saint Romuald which he found recorded in both French and Spanish. The French writer, horrified at the popular wickedness and jealous for the honour of his country, laid the scene in Catalonia; the Spanish writer for the same excellent reasons laid it in Aquitaine. But both were agreed that such was the renown of Saint Romuald during his life that the people of his neighbourhood made up their minds to slay him in order to be sure of having his relics as a precious possession afterwards. Unhappily for them the saint heard of their intention; he disapproved of their excessive devotion, and fled the country. The importance of securing the tomb of a

[4] Miss Godden, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute etc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 9, quoting Damant.

[5] Nelson, *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 429.

holy man is still familiar in many places; for example, in Auvergne, where, when the *curé* of a parish dies, the inhabitants will not, if they can avoid it, permit his burial outside the parish bounds, even though his relatives desire it, lest the village be subject to hail-storms for seven years or some other calamities happen.[6]

In this case it is not suggested that a violent end is put to the parish-priest's career. The law would look more than coldly on such a proceeding; and the superstition is in an attenuated form, glad to take advantage wherever it can of the action of a thoughtful Providence. But in East and West alike human beings have been from time to time murdered as foundation-sacrifices for house or bridge, or as guardians of hidden treasure or against a foreign invader. In all these cases the disembodied soul of the deceased is believed to become a powerful protector. On the other hand, superstitions like those concerning ghosts in the West and *bhuts* in the East exhibit souls disembodied by other than a natural death as vindictive and often extremely dangerous beings, who must be pacified and exorcised or even worshipped.

The cult of executed criminals in Sicily is therefore not an isolated example of the vagaries of human emotion. It is merely one of the many manifestations of the shock given to the collective mentality of any society by the death of a member. That shock is always deeper and more terrible where the severance from life is by violence, most terrible of all when it takes place under the impressive forms of law. Even where the law is the expression of the collective will, the shock and its accompanying emotions of pity and sorrow are often acutely felt. But where it is not the expression of the collective will, where it is imposed by arms or more mysterious terrors on the part of a class or classes with interests opposed to the general interests

[6] *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vol. xii., p. 447.

of the community, and to that extent an anti-social force, then the shock and the terror reach their height, the whole sympathy of society goes out toward the victim, and he is surrounded with a halo of more than common radiance. In some stages of civilization and under the influence of some beliefs the reaction takes the form of apotheosis of the victim. Hence the veneration paid to the martyrs in more than one highly organized religion. Perhaps the Decollati of Sicily were not less worthy of this exaltation than some other martyrs commemorated in more enlightened countries.

I have thought it needless to refer to the value in folk-medicine and witchcraft of the blood and other relics of executed criminals. The belief in these things has been recorded by many authors from Pliny downwards; it is known as far to the east as Japan; and the Portuguese found it in the kingdom of Monomotapa south of the Zambesi. It has been abundantly discussed by anthropologists.[7]

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

[7] Plates VIII, IX, and X are from photographs by Miss Alice Q. Hartland.

COLLECTANEA.

A Folklore Survey of County Clare.

(With Plate XI.[1]).

County Clare from the fourth century of our era was united politically with North Munster, Tuath Mumhain, or Thomond, though separated from it by the broad waters of the Shannon. Standing thus by itself, "isolated by the Sea, the River, and the enmity of Connaught," it might be expected that it would preserve until modern times an unbroken tradition from the prehistoric past, and that a survey of its folklore would show many traces of ancient beliefs still surviving. The battle goddess *Catabodva*, worshipped in antique Gaul, appears as the *Bodbh* of battle (*cath*) in the wars fought by the Princes of Clare in 1014 and 1317, and the spirit that washed the bloodstained clothes and limbs of the then living combatants still, I was told three years ago, foretells calamity by washing clothes in the same waters.[2] *Péists* or water snakes,—emblems, perhaps, of pagan islanders or devouring seas and lakes,—abound in the legends of a very early date, and are still reputed to seize the cattle, and even human beings, drowned in the lakes of Clare. The place names considered below will show to what an extent our present nomenclature records the mythology and sagas of early days, and I propose in the remainder of this first paper to deal with the banshee, the death coach, and the fairies. The bulk of the traditions

[1] This plate of the Ancient Parishes of County Clare has been kindly lent by the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, and appears in their *Proceedings*, S. III., vol. iv.

[2] Cf. the *lavandières de nuit*, discussed by Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France*, Tome iii.



ANCIENT PARISHES OF COUNTY CLARE.

To face p. 180.

since 1790 has been collected from the mouths of the people, and not from books nor from the notes of others, and I have tried, where possible, to gather various versions of the legends without the dangerous aid of "leading questions."

I. *Place Names and Legends of Places.*

Were we assured of the date of their origin, place names would be our most authentic, and perhaps our earliest, evidence of traditional beliefs and superstitions, but their first records only give a minimum date. To take a few examples:—if we may accept explanations earlier than A.D. 800, the name of Iniscatha, traceable from about 550, embodies the name of a monster, (probably the "god or demon of the flood"), dispossessed by St. Senan, the missionary of the Corcavaskin district.[3] Again, Craganeevul near Killaloe recalls the belief in Aibhill, or Aibhinn, "the beautiful," the tutelary spirit of the ruling house of the Dalcassians, the later O'Briens. If the "Life of St. Maccreiche" be early, it bears out a later belief that the cave of Poulnabruckee, in Inchiquin, commemorates no ordinary badger, but the formidable "demon-badger," killer of cattle and men.[4]

Following certain topographical lines I give the names as they occur, rather than as grouped according to beliefs. I must also premise that the Dalcassian tribes virtually covered the eastern Baronies of Bunratty and Tulla, with part of Inchiquin, from about A.D. 377; the Corca Modruad, (the royal line of the mythical Queen Maeve and Fergus mac Roigh), were in Burren and Corcomroe from still earlier times, beyond the range of even historical tradition[5]; while a third great independent line, the Corca-

[3] Colgan, "Vita S. Senani," *Acta S.S. Hib.* (March 8).

[4] This I suspect to have been really a belated bear, as that formidable beast, whose bones so abound in Clare caverns, perished at an unknown date, leaving his name "Mathgamhan," or Mahon, to his human enemies, and his remains as his only monument. Certain MacMahons, however, affected to believe that they were Normans originally named Fitz Urse, in the same way as the MacNamaras were supposed to be Mortimers (*de Mortuo Mari*) by Spenser and others in the time of Elizabeth.

[5] An account of a curious episode found in the legend of St. Mochulla, whose "Life" had been lost or taken from Ireland before 1637, has been preserved orally until recent years (see *Bunratty infra*, p. 184). The legends of the

baiscinn, occupied the Baronies known down to Tudor times (and still as a rural deanery) as Corcavaskin,—now Moyarta and Clonderalaw, with the Barony of Ibrickan, (which takes its name from a settlement of fugitives from the Norman conquest in Leinster about 1180).

Burren.—Irghus or Eerish, a Firbolg in the oldest of Clare legends,[6] is commemorated by Caherdoonerish stone fort,[7] on Black Head. Finn MacCumhail gives his name to Seefin, on the same hills. The "silver bells" of Kilmoon church are said to be recalled by Cahercloggaun fort and Owenacluggan brook near Lisdoonvarna. In Kilcorney Parish we have two forts, Lisananima and Caherlisananima, named from ghosts; the first name is older than 1652. Beara, another Firbolg, brother of Irghus, gives his name, (found in a poem dating before 1014), to Finnavarra Point, —but not to Kinvarra, which is akin to Kenmare and Kinsale, "Head of the Sea" or "of the brine." The name Bohernamish, or "way of the dishes," with its legend of the miraculous rapine of King Guaire's Easter banquet, about A.D. 630, is found in the mediæval Life of St. Colman MacDuach.[8]

Corcomroe.—The reef of Kilstiffin, Kilstapheen, or Kilstuitheen has a legend of a sunken church and city, of which the golden domes appear once in seven years. The submerged forests and bogs inside the reef in Liscannor Bay, and the record of the great

Armada on the coast, heard by me down to 1878, have been since confirmed by the publication of long-forgotten letters. So historical tradition, even under the unfavourable conditions of recent centuries, has kept wonderfully accurate versions of events. The continuity of the schools and families of the hereditary bards and *ollamhs* favoured still greater accuracy in early times. Ireland had "books and philosophers" in the fourth century, according to Ethicus of Istria (*Social History of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 403), and, possibly for the same period before Christianity as the Armada lies behind our own time, history was handed down truly, at least in its broad outlines.

[6] "Legend of Carn chonaill," "Dindsenchas," *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv. (1894), pp. 478-80.

[7] "Fort" in this paper means one of the entrenched residences, (usually circular,) of the early inhabitants. These are called in Irish *rath*, *liss*, and *dun*; the dry stone equivalent is *caher*.

[8] *Mish* also means an altar in early works. Cf. *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, (ed. W. Stokes).

earthquake and tidal wave that split into three Inis Fitæ[9] on the same coast (A.D. 799-802), incline one to believe in a basis for the legend. In Nonghaval is a fort called Liskeentha, from "fairy songs" heard there. Not far away, in Kilfenora Parish, we have a Boughil or "petrified boy," and in Carran Parish a Farbreag or "petrified man"; such names, originating in strangely-shaped rocks, are rather common. A third Firbolg brother, Daelach, gives his name to the little river Daelach and the townland Ballydeely. In Carran and Kilmanaheen the belief in the *phooka* or *púca*, a demon horse or goat, is stamped on the Poulaphucas, one of which has a fine dolmen; such monuments all over Ireland are found connected with the malignant prototype of Puck. Lisfarbegnagommaun, "the fort of the little men (playing at) hurling," commemorates fairy sports.

Ibrickan.—Poulaphuca in Kilfarboy is, so far as I know, the only mythic name, but Doolough Lake (Nigricantis) is named in the early "Life of Senan"[10] as the prison of the fearful "Cata" of Iniscatha, while the "Legend of the sons of Thorailbh mac Stairn"[11] locates the cavern whence the ferocious "Faracat" launched itself on the heroes' spears, beside its waters. Dunbeg Bay is the scene of a curious merman story.[12]

Moyarta.—At Loop Head, the south-western extremity of the county, we find a Poulnapeiste and a line of forts,—Cahercrochain, Cahersaul, Dundahlin, and Cahernaheanmna,—connected with the monster killed by Dermod O'Duine and the brothers Crochaun, Sal, and Dahlin, whose sister ("the one (lone) woman") gave her title to the last fort.[13] Iniscatha commemorates its dragon, and Lisnarinka fort the "dances" of its fairy dwellers.

Clonderlaw.—Turning inland, up the Shannon and Fergus

[9] Now Inniscaeragh or Mutton Island, Illaunwattle, Inismatail, or Mattle Island, and Carrickaneelwar. The first two are named Iniskereth and Inismatail in a charter of 1216.

[10] Colgan, *op. cit.* (March 8).

[11] A romance of about 1750, by Michael Comyn.

[12] Crofton Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, 1825, vol. ii., p. 31, (The Soul Cages).

[13] "Adventures of the sons of Thorailbh"; see also *Ordnance Survey Letters*, Co. Clare, Killballyowen Parish, (MS., R.I. Academy).

confluence, Tobersheefra ("elf's well") and Poulaphuca are named from the fairies and *púca*, and Clondegad from two druids who competed in magic, making "two gads" (or withes) to sail up the stream.

Inchiquin.—Passing on to the settlements of the Dalcassians, we find treasure legends at Cloghanairgid ("rock of the silver (money)") and Skeaghvickencrowe ("MacEnchroe's bush"). Cloghaphuca in Kilnaboy and Poulnabruckee in Rath, with Toberatasha ("spectre's well," perhaps recording an apparition akin to that of Avenel), represent various supernatural beings. Seefin, Caherussheen, and Tirmicbrain near Corofin commemorate Finn, his son Oisin, and his dog Bran. The old pre-Norman Fenian tale of *Feis tighe chonain* is located on the high ridge over Inchiquin Lake, and connects Finn with the district and with a "hunting lodge" at Formoyle, but the first name ("seat of Finn") has been lost since 1839.[14] In the weird terraced hills of bare crag behind Kilnaboy legend meets us at every turn. Slievenaglasha, the Glasgeivnagh Hill, Mohernaglasha, Leabanaglasha, and Mohernagartan, "Smith's Fort," commemorate the Irish Vulcan, Lon mac Leefa (Liomhtha), and the wonderful "glaucous cow," the *Glas*, whose hoof prints mark the rocks in every direction. Inchiquin Lake has a beautiful swan-maiden tale,[15] but it "names no name." Still in Kilnaboy we find, near the tall brown peel tower of Ballyportry, a Cloughaphuca and the enchanted Lake of Shandangan.[16] Ruan Parish has Cahernanoorane, taking its name from "fairy melody." Lisheenvicknaheeha ("the little fort of the son of the night") seems ghostly, but the constituent is also an ancient personal name, Macnahaidche, in use down to at least 1084. In Dysert, Crush'banola and the basin stone near it are connected with a

[14] *I.e.* lost so far as I know. Many names supposed to be lost prove, however, still to exist, especially amongst old persons, but should never be asked for directly, as the demand usually creates the supply. This precaution is too little heeded by enquirers in Ireland.

[15] Given by Dr. George U. MacNamara in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxi., p. 212.

[16] Its curious and unusual changes of colour give it the reputation of enchantment.

curious legend which I reserve. Banola or Manawla is really the historic Tola, living about A.D. 637. Drehidnavaddaroe Bridge may commemorate a ghostly "red dog," like the dogs of Cratloe and Ennistymon in this county, and the *Maelchu* of Kerry.

Islands.—This small district, although containing the "capital" of Thomond from about 1220, is of little note in names. Poulnaclug contains the hidden bells of Dromcliff Round Tower. Knocknabohilleen probably had a "Boughil" or "Farbreag" (see *Corcomroe supra*). Fairyhill Fort in Kilmaley, and Music Hill, are connected with the "good people." Knockananima near Clare Castle, though superficially a ghost name, is said to be *Cnoc* (or *Cnock an*) *na h iomána* or "Hurling-field Hill."

Bunratty.—Taking the Upper and Lower Baronies together, both here and in Tulla, we find an oblique allusion to the fairies in Gortnamearacaun ("foxglove field"), called also "Thimble-town,"—the foxglove being the fairies' thimble. Caheraphuca has a fine dolmen and haunted fort. Knocknafearbreaga derives its name and legend from the "seven" (*recte* five) pillar stones, once the seven robbers who ill-treated St. Mochulla's tame bull. It is noteworthy that the life of St. Mochulleus, (sought for vainly by Colgan about 1637 and only recently found in Austria and published), gives the *seven* soldiers and the slaying of the tame bull that ran errands for the saint.[17] In the Lower Barony the fairies are connected with Lissnarinka ("fort of the dance") in Clonloghan, and perhaps Caherfirogue ("young man's fort," 1617), which is now forgotten. Moyeir, Moyross Parks, and Moyri are variants representing the ancient Magh Adhair, the settlement of another Firbolg chief and place of the inauguration of the kings of Thomond from at least A.D. 847 to Tudor times. Slieve suidhe an righ or Slieve oided an righ ("king's seat" or "king's death hill"), in Glennagross, was connected with a legend, probably historical, that King Criomthann died there in A.D. 377 poisoned by his sister, who drank before him to disarm his suspicion and secure the kingship for her son.[18]

Tulla.—In the mass of hills near the Shannon, Carrickeevul, Tobereevul, and Glennagalliach ("hag's glen") commemorate

[17] *Analecta Bollandiana*, xvii., p. 135.

[18] S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii.

banshees (see below). Knockaunamoughilly is named from a "Boughil," and other "sham men" appear at the Farbreagas in Cloontra and Cloongaheen. Seefin in Kilseily is another "seat of Finn." Some names are more doubtful. Lough Graney, the river Graney, and Tomgraney, are attributed to a suspicious solar heroine, the lady "Gillagreine" or "Grainne of the bright cheeks."

II. *Banshees.*

Above the Shannon gorge, overlooking a beautiful mass of mountains, the southern arm of Lough Derg, and the river and Killaloe with its weirs, rises the great brown and purple bluff of Craglea. Above the low earthworks and mound of stones that mark the ninth-century fort of Prince Lachtna ascends a rough lane. Further up on the east flank a little well, Tobereevul, gushes out from under a low rock amid the ferns,[19] and on the west side,—up a lonely valley, a long-forgotten battlefield, "Crag Liath where shields were cleft," in one of Brian Boru's earlier combats with the Norsemen,—rises a high crag called Craganeevul. The names of both well and crag commemorate the tutelary spirit of the House of Cass, Aibhill or, more correctly, Aibhinn, "the lovely one," once, it may be, the goddess of the House.

On Good Friday, A.D. 1014, Brian, the aged monarch of all Erin, knelt in his tent praying for victory, while the battle raged over the low ridge now crowded by the houses of northern Dublin and on to the weirs of Clontarf. News came that his brave son's standard had fallen, and his page entreated him to ride back to the camp. "Oh, God! thou boy," cried Brian, "retreat becomes us not, and I myself know that I shall not depart alive, for Aibhill of Crag Liath came to me last night, and she told me that I should be killed today."[20] How many centuries of faith lay behind the king's fatalism, who can say? As the Gauls worshipped another banshee, Catabodva,

[19] It still exists, though marked only "site of" in the new Ordnance Survey maps.

[20] *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (Ed. Dr. Todd, Rolls Series).

as their war-goddess,[21] so, before the baptism of King Cairthinn, (first Christian Prince of his House, about A.D. 430), the ancestors of the Dalcassians may have worshipped Aibhinn on her holy hill, and her equally lovely sister Aine, crowned with meadowsweet, on the tamer mound of Knockaney. Whether, if so, they found her already enthroned at Craglea on their conquest of the district, or whether the conqueror Lugad consecrated the mountains to his patroness, it is now impossible to guess. Aibhill, as banshee, held her own. We find her even usurping the place of the "Sybil" in a translation of the *Dies Iræ*,[22] in unwonted companionship with King David, and she was a commonplace of local threnodies during the eighteenth, and even the nineteenth, century. In the lake below Rathblamaic in Inchiquin she has down to recent years been seen, with the twenty-five other banshees of Clare that call her their queen, washing clothes before any impending disaster.[2]

The next appearance of a banshee in local history is of a very different spirit three centuries later. The *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh* ("Triumphs of Torlough") was written probably about A.D. 1350 by Seean mac Craith, the hereditary historian.[23] It contains accounts of three spirit women,—one, the "Sovereignty of Erin," being of surpassing loveliness, and the two others, (if not the same,—"Dismal" and "Water Dismal"), of loathsome hideousness. The hags, however, probably survive, while the "Sovereignty" has perished. Bronach ("the sorrowful or dismal one") of Ceann Boirne was known as the "Hag of Black Head" from the modern name of the older Ceann (or Rinn) of Burren. She was in full repute in 1839, and I have heard of her vaguely about 1885 or 1887. In August, 1317, she

[21] Cf. *Revue Archéologique*, N.S., vol. xviii. (1868), p. 1; Sir Samuel Ferguson's paper, from the Irish point of view, in *Dublin University Magazine*, Oct. 1834, p. 463; W. M. Hennessy, "The War Goddess of the Ancient Irish," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. x., p. 425.

[22] Mss., Royal Irish Academy, 23.M.47.

[23] As yet only in manuscript,—one copy of A.D. 1509, and another probably from one of 1449. For its age see *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxii., p. 139.

was able to appear in "the dark before sunrise" and foretell destruction by words and hideous action. The supporters of Prince Murchad O'Brien, (then absent in Dublin), under his brother Dermot invaded the territory of his rival Prince Donchad O'Brien. The latter got together an army, "even the man in a souterrain (*uamh*) of a fort" being summoned, and marched round the site of the modern village of Ballyvaughan, his foe having sheltered in Corcomroe Abbey, in a nook of the bare hills some miles to the north-west. Approaching Lough Rasga, (still known as Rask), "they looked on the shining mere, and there they saw the monstrous and distorted form of a lone, ancient hag, that stooped over the bright Lough shore. She was thatched with elf locks, foxy grey and rough like heather, matted and like long sea-wrack, a bossy, wrinkled, ulcerated brow, the hairs of her eyebrows like fish hooks; bleared, watery eyes peered with malignant fire between red inflamed lids; she had a great blue nose, flattened and wide, livid lips, and a stubbly beard."[24] The writer adds detail on detail (some 90 in all), many too disgusting to copy. The hag was washing human limbs and heads with gory weapons and clothes, till all the lake was defiled with blood, brains, and floating hair. Donchad at last spoke. "What is your name and race, and whose kin are those maltreated dead?" She replied,—"I am Bronach of Burren, of the Tuatha Dé Danann. This slaughter heap is of your army's heads; your own is in the middle." The angry men raised their javelins, but she rose on the wind, yelling more and more words of woe till she vanished. "Heed her not," said Donchad, "she is a friendly *Bodbh* of Clan Torlough" (his opponents). The army hurried on to the ridge of the Abbey, where Donchad and all his kindred, save one brother, were slain before evening.

Not to the Irish alone did the banshee foretell ruin. In May, 1318, Richard de Clare, leader of the Normans, was marching to what he supposed would be an easy victory over the O'Deas of Dysert. The English came to the "glittering, running water of fish-containing Fergus," when they saw a horrible beldam

[24] I have to thank Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady for this and other extracts from the work, the translations in the library of the Royal Irish Academy being, (it is understood), very crude.

washing armour and rich robes till the red gore churned and splashed through her hands.[25] Calling an Irish ally to question her, De Clare heard that "the armour and clothes were of the English, and few would escape immolation." "I am the Water Doleful One. I lodge in the green fairy mounds (*sidh*) of the land, but I am of the Tribes of Hell. Thither I invite you. Soon we shall be dwellers in one country." Next day De Clare, his son, and nearly all his English troops lay dead upon the fields near the ford of Dysert for miles over the country in their flight.

The belief of the early eleventh and fourteenth centuries is still extant, for local legend near Dysert tells how Aibhill and twenty-five banshees washed blood-stained clothes in Rath Lake before "Claraghmore" (De Clare) fell, and that they still do so when mischief is afoot.[26]

For nearly 300 years there is no other Clare banshee tale, till the famous one of 1642 in the *Memoires of Lady Fanshawe*, (published in 1665).[27] It is so well known that a brief abstract will suffice. Her Ladyship, staying with some of the O'Briens, was sleeping in a room, of which the window overhung water at some height, at a castle, perhaps Bunratty or Castle Lake. She was awakened by a horrible scream, and saw a girl outside the window. The apparition was pale, rather handsome, and with her reddish hair hanging dishevelled over her shoulders. After some time the unwelcome visitor vanished, with other ghastly shrieks. In the morning Lady Fanshawe, telling her tale, was told of the death of a relative of the family whose illness had been concealed from her. The spirit was that of the peasant wife of a former owner of the castle, drowned in the moat by her husband and of evil omen to his descendants.

The next story was told in my own family and, I understand, in that of the Ross Lewins. I have traced it to a daughter of Jane Ross Lewin, one of the girls who saw the banshee. It related to Jane's father, Harrison Ross Lewin of Fortfergus, who probably died in 1776, as his will, dated November, 1775, was proved in

[25] Another "washer of the ford" appears in "Da Choca's Hostel," *Revue Celtique*, vol. xxi. (1900), p. 157, and she is also a Bodbh.

[26] Told me by Prof. Brian O'Looney in 1890, and I have heard more recently of the existence of the belief.

[27] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 83-6.

March, 1777; but I have hitherto been unable to verify the circumstances or place of his death. Mr. Ross Lewin had gone to Dublin on business, the journey at that time taking five days, and the several stages being Limerick, Nenagh, Mountrath, Kildare, and Dublin. In his absence the "young people" went to a friend's house for the evening. The road passed an old church (Kilchrist), which was unenclosed, standing in an open field. As the party returned under bright moonlight, they were startled by loud keening and wailing from the direction of the ruin. Coming in sight, all clearly saw a little old woman with long white hair and a black cloak running to and fro on the top of the side wall, clapping her hands and wailing. The young men, leaving the girls together on the road, sent some of their number to watch each end of the building, and the remainder entered and climbed up on the wall. The apparition vanished as they approached the church, and, after a careful search, could not be found. The party, thoroughly frightened, hurried home, and found their mother in even greater terror. She had been sitting in the window when a great raven flapped three times at the glass, and, while she told them, the bird again flew against the window. Some days later, news arrived from Dublin that Ross Lewin had died suddenly on the very evening of the apparition and omen.

It is curious that an English family, no matter how long settled in Ireland, should have acquired the ministration of a banshee, but, besides the Ross Lewins, both the Stamers and the Westropps were so endowed in Clare.[28] The Westropps had also death warnings in the shape of a white owl and the headless coach. This bird last appeared, it is said, before a death in 1909, but it would be more convincing if it appeared at places where the white owl does *not* nest and fly out every night. The banshee has been conspicuously absent of late years, although on the death of my father, the

[28] Among families with banshees, Thomas Crofton Croker (*op. cit.*, ed. 1862, p. 115,) names old Englishry such as the Burkes, Rices, Husseys (the Norman, not the Gaelic, name), Trants, and Keatings. The FitzGeralds of Kerry and Limerick had also a banshee. Of the Clare families the Westropps came from Yorkshire, the Stamers from Essex, and the Lewins probably from Durham. Some banshees may have been acquired by marriage, for the three latter families were related to O'Briens, MacNamaras, and O'Gradys, to name only a part of their Celtic connections.

late John Westropp, at Attyflin, in 1866, keening and weird lamentation, (probably of some of the country folk who held him in deep affection), were heard the same night by the servants and some of the family. When Mrs. Stamer died at Stamer Park, Ennis, in January, 1883, the banshee and death coach were also supposed to have been heard,—though far more satisfactory explanations of the noises were forthcoming. The popular belief in Clare is that each leading Irish race had a banshee, Eevul, the banshee of the royal O'Briens, ruling over twenty-five other banshees always attendant on her progresses. The stream from Caherminaun to Dough, (the Daelach), was called the "Banshee's Brook," and when, as sometimes happens after an unusually dry summer, the water gets red from iron scum, everyone is on the alert to hear the rustling flight of the banshee, (not apparently Eevul), and her attendants through the air. In the prevailing suspense someone generally succeeds, and then there is unrest and fear until a death removes the uncertainty. There are many other modern tales of banshees. Mr. Casey of Ruan heard a banshee cry at the death of his father. The late Dr. MacNamara of Corofin was similarly honoured; indeed, when his family lived at Ballymarkahan, near Quin, there were numerous "authentic instances" recorded. The Corofin banshees, however, did not lag behind the age by maintaining aristocratic prejudices, for one, at least, used to sit near the cross road leading to the workhouse and foretell the deaths of the poor inmates.[29]

The most recent visit of a banshee told to me was in 1905,[30] and is sadly tame when compared with the stories of MacCraith and Lady Fanshawe. Some scattered cottages form a sort of suburb to Newmarket-on-Fergus at a temporary lake (or *turlough*) called Lough Gaish. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed by the loud and ghastly wailing of some unknown being on several successive nights. Local panic spread, and few ventured out after dark. Had any tragedy happened, the reputation of the banshee would have rested on a rock of belief for another generation; but nothing occurred, and it is now doubted "whether it was a banshee at all, at all."

[29] Told to Dr. G. U. MacNamara at Caherminane and Corofin.

[30] By Mrs. and Miss Neville and Miss G. C. Stacpoole of Newmarket.

III. *The Death Coach.*[31]

The "headless Coach" or "coach a bower" seems of far later date than the banshee. Ghostly chariots such as that of Cuchulain figure in very early tales, but neither their appearance nor their sound foretold death.[32] In Clare, at sight or sound of the coach, all gates should be thrown open, and then it will not stop at the house to call for a member of the family, but only foretell the death of some relative at a distance.[33]

I collected five stories, three of well-defined character, and give them in order of time as the dates can be fixed. The first appearance, on the night before June 18th, 1806, was related to my three informants[34] most solemnly by their fathers and uncles. Two told it in a general and confused way, but varied from the story of the third, which I give, only by omissions. Ralph Westropp, of Attyflin and Lismehane,—the latter place is in Clare, but I never could learn where he died,—lay sick unto death. His sons in the late dusk waited on the steps for the arrival of the doctor. Suddenly they saw and heard a large coach drive into the paved court before the house. One of them stepped down to open the door, but the dark object rumbled past and drove down the long, straight avenue, which was fenced on both sides. Two of the watchers ran after it, hearing it ahead of them. The noise stopped, and they expected to find the coach at the gate. They ran full tilt against the bars, the gate being closed and locked. They called up the lodgekeeper, and he was found to have been asleep with the keys still beside him. The sick man died the next morning.

Lismehane, under its later name of Maryfort, afterwards became the residence of the O'Callaghan family, its present occupants. On the night of April 29th, 1821, two servants,—one of whom was "Matty Halloran" who died not long ago at an advanced

[31] Cf. "Irish Folklore from Cavan, Meath, Kerry, and Limerick," vol. xix., pp. 320-1; vol. x., p. 119.

[32] Is not the death coach, and not the Hellequin, the "hell waine" of Reginald Scot's list of spirits in *The discouerie of witchcraft*, Bk. vii., cap. xv.?

[33] Cf. Herefordshire belief about corpse candles.

[34] The late Capt. Ralph Westropp of Coolreagh (in 1879), and the late Mrs. Wilme and Mrs. Pitcairn, whose fathers were present.

age, and the other was a butler named Richard Burke,—were sitting up to receive a son of the family, Cornelius O'Callaghan, who had travelled for his health in vain and was returning home. Halloran, who told the tale with fearless faith and weary frequency, said that the heavy rumble of a coach roused them. Burke stood on the top of the long flight of steps with a lamp, and sent Halloran down to open the carriage door. He reached out his hand to do so, saw a skeleton looking out, gave one yell, and fell in a heap. When the badly-scared Burke picked him up, there was no sign or sound of any coach. A little later the invalid arrived, so exhausted that he died suddenly in the early morning. The present generation seems to have got the story from Halloran alone.

On the night of December 11th, 1876, a servant of the MacNamaras was going his rounds at Ennistymon, a beautiful spot in a wooded glen, with a broad stream falling in a series of cascades. In the dark he heard the rumbling of wheels on the back avenue, and, knowing from the hour and place that no "mortal vehicle" could be coming, concluded that it was the death coach and ran on, opening the gates before it. He had just time to open the third gate and throw himself on his face beside it, at the bank, before he "heard a coach go clanking past." It did not stop at the house, but passed on, and the sound died away. On the following day Admiral Sir Burton MacNamara died in London.[35]

A man living at Annaghneale was returning from Tulla late at night. As he reached the corner of Fortanne demesne he heard a heavy rumbling behind him, and horses trotting. Surprised after a time by its not coming nearer, he looked back and saw a large dark mass with a figure on the box. It came no closer to him, and in a fright he hurried on. At a bend in the road he ventured to stand at the fence and look again. This time he saw the horses and carriage drive over the wall and ditch into Fortanne. He fell, nearly insensible with terror, but, hearing and seeing nothing more, hurried home. This was told to a steward at Maryfort about twenty years ago, and happened "long after the sale of Fortanne" to its present owner in 1879. The present tradition

[35] From Mr. R. Twigge, F.S.A., whose wife is a daughter of the House of Ennistymon.

of Fortanne says that the coach was heard at the deaths of certain Westropps after 1873, but nothing happened after its last appearance.

The phantom of a coach and horse was seen not far from Corofin, at Cragmoher, not long since, but it is agreed that no death took place after the apparition. An equally vague story was told about 1870 at Attyflin by a very old woman, Norry Halloran, whom the sound of the coach pursued one dark evening for a long way, but it did not pass her door, and nothing happened afterwards.

IV. *Fairies and Fairy Forts and Mounds.*

MacCraith, in the *Triumphs of Torlough*, in describing the prognostics of the death of Prince Donchad early in the fourteenth century says that "lights shone on the fairy forts," and it has already been noted that the *sidhs* or fairy mounds were lodgings of appalling apparitions, like Bronach when not at her proper residence in the lower deep. The *Dindsenchas*,—that early encyclopædia invaluable for everything but the reliable account of the origin of place names which it purports to be,—describes how a lady dwelling in such a mound sprang out at her would-be lover in the form of a dragon.[36] Probably such beliefs, and the consequent fear of irate and deadly beings in earthworks, have helped until recent years to preserve the residential earthen "forts," although the ring walls were destroyed with but little scruple. Nevertheless the son of a farmer named Nihill told me in 1892 that, after some days wreckage and removal of the outer wall of the fine triple stone fort of Cahercalla, near Quin, his father was stricken with acute pain, and only recovered from his illness when the work was stopped,—whence this interesting ruin has been preserved to the present day. A certain landlord, still living, nearly lost the use of one eye from the dust of an explosion when blasting a rock in an earth fort which was being removed, and this incident has upheld the faith and fear of the fairies in north-eastern Clare. A locally famous "astronomer" and weather prophet tried, many years ago, to blast a dolmen in Inchiquin Barony, and a splinter hit his hand, which was badly injured and

[36] *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv., p. 441.

afterwards festered. The wreckage of the dolmen was lying untouched on the ground a few years ago. The collapse of a calf shed on its occupants followed the demolition of Templenaraha oratory for building the unstable structure;[37] this might be ascribed to a more sacred anger than that of the fairies, but the oratory stood in a ring fort. Another case of supposed vengeance occurred near Lehinch on the Atlantic. Some workmen were employed to level the earthworks of Dooneeva,[38] a fort on a low cliff at the end of the bay and near the modern Protestant Church. The man who originated this outrage was digging at the mounds when he fell to all appearance dead. The news was at once taken to his wife, a reputed "wise woman," and she ran to a "fairy spot" and "did magic." She then went to her apparently lifeless husband, and ordered the fairies in a peremptory way to restore him at once and take his stick. Then, before everyone, the stick vanished, and the "dead man" sat up none the worse for his "rapture to the land of faëry."[39] The date of this event could not be fixed, but it seems to be attributed to the period before 1840, and Dooneeva seems to have been in its present condition in 1839.

Two forts named Lissardcarney and Ballyhee in Templemaley Parish were in 1839 reputed strongholds garrisoned by troops of fairies. The songs of the fairies were heard in Cahernanoorane in Inchiquin, and Leskeentha near Noughaval.[40] They danced in the Lisnarinkas, played "hurley" in Lisfearbegnagommaun, and laid in wait to worry the belated traveller in Rathfollane and a small fort near the rectory, to the south of it, near Newmarket-on-Fergus. Fairies haunted the well of Tobesheefra, while even at the holy well of the powerful and vengeful St. Mochulla at Fortanne milk was once offered to them. The butter had refused to "come," and the mistress of the house, (a Protestant woman of good birth and fair education), as she told me herself about 1878, took some of the refractory milk to the well, made the sign

[37] Told to Dr. G. U. MacNamara about 1907.

[38] *Not* Doonmeeve as on the Ordnance Survey maps.

[39] Told to Miss Diana Parkinson. I heard it locally, but more vaguely, in 1907.

[40] Local traditions, 1904, 1908.

of the cross over it, said the Lord's Prayer, dug a hole in the mud at the well with her left heel, and went away without looking back. As might have been expected, the butter had "come" by the time she had got home again, and she used to quote the case as "proof positive." Besides the forts and wells, the dolmens are believed to have been fairy homes, but in my enquiries since 1892 I have never been able to authenticate a case of offerings at them of milk and butter, although small basins like the Swedish "elf mills" are found in the covers of more than one of these structures, and large *bullauns* or basins at others, such as Ballyganner Hill near Noughaval, Cappaghkennedy on the hills above Corofin, and Newgrove and Kiltanon near Tulla in eastern Clare. Food and drink, however, have been, until at least the present century, set out in plates and cups in Inchiquin and Moyarta Baronies, and in the latter, on the Shannon bank, the slops were thrown out and clean plates, water, chairs, and a well-swept hearth left by a punctilious servant for fairy guests in 1888 or 1889.

The greatest fairy monarch in Clare was "Donn of the Sandhills" (now the golf links), near the old castle of Doogh, (*i.e.* Dumhach or Sand Dune), near Lehinch. He, or one of the other fairy princes named Donn, appears in a list of the divine race of the Tuatha Dé Danann,[41] and is therefore of the family of the Dagda, and, it may be presumed, a lineal descendant of the ancient Ana, Mother of the Gods. A well-known Irish scholar and antiquary, Andrew MacCurtin, before 1730 addressed a political petition to Donn of Dumhach complaining, like most Irish antiquaries, of the neglect of the gentry, and praying for any menial post at his Court.[42] As there was none that answered, the petitioner had to rest content with the hospitality of the MacDonnells of Kilkee and the O'Briens of Ennistymon. Donn's heartless conduct met poetic justice, for he has ever since "lacked a sacred bard," and, save for a slight uneasiness in a few poor old people passing across the sandhills after the golfers have left and the sun has set, he is now all but forgotten. In another poem of MacCurtin's, on a monk's horse "overlooked" and killed by the evil eye, or by the look of a red-haired woman, or

[41] *Cath Finntraga* (ed. Kuno Meyer), p. 15.

[42] Mss. Royal Irish Academy, 23. M. 47.

by "the stroke of a fairy," the poet recommends the holy man to get the aid of a local practitioner of renown, Peter the Fairy Killer.[43]

In recent years I have met only one sign of true respect for the "Sheevra" race. A small patch of land was left untilled in the midst of a cornfield at the end of the steep descent from Carran old church to Eanty in the Burren. It was left for three years amidst the tillage, and then the field was allowed to return to grass. The owners obviously disliked to explain the matter, but the act was clearly understood in the neighbourhood as a concession to the spirits of the field when the grass land was broken up for the first time in human memory.[44]

The appearances of the fairies also seem now very rare indeed. At Newmarket-on-Fergus, a centre of much folklore, we find that, besides the two forts named above and a low earth mound (perhaps sepulchral), only one spot has been honoured by an actual apparition in the last ten years. In this case a man walking on the Ennis road, not far from Lough Gaish, saw a very little man neatly dressed in green and walking on the path. Suspecting the green man to be a *leprechaun*,—and hence an owner of gold,—the Clare man tried to grasp him, but the sprite vanished out of his hands.[45]

The "literary movement" will probably affect the folklore very soon, as it is already affecting historical tradition,—which is shown by the variations in certain legends collected at long intervals at the same sites. By some the Danann have been identified with the Danes as "fort builders." If this were so, why did Dane's fort become Caher Loghlanach, (Caher Loglin, 1652), and similar forms? The people once knew better, for forts were attributed to all sorts of times and races, not only to members of the Tuatha Dé Danann, but also to Firbolgs and mythical persons such as Aenghus, Eerish, Eir, Farvagh, and

[43] *Ibid.* 23. K. 10.

[44] It was certainly not the darker belief that in Scotland dedicated an offering to the one called euphemistically "The Goodman," nor like the sheaf sometimes dedicated to Brigit and other saints in West Munster, or, indeed, in other parts of Ireland.

[45] Collected by Miss Katherine Neville. The sprite was, of course, proved not to be a *leprechaun*, as that being can be held by the eye alone.

Croaghan, and Celts such as Lachtna (A.D. 820-840), and Brian Boru (A.D. 980-1014). In one notable instance, King Conor (A.D. 1242-69) is the reputed builder of the great stone fort of Dun Conor in Aran, which in the eleventh-century legend is evidently connected with Conchiurn or Conchraed the Firbolg,—a relation accepted in 1685 by Roderic O'Flaherty, although he called its hero "Conquevar" (*i.e.* Chonchobhar or Conor). Any modern allusion to the Danann is therefore "suspect." Many visits to the recesses of the hills in Burren from 1878 onwards,—and I may add that the same is true of the rest of Clare,—only gave me, in 1905, one direct reference to the Danann.[46] At the natural moat crowned by the small stone ring wall of Croaghateeaun, near Lisdoonvarna, we were told to cross ourselves as a protection against the Danann. The place was, nevertheless, undoubtedly regarded by the older people living near it as a most dangerous fairy fort, and we were told how certain badger hunters,—(who brought drink with them),—after a long festival on its summit got benighted there; they eventually returned home sobered by fright, as they suddenly "saw the whole fleet" of "them" coming up the mound, and escaped only just in time.

The "whirlwinds" along dusty roads and sudden gusts were not long ago everywhere supposed to be caused by the progress of fairy beings. The older folk believed, and trembled,—crossing themselves, or saying a word of prayer,—while the younger folk, more than half in jest, raised their hats, as is still sometimes done to the unlucky "single magpie" and the weasel.

I know of two cases of reputed changelings. My second sister, whose delicacy, when an infant, excited remark, was, about 1842, taken out by a servant to be exposed on a shovel on the doorstep at Carnelly. The angry and hasty intervention of another servant saved the child, but the would-be "exposer" was convinced of the propriety of her attempt "to get back the real child" from the fairies. A very old woman, Kate (Geerin) Molony, a henwife at Maryfort, near Tulla, whom I faintly remember in 1869, was many years before anxious about her little daughter's failing health, and went to a "wise woman," who assured her that the child was "changed." She spoke of this on her return, and unfortunately

[46] Apart from Lon, at Slievnaglasha, and the "hags."

the patient was old enough to understand the fearful decision. The poor child turned over on the bed with a groan, and was a little later found to be dead.

THOS. J. WESTROPP.

(*To be continued.*)

FIFTY HAUSA FOLK-TALES.

The Hausas, as I have tried to prove elsewhere,[1] have probably come from somewhere near Ethiopia, and are a mixture of Arabs and Berbers with Copts and many local tribes between the Nile and the Niger. The following tales are a selection from those I collected during 1908 and 1909 in Jemaan Daroro (N. Nigeria). Women and children are usually the best story-tellers, but I found them difficult to get hold of and more nervous and easily tired than the men, so that I had to rely mainly on my own sex, the narrators being Privates Ba Gu(d)du and Umoru Gombe of the 1st N. Nigeria Regt., the Sa(r)rikin Dukawa (Chief of the Leather workers), Mamma, a personal servant, and Ashetu, a policeman's wife; the stories contributed by them are marked respectively B.D., U.G., S.D., M., and A. Of these by far the best Hausa was spoken by Mamma. All were of course illiterate. The most serious difficulty one encounters is to keep pace with the narrator. To stop him for an explanation is often to disturb him so much that he loses the thread of the tale. Many of the speeches also are sung in a falsetto voice, and this alters the sounds and even the accents of vowels. Again, the story-teller, if paid so much per story, is apt to skip certain parts which he thinks would puzzle the listener, and if paid by time he may add on parts of other tales to avoid the trouble of thinking out a whole fresh one. Lastly, as Mr. Hartland remarks in *The Science of Fairy Tales* (p. 18), "It is by no means an uncommon thing for the rustic story-teller to be unable to explain expressions, and indeed whole episodes, in any other way than Uncle Remus, when called upon to say who Miss Meadows was: "She wuz in de tale, Miss Meadows en de gals wuz, en de tale I give you like hi't wer' gun ter me." Dr. Steere, speaking of a collection of Swahili tales by M. Jablonsky which I

[1] *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. xviii., pp. 767-75.

think has never been published, tells us that almost all of the tales had "sung parts," and of some of these even they who sang them could scarcely explain the meaning." I often found that, although several men would give the sentences in exactly the same way, not one could explain their meaning, and I had to ask the assistance of the Alcali, or native judge,—as being the best educated man in Jemaa,—to help me out of the difficulty. Even now there are one or two words which I have been unable to translate, and rather than make a guess I have left them in the Hausa, so that others may see and perhaps be able to explain them.

The following selection comprises only one-third of the stories, namely those about animals. Many of the other tales refer to the unfaithfulness of wives, and are hardly fit for publication.

To summarise the stories. With the Hausas the Lion seems to be the King of Beasts as with us, though the Spider is in one story said to be so, and the Lion is no match for that insect in cunning. He has a special *Kirrare* or form of address,—*Gaddanga Wan Dawa*, ("Oh Strong One, Big Brother of the Forest"). The Spider is known as *Maiwayo* ("The Crafty One"), because it remains so long in one place apparently studying intently all around it. The Spider is shown here as outwitting the Hyæna (who is the buffoon of the animal world), the Hippopotamus, and the Elephant, and as being stronger than these two beasts, the Snake, the Jackal, the Lamb, all the animals, and even Man, but he does not seem equal to an old woman, and males very often pay him out, as do certain of the animals, such as the Tortoise, the Jackal, and the Goat, but he usually escapes owing to his having a charm for popularity. There is no sense of proportion; *e.g.*, the Spider carries a boy on his back, and can lift any animal and eat it.

The Hyæna, as mentioned above, is often the victim of the Spider's craftiness, and is less sharp even than the Goat, who is by no means the senseless animal that he is with us, for he can deceive even the Lion. The Hyæna is taken in by the Jerboa, the Ostrich, the Jackal, the Scorpion, the Dog, of course Man, and even the Donkey, but he sometimes manages to revenge himself on Man and the Donkey. We have seen that the Goat and Donkey are not types of foolishness with the Hausas. Strangely enough the Dog is seldom regarded as being

particularly knowing, perhaps because the local animal is a poor one. The Dog is always in difficulties with the Hyæna, and has to be very clever to get out of them. He once manages to play a trick on her, but it is the Goat who thinks out the plan. He is no match for the Jackal. The only two tales here concerning the Tortoise show him to be able to hold his own with the Spider and Man. The Elephant is not wise. The Snake, the Scorpion, and the Centipede are the friends of Man. Next to the Spider the Jerboa is usually regarded as being the most clever; he also plays tricks on the Hyæna and the Jackal. On the whole birds seem to have more brains than animals, though not always, and may advise and help even Man.

Instances of human beings taking the forms of animals or birds are numerous, as are the opposite transformations, and men may become even inanimate objects. Naturally all animals and birds can talk to Man, and sometimes things do also. Man is evidently closely connected with every other living thing, since one may marry the other and have children. It is therefore not to be wondered at that they behave in a similar way in regard, for instance, to living, feeding children, marriage, fleeing from creditors, working, and revenge. Honesty is by no means always the best policy, (indeed at times it is extremely unprofitable), but instances of the reward of gratitude are given, though ingratitude and trickery seldom seem to bring any punishment. In cases where certain conditions have to be observed, there is no objection whatever to shirking them provided one be not found out. Some stories seem to point to some form of tests on initiation.

There is sometimes virtue in being swallowed, but if animals or insects act the part of Jack the Giant Killer they usually seem to kill their adversaries by cutting their way out of their hosts.

As regards marriage, a bachelor is looked down upon, so there is no need to extricate him from danger, and a girl should not raise objections to the husbands selected by her parents,—which is probably Mohammedan. I have a story in which girls wishing to be married to a certain youth have to guess his name. Where there are several wives there is of course jealousy, and many stories are told of the ill-treatment of the rival's children by the stepmother, but I have given only one here. The desire for

children is shown strongly, and obedience is expected from them. They are usually well treated, unless they are unnatural. The Hausas reckoned descent through females, and even to-day a Hausa or Filani woman will not mention the name of her first husband. There is a song *Allah na tuba, na foddi sunan mijjina* ("Oh God, I repent, I have spoken my husband's name"), supposed to be sung should any break this law. The eldest child,—especially if a daughter,—is almost always known by a nickname, and the mother at any rate would not say the proper name. The Hausa brides are carried off screaming to their husbands, a survival of marriage by capture. It would seem from one of the stories that various gods or spirits of some kind were once worshipped, since there is a King of the Thicket and a King of the Heavens, and the Hausa idea of a god is fashioned on that of a king. *Allah Sa(r)rikin Dunia* ("God is the King of the World") is a very common expression. The rainbow is said to be a Snake which comes out of a well, a belief,—according to Tylor,[2]—common to rude tribes. Pagans, (and also those professing Mohammedanism when their sincerity is doubted), are to-day sworn on iron,—usually a knife or bayonet. Most Hausas are also careful to bury the nails and hair. Names for echo are *Iblis* (the Arabic devil) and *Kurua* (shade).

Since the spider is the king of cunning and craftiness all fables are told in his name. A story commences thus, the listeners answering the narrator as follows:—

N. *Ga ta nan, Ga ta nan.*	See her here, see her here.
L. *Ta zo ta taya mu hira.*	Let her come and aid our conversation
or	
Ta zo mu ji	Let her come (and) let us hear
or	
Ta zo ta wuche	Let her come and pass.

The narrator then proceeds with his tale. When it is finished he says:—

Ku(r)rum bus kan kusu (or *bera*)	Finished (*Kurmus*=ashes) is the head of the mouse.
En ba don gizzo ba	Were it not on account of the spider

[2] *Primitive Culture*, vol. i., p. 293.

da na yi ka(r)ria dayawa.	I should have greatly lied.
Da ma, ka(r)ria nan ta azuzuka.	Formerly this lie was lucky.
Gobe da safe ka gewoya	To-morrow morning you go around
bayan da(i)ki, sai ka ga	behind the house, and you will see
azurufa tinjim	a pile of silver (which)
gizzo ya zubar.	the spider has placed (there).

The story proper often ends with the words *suka zona* ("they remained"), an equivalent for our "they lived happy ever afterwards." The Hausa would not, however, bind himself to such a wide statement when he knows that the wife at any rate, (being only one of four), will not be altogether content.

The first few tales I have translated literally, so as to show the exact style of a Hausa story, but later ones I have rendered more freely.

1. *The Spider, the Hippopotamus, and the Elephant.* (S. D.)

The Spider got up and went to a river, and[3] said,—"Hippopotamus, the Elephant says she is stronger than you." She (Hippopotamus) said,—"She is not stronger than I." He said,—"Very well, to-morrow we shall bring you together in the wood." He took a leather thong and tied one end to the Elephant. He went to the river, found the Hippopotamus, and tied her with (the other end of) the rope. He returned to the higher ground. He caught hold of the rope and shook and pulled it. The Elephant said,—"The Hippopotamus is pulling me." The Hippopotamus said,—"The Elephant is pulling me." The Spider pulled hard, and they came (*i.e.* were dragged towards one another) and saw each other on the hill. Then the Hippopotamus said,—"So it is the Spider who has made us quarrel (joined us with strife), I and you." Then they untied the thong, and said,—"Let us throw away the thong and find the Spider." When the Spider heard he was being sought, he went away and found an old Oribi skin which had dried up, and he put it on (got inside). He waited in the sun (until) the skin dried up thoroughly, then he started off and came to (the place of) the Elephant. When she saw him, she said,—"O Oribi,

[3] There is no such "and" in Hausa,—the pronoun being repeated,—but this is the best way to translate.

what has happened to you (that) you look so ill?"[4] The Spider said,—"I fought yesterday with the Spider,—see, he scratched me, he bit me, and that is why I look so ill." The Elephant did not know that it was the Spider (who) was speaking, she thought it was the Oribi. So she was frightened and did not look for the Spider any more (*lit.* did not increase looking).[5]

2. *The Spider, the Hyæna, and the Corn.* (S. D.)

The beasts of the forest had all assembled. They made their fences, and they collected their guinea-corn in their storerooms. They said,—"Let us go and travel. When the wet season has commenced let us return to our store."[6] After they had gone, the Spider came and used to take out the corn. Each morning he took (some), until he ate up the corn in all the stores. Then he sought a calabash, and (began) collecting the Hyæna's dung, and filled the store with it. About that time the animals said,—"Let us return home." All returned. The Spider was nowhere to be seen (they did not see). He was their Chief. They kept calling,—"O Spider, O Spider," (but) they did not see him. As for him, he was close, but he answered softly "Yes," like as if he were far away. Then some time after he answered loudly "Yes." Then he came. They said,—"We have been here (come) since the morning. We are hungry (hunger has seized us). You must give us out our corn that we may eat." Then he caught hold of the (wall of the?) store-room, and climbed up. When he had climbed up and looked he said,—"Great Scot!" (No God). They said,—"What is it?" He said,—"No" (I cannot say it). He descended. Then he said,—"Hyæna, you climb up, and give out the guinea-corn." The Hyæna caught hold and ascended. When she had opened (the roof)[7] she saw dung inside like hers. She said,—"(As) God (is my witness) it was not I."

[4] *Lalache*, *i.e.* wasted, ruined.

[5] Cf. Cronise and Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider and the other Beef*, pp. 117-22 ("Spider, Elephan' en Pawpawtamus"); *Journal of the African Society*, 1904, p. 307 ("Animal-stories from Calabar: The Tortoise, Elephant and Hippopotamus").

[6] The stores are usually depleted about this (sowing) time.

[7] The stores are small houses with grass roofs, or they may be smaller and built inside the dwellinghouses.

They said,—"What is it?" She said,—"It was not I." An (animal) then said,—"Let me go and see." When he had climbed up and looked, he said,—"The Hyæna has cheated us." Then they pushed her about. Each took his stick to beat her (her to be beaten). Then she ran away, (and went) into the bush. That was the end of the friendship between her and the (other) beasts of the forest. She has not (since) liked them; they have not liked her. They did her a wrong. The Spider brought the trouble upon her.

3. *The Malam*,[8] *the Spider, and the Hyæna.* (S. D.)

This is about a certain learned man and his horse. He started from Zaria to go (he would) to the city of Kano, but dismounted and rested at the foot of a tamarind tree. Then the Hyæna came and said,—"O, Learned One!" He said,—"Yes." The Hyæna said,—"There is (see) an animal over there which has died in the forest, will you not lend me your horse so that I may get there quickly?" Then the learned man said,—"Certainly. Mount, Hyæna." Then she said,—"Good. Let me take off the saddle and leave it." When she had taken (it) off and had put (it down), she led (pulled) the horse (away). When she had led (it) to the (place where) her cubs (were), they ate it. The learned man, without Hyæna or horse, was sitting there at a loss what to do. Then the Spider came and said,—"O, Learned Man, what are you doing here?" He said,—"I am (merely) sitting (here). I have lost my horse, which I was to have ridden (mounted and gone) to Kano." Then he (Spider) said,—"Here is a saddle. How (is it) you have no horse to ride?" (which you will ride). Then he (Learned Man) said,—"The Hyæna came and led away the horse to her den." Then the Spider said,—"Look here, I am going to bring the Hyæna to you at once. I shall girth on the saddle, I shall put on the bridle, and you shall mount and go to the city of Kano. You on your part, if I do this for you, will you give me a charm for popularity?" (lit. white blood.) He (Learned Man),—"I shall certainly give you a charm, O Spider." Then the Spider got up and went to the Hyæna's den, and said,—"You, Hyæna, you are losing a great chance (doing work of use-

[8] Learned man, priest, or magician.

lessness). There is a feed over there. Yet you are at home?" (lying down). Then she said,—"Truly has an animal died, O Spider?" Then he said,—"Come out, and let us go with all speed." Then she came out, and they went off (were travelling). Then he came upon the saddle-cloth on the road, and said,—"O, Hyæna, if I take this saddle-cloth and put it on your back and mount, we shall go more quickly." So she said,—"Spider, take (it) and put (it on) by all means." So he took (it), and put it on and mounted. Then he went (a little way) and came upon the saddle also, and said,—"O Hyæna, your back is sharp (with pricking), I had better girth on the saddle that I may feel comfortable (while) riding." So she said,—"Take (it) and put (it on) by all means." He put (it on) and mounted. Then he went and got the bridle also, and said,—"O Hyæna, if I put this on you, if you were about to fall through the slipperiness (if slipperiness were about to bring you down), if I pulled (it) really you would not fall." So the Hyæna said,—"Take (it) and put (it on) by all means." So he put the bridle on her and mounted. Then, (as) he was going along, he got the spurs and said,—"Let me put these on. If I touch you, you will go more quickly." When he had put on the spurs and had mounted the Hyæna, he kept on digging (moving to one side) the spurs into her stomach, (so that) she lost control of herself (was dropping), and he brought her to the Learned Man. He said,—"O Learned Man, mount. Here is the Hyæna. I have brought her to you." So he (Learned Man) made a charm for popularity, and gave (it) to the Spider. Then the Learned Man went off, towards Kano. The Spider said,—"When you go to Kano, do not tie her up with a leather thong. Put a chain on her." Then the Learned Man said to the Hyæna,—"Stop, the Spider is saying something behind (us)." But she said,—"I heard. He said,—"When you have gone to Kano, you (must) tie me with a thong. He said you must not chain me up. If you put a chain on me I shall die."" Then he spurred her, and they went on quickly (with a run). When he came to Kano, he dismounted, and he tied her up with a thong (hide). So, when night came, the Hyæna ate the hide. She drank the water for the house,[9] and ate up the fowls belonging to

[9] Brought by the women and left in pots in the house.

the house. Then she seized one goat, and ran away with it, and brought the goat belonging to the house to her cubs. Then she went out to look for the Spider. (As for) the Spider, he had been given a charm for popularity. Every animal she inquired of said,—"We have not seen the Spider." Even though (until) she became tired of traversing the forest, she did not see him. Then an internal sickness griped her, and she died in the forest. That was the beginning of (the time when) the Spider became popular. (In) every tale one mentions the Spider.[10]

4. *How the Spider outwitted the Snake.* (B. G.).

A Snake had a bull. The feast[11] was approaching. It was the eve. So he was going about with his bull and saying (said) (it is) for sale, but it will not be paid for with money; but a time must be fixed when payment shall be made, and he (Snake) will come and bite the man, (thus) he will pay (he will have paid). So he took it around (went around with it); of all (the people) not one took it. Then he went to the Spider's house, and the Spider said,—"How much is your bull?" Then he said,—"My bull I will not sell for money, but a time must be fixed when one is to pay, and I shall come and bite you." Then the Spider, the thief, said he agreed. He (Snake) said,—"Very well, he could eat the bull, but twelve days after the feast, (when the feast had gone by twelve days), he would come and bite him." Then the Spider said,—"Very well, let it be so." So he went away. When only one of the twelve days was left, the Spider told his wife to rough-grind some millet flour. Some tamarind (leaves?) were taken and put into this millet flour. When day broke, the twelve days were completed. So the Snake came. He said,—"Welcome, welcome." Thus spoke the Spider. Then he said to the wife,—"Bring some water that he may drink." He was about to have the bitter flour brought (lit. bring). She brought (it). Then the

[10] Cf. Cronise and Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-5, ("Mr. Turtle makes a Riding-horse of Mr. Leopard").

[11] Salla. There are two; the second, or Babban Salla, comes a month after the first, and everyone feasts after the fasting. These are of course observed only by the Mohammedans.

Snake drank (some) water, and the Spider said,—"Oh, the bitter (stuff) is at the bottom (in the middle). Eat (some)." So he (Snake) took (some) and filled his mouth. Then all his teeth became useless (died). Then the Spider said,—"Drink to be sure." He (Snake) said he would not drink any more. Then the Spider said,—"One drink (is) no good." So he took some more. The jaws (teeth) became stiff (cold) and would not move. They were (no longer) powerful as before. Then he (Spider) stretched out (his) leg to him, and said,—"Now bite." He (Snake) said,—"No, I cannot." He (Spider) said,—"Certainly, we arranged that the time should be completed to-day. You must bite." He (Snake) said he could not. He (Spider) said, —"Very well. If you do not bite (me) to-day,[12] I have paid for your bull. If I see you again (you will get nothing) but a beating (blows) with a stick." Then the Snake saw that the Spider was crafty, so he said,—"Very well, we fixed a time and it has come. I cannot bite you. You have (nevertheless) paid. I shall not come again."

5. *The Snake and the Dove outwit the Spider.* (B. G.).

This is about a Snake (who) was tending his bull. He asked the butchers to come and buy. So they said,—"For what?" He said,—"Whoever buys (it), when my pool has dried up I shall come and go inside him." Then the chief of the butchers said,—"No, we cannot do (that)." Then a Spider came. When he had come and had been told, he said, as for him, he would buy (it). When the pond should dry up, let him (Snake) come and enter inside him.[13] So the Spider said he agreed. He seized the bull, the Snake returned to the water, and the Spider went off and ate his meat. Now what was he to do (when) the time was up? The Spider went off and dug a hole, some flour was ground for him, (and) he took it into the hole. His wife covered him up. Then he told the wife, if the snake came, to say to the Snake he (Spider) was dead. When the Snake had come, the female spider said to him,—

[12] Really means "whether you bite me or not to-day."

[13] It is rather uncertain, in the Hausa, who is speaking here, but the sense points to the Spider.

"The Spider is dead." Then the Snake said,—"Let her go and show him the grave." The female spider went and showed him. So the Snake returned. A Dove[14] came to the Snake, (and when) she (perched) on top of a tree she saw the Snake was about to die. So she said,—"What has happened to you?" And he said,—"It is (because) the Spider has cheated me. He has eaten[15] my bull." Then she said,—"How much will you give me now if I take you to where the Spider is?" So said the Dove. He said he would give her 2000 (cowries).[16] She said she refused. He said he would give her 10,000. She said she refused. Then he said he would give her 20,000. Then she said,—"Agreed." So she came and lifted him up, and took him to the Spider. She was singing and saying,—"Debts are owed (even) to the grave. We the payers of the debts to the Spider have come." She said,—"The soup (made) of rice and sweet herb (is welcome?) thus (to) birds."[17] Then the Spider replied and said,—"Is that so, O Dove? Come into my house and drink water. The soup of rice and sweet herb (is welcome) thus (to) birds." Then the Spider came outside, and saw the Snake. He (Snake) said,—"For shame, you man of the world, you have eaten my bull (and) I was searching for you and could not find you?" Then the Spider said to him,—"What shall we do?" Then he (Spider) said,—"Very well, enter." So the Snake entered the body of the Spider, and the Spider lay down and died. Then the Snake went off.

6. *The Spider has a Feast.* (B. G.).

The Spider was seized with hunger, (but) he had nothing to eat. So he said,—"Very well," he must make a plan. He said he would summon all the beasts of the forest to mourn (his) death. When they had all assembled, he would jump up (with a) "boop," (so that) the big ones would be frightened and trample on the small. Well, the Elephant was told that the Spider had died, the Buffalo was told, the Roan Antelope was told, the Hartebeeste

[14] It is doubtful whether *kurichia* is a dove or a wood-pigeon.

[15] Perhaps "won from me."

[16] Worth 1s. in Jemaan Daroro in 1908.

[17] The narrator said that this was the meaning of the song, but it seems doubtful. Perhaps he did not know it himself.

was told; amongst the small ones also the Gazelle was told that the Spider had died, the Oribi was told, the Duiker was told, the Reed-buck was told, the Hare was told, the Jerboa was told, the Francolin was told. So they all came and assembled at the house. Each one who (he) came looked at his eyes and started crying, and said,—"Alas, the Spider is dead." All the animals here cried until only the Francolin was left. She was more knowing than they. When she came, she watched and saw the eyeball bright, so she flew up (on to a tree) and began to sing. As for the Spider, he had put an axe close to his head (neck). The Francolin was going to put the small ones on their guard (make cunning to). She said,—"Jerboa, Hare, the Spider is dead, but, if a man dies in his town, does one eye blink? (Does he put) an axe by (his) head?" She said "Jerboa, Hare, run away." She flew thus,—turrrr. As she arose, the Spider heard, and saw (that) the other animals were about to flee, so he jumped up "boop." When he appeared, the Elephant, the Buffalo, the Roan Antelope, and the Hartebeeste ran away, and they trampled on the Gazelle, the Reed-buck, the Hare, and the Jerboa, and killed them (all died). Then the Spider came and took the meat. He said he had been cunning enough to get (he had made the cunning which got) meat.

7. *How the Spider obtained a Feast.* (M.).

This is about a Spider. He was longing for a feast, so he set fire to his house and burnt (it). When he had burnt (it), he went to the Fowl's house, and said,—"To-morrow I am having a "working-bee."[18] My (his) house is burnt." So the Fowl said, —"Very well, (but) do not tell the Wild Cat." So he said,— "Oh, come." When he had left (he went straight to) the Wild Cat's house. When he had gone to the Wild Cat's house he said, —"Peace be to you." He (Wild Cat) then said,—"On you be peace." Then (thus it was until) he said,—"Now my house[19] is

[18] If a person has such an accident, his friends assemble and help him to repair the damage free of charge.

[19] *Gidda* is really the whole dwelling, and *da*(*i*)*ki* a single hut, but both terms are used to describe the same thing. I have used the word house here instead of den, hole, or web as the case might be, as the idea is evidently that the abodes have grass roofs.

burnt, to-morrow I am having a working-bee." So he (Wild Cat) said,—"Very well, but do not tell the Dog." He (Spider) said,—"Oh, no." When he left, he went straight to the Dog's house. He said,—"My house is burnt. To-morrow I am having a bee." He (Dog) said,—"A bee for what?" He (Spider) said,—"A bee for roofing." He (Dog) said,—"Very well, but do not tell the Hyæna." He (Spider) said,—"Oh, no, you will not meet with her." When he left, (he went) straight to the Hyæna's house. He (Spider) said,—"To-morrow I am having a bee." She said,—"Very well, but do not tell the Leopard." He said,—"No." He left, (and went straight) to the Leopard's house. He said,—"To-morrow I am having a bee." He (Leopard) said,—"Very well. May God preserve (take) us, but do not tell the Lion." He (Spider) said,—"No." He left, (and went) straight to the Lion's house. He (Spider) said,—"Peace be to you." He (Lion) said,—"On you be peace." He (Spider) said,—"O Great One, big Brother of the Forest," and said,—"To-morrow I am having a bee." He said,—"Very well." So the Spider returned home. When he had returned home, in the morning[20] lo! the Fowl came to tie the grass. She was (in the midst of) tying the grass when the Wild Cat came (lit. see the Wild Cat). So the Wild Cat said,—"Peace be upon you, O Spider." Then the Fowl said,—"Ah, Spider, I said you were not to tell the Wild Cat. Did you just go straight and tell him?" Then the Spider said,—"Well, hide in this grass." Then the Wild Cat went and caught the Fowl, (and) killed it. When this had happened (so it was), the Spider said,—"Well done. Bring (it) here that I may put (it) by for (you)." So the Wild Cat said,—"Very well." Thus it was when the Dog (came), and said,—"Ah, Spider, where is the roofing (to be done)?" So the Spider showed him the place where the Wild Cat was hiding, and said,—"Oh here it is." So the Dog seized the Wild Cat and killed (it), and the Spider said,—"Well done. Bring (it) for me to keep for you." So the Dog was making the roof when the Hyæna arrived. When she came, she said,—"Where is the roofing (to be done?)" Then he (Spider) showed her where the Dog was. Then he (Dog) said,—"Ah, I said you were not to (do not) tell her." So the Hyæna

[20] Next day, of course.

seized the Dog, and killed (him), and the Spider said,—"Well done. Eat him yourself, I do not want any."[21] So she ate (him). When this had happened (so it was when), the Leopard came, and the Spider said,—"Here is the place to make the roof." So she (Leopard) went and seized the Hyæna, who (she) was crouching in the grass. So she (Leopard) killed (the Hyæna), and gave (the body to) the Spider, (and) he put (it) by. When, lo! the Lion came upon the Leopard. They began to fight. They fought, and fought, and fought, (and) the Spider took up a big stick and began beating (them), and beating (them), and saying,—"O Lion leave off, O Leopard leave off. Who can decide (enter) a (your) quarrel between great ones?" So the Spider beat and beat them with the stick (until) he killed them. Then he collected all (plenty of) the meat in his house. He ate all the meat. He did not give (any to) the female spider. The greediness of the spider is very great (fills much).[22]

8. *The Spider outwitted by the Tortoise.* (B. G.).

This is about the Tortoise. He and the Spider were going on a trading expedition. (At) each house (where) they stopped he (Spider) said to Tortoise,—"Now, if, when food has been brought, it is said (to be) 'for the strangers,' it is mine. If it is said (to be) 'for the stranger,' it is yours." The Tortoise did not know the language of the town where they were going. In the evening, food was brought; it was said (to be) 'for the strangers.' The Spider said,—"Now, Tortoise, you see it is mine." He (Spider) ate up the food. He left him (Tortoise) hungry. Next morning they went to another town. Food was brought. It was said (to be) 'for the strangers,' so the Spider said,—"It is mine." As for the Tortoise, he was famishing, he got very thin. As he was hungry (wasted away), in the middle of the night he took a calabash belonging to the people of the house and began eating the scraps. Then the owner of the house came out with a stick

[21] The pagans around Jemaa all eat dogs, while the Mohammedan townspeople do not. So this may be a local variation, as the narrator was a Mohammedan.

[22] Cf. *Journal of the African Society*, 1904, pp. 307-8 ("Animal-stories from Calabar: Tortoise's Creditors").

to beat him, but he said,—"No, no, it is I, the Tortoise." Then the owner of the house said,—"Very well, but what about the food that has been brought to you?" Then he said,—"Oh no, the Spider said if (it was for) 'the strangers' it was his; if (it was) 'for the stranger' it was mine." Then the owner of the house said,—"Indeed, so the Spider played you a trick like that?" He said,—"Let us go now (leave). In the morning you will be revenged" (it will be revenged to you). In the morning the owner of the house caused food to be prepared. Two fowls were brought, a boy was found, and it was said to him,—"See here, You must say 'Here is food for the stranger.'" When the boy had brought (it), he said,—"(It) is for the stranger." Then the Spider said to the boy,—"You are lying. We are two. Do you say 'here is food for the stranger'?" Then the boy said,—"No, I was told (it was said) to bring food for the stranger." Then the Spider said,—"Very well, Tortoise, eat (it). It is God (Who) has given you (it)." Then the Spider became angry, and said,—"To-morrow we shall go away." When they were about to bid them farewell, the people of the house put a he-goat and a bull in a house. A cord was tied to the bull, and a leather thong to the he-goat. The door was closed, (and) only the ropes were left outside. Then the owner of the house said,—"Let each one come and hold a rope. Whatever he seizes will be his." Then the Spider came and pushed the Tortoise aside, and caught hold of the thong, thinking that must be (for) the bull. Then they said,—"Have you got hold?" They said they had caught hold. When the door was opened, they said,—"Let each pull his own." When the Spider pulled the hide rope, the he-goat came out,—"baa"; when the Tortoise pulled his cord, (out came) a bull, a big one. Then the Spider felt sore at heart, and said he would be revenged for this evil deed. They went off, and he (Spider) killed his he-goat, he, the Spider, and he gave the Tortoise the liver, and he (Tortoise) put (it) in his bag. They went on a little way, when the Spider said,—"Here, Tortoise, give me my liver," so said the Spider. Then the Tortoise put his hand (into the bag), and pulled it out and gave (it) him. Then the Spider said,—"Nonsense, Tortoise, don't you understand a joke?" Then he said,—"I was playing a trick on you. Eat it up, I gave it to

you as a present." So the Tortoise ate up the liver. When he (Spider) saw (that) he had eaten (it), and they had gone on a little way, he said,—"Tortoise, give me my liver." Then he (Tortoise) said,—"Oh no, I have no liver." Then the Spider said,—"You are a liar. You must kill your bull, and give me (his) liver." So he killed the bull, he the Tortoise, and gave (it to) the Spider. Then the Spider said his liver was bigger than that (thus). Then the Tortoise got angry. He divided his bull, and gave him half. But the Spider said, oh no, his liver was bigger than that, he must give him the whole bull. So he took the whole of the meat, he the Spider, and he said he was revenged. The Tortoise said,—"Very well, I also shall revenge (myself)." Then the Tortoise ignored the Spider; he took a different road, and found some chalk and blue dye, and put (it) on his body in spots. Then he went and lay down in the road. The sun sank. Evening had come. Then the Spider came, and saw him; (he was) afraid. He smote his breast, and said,—"O Spotted One, gave me room to pass." He (Tortoise) remained silent. Then he (Spider) said,—"Do you want the bull?" The Tortoise did not move. Then he (Spider) took a leg, and threw (it) to him. The Tortoise did not move. Then he threw more to him. (There was) only silence, no movement. Then he said,—"Do you want the whole of the flesh of the bull?" He took (it). He threw him the whole of the flesh. The Tortoise refused to move. Then the Spider said,—"Do you want my coat and trousers?" So he took (them) off. He gave him all. He became naked. Then the Tortoise moved to one side, gave him room, and he (Spider) passed by. So the Tortoise arose and took the flesh, he took all the booty, and said,—"I also am revenged."

9. *The Spider and the Rubber Baby*. (B. G.).

This is about the Spider. He said to measure him out some ground-nuts. He said,—"Peel and cook (them)." So (they were) peeled and cooked, salt and oil were put in, (and) he said he was going to sow. So he took his hoe, and found a shady, cool place near (the) water. Then he ate (until) he was satisfied, he drank water, he lay down, and went to sleep. When he got up, he took some mud and plastered (it) on his body. Then he came to

his wife, and told (her) to bring him water to wash with, he had returned from work. This went on and on until the time of the ground-nut harvest came. Then the wife said she had seen ground-nuts at everyone's house ripening (looking well); (therefore) those which her husband had sown must be ripe by now. So she said she wanted to go to the farm and grub. Then he said,—"Oh no, it was not you (who) sowed the ground-nuts for me. I shall go and dig them." In reality he was going to steal from the Half-man. So he went and stole ground-nuts, and brought (them) to his wife. Then the Half-man came, and saw that he had been robbed, and said he would make a trap with a rubber girl and catch (the thief). Then the Spider came and saw a fine girl, with a fine neck (look at the neck), with fine breasts. So he came and touched the breasts, and said,—"Oh, Girl." Then the rubber held him. Then he said,—"Ah, Girl, let me go. Do you want me?" Then he placed one hand (on her) also. Then the hand stuck. Then he said,—"You Girls, do you like a man enough to hold him? I will kick you." So he kicked with one foot. The rubber held him. Then he got angry, and used an abusive epithet. He kicked also with the other foot. When he had kicked, the rubber caught him all over. He was bent up. Then he said,—"Very well, I am going to butt you." So he butted her, but his head stuck. Just then[23] the Half-man saw (him). Then he said,—"Thanks be to God." He got a switch of the tamarind tree, and put it in the fire. Then he brought some butter and rubbed (it on). Then he came, and fell upon the Spider until (his) back peeled. His whole body was peeled. Then he loosened the Spider from the rubber. He said,—"Here, you Spider," so said the Half-man, "if you come here again, I the Half-man will kill you."[24]

A. J. N. Tremearne.

(To be continued.)

[23] Lit. "from there," so it may mean "just then," or "from where (he was)."

[24] I have met no other reference to the Half-man in Hausa tales (A. J. N. T.) Cf. vol. xx. pp. 209-11; *Journal of the African Society*, 1904, pp. 59-60 ("Duala Fables: I. The Man and his Wife"); and, for the Half-man, Cronise and Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-86 ("Marry the Devil, there's the Devil to pay").

Panjab Folklore Notes.

Next to nothing appears to have been done to collect the folklore of plants and animals in the Panjab, and the District *Gazetteers* and *Settlement Reports* are naturally almost silent upon a subject which is of no official importance or interest. The following items from such sources, however, seem worth recording.

The first extracts are from the late Mr. E. O'Brien's *Gazetteer of Muzaffargarh*:—

In Muzaffargarh owls, owlets, and goatsuckers, (*ghugh*, *úlú*, *chebri*, and *buk*), are birds of bad omen. The *ghugh* is called *Kirakká shinh*, or the Kirâr's tiger, because Kirârs hold it in superstitious dread.

Chánh or blue jay. To hear or see it is a good omen.

Malhálá, butcher bird or shrike. To see one fly is a good omen.

Hil (Hind *chíl*) is the kite, which is supposed to be female for six months and male for the other six months of the year.

Khan, a black and white lizard with a bluish tinge. There are all sorts of fables about *khans*. It does not copulate, but is found full-grown in the belly of snakes. It is supposed to be most deadly, though it is really perfectly harmless.

> *Jai kùn khâwe khan Ma na dekhe jan.*
> "He whom a *khan* bites is as sure to die as if his mother had never seen him born."

Galei. This is a lizard which is larger than the house lizard, and is supposed to be harmless. If a woman touch a *galei* before she makes butter, it will be abundant.

Salang vásak, also called *sál pívná* ("the breath-drinker"), because it drinks the breath of sleeping persons.

Vais, a snake said to tie the hind legs of buffaloes together with its coils as with a kicking-strap, and to drink their milk.

Tír már or *ghore dangan*, *udná*, or *jatal* is said to be a hairy snake.

What is the *charohá* (*lit.* washerman), described as a harmless snake,—and why is it so called? Why is the *garwânak* snake also called *sankan* ("co-wife")? Why is the fish *khaga* (*macrones carcio*) also called *trikanda*?

The following notes come from the same writer's *Multânî Glossary* (old edition):—

Chikri, the spotted owlet, ("button owl" of Europeans and *Athene brama* of Jerdon). Besides being a bird of ill omen, it is considered extremely ugly.

Harmal, a plant, (*peganum harmala*, Stewart), which grows abundantly in the Sindh Sâgar Thal. Its seeds, mixed with bran and salt, are burnt to drive away jinns, and to avert the evil eye and the machinations of enemies.

Méthrá, (*trigonella fœnum-graecum*). There is a popular belief on the banks of the Indus that, if *méthrá* seed is sown before noon, *méthrá* will come up; if after noon, *ussún* (*brassica eruca*).

Kal kárchchí, the king crow bird. It is reverenced by Mohammedans because it brought water to Imâm Husain when he was martyred. Sindhi *kálkanchhí*.

Kural, a large fish-hawk. The popular story is that *kurals* hunt in couples, one before the other. The first flies along the surface of the water, croaking "Allâh! Allah!", and the fish which come to the top to see who is the pious person are seized by the other bird.

The following note comes from an old Settlement Report in Gujrânwîla:—

"The people have curious superstitions about sugar-cane: the setting the cane is a solemn operation, none of the family are allowed to *spin* on that day for fear it should cause a stringy and worthless crop, and when the crop is ripe the *first* juice pressed in the new sugar-mill is distributed gratis to *fakîrs*, servants, etc."

This is probably an instance of sympathetic magic. Spinning would cause the cane to burst and so become worthless. The first-fruits also are given away, though not dedicated, apparently, to a temple.

H. A. Rose.

Armenian Folk-Tales.

The first of the following stories, "The Foolish Man," is translated from the second story in *Manana*, a collection of Armenian folk-tales published in 1878 by Bishop Karekin Servantzdiantz.

A portion of the Bishop's later work, *Hamov Hodov*, has been translated by M. Frédéric Macler,[1] who also gives some account of the life of the author in his Preface.

Bishop Servantzdiantz was closely connected with His Holiness Mgrditch Khrimian,—teacher, Bishop, Patriarch, and late Catholicos of the Armenian Church,—in various enterprises set on foot for the betterment of his people.

After the Berlin Congress, Bishop Servantzdiantz was commissioned to travel through the Turkish Provinces in order to exhort the Armenians to be patient yet a little longer, and wait for the promised reforms before seeking a refuge in other countries. At the same time he collected various statistics, and also the folk-tales which appeared later in his books,—*Shushan* (Lily), *Krots ou Prots* (Of Pens and Picks), *Hnots yev Norots* (Of Old and New), *Toros Aghpar* (Brother Toros), *Manana* (Manna), and *Hamov Hodov* (Spicy and Fragrant).

Many villages have their local bard or story-teller, but it is not every one who is favoured with a recital. The story-teller is shy of exhibiting his skill in the presence of clergymen or foreigners. A degree of familiarity with devils, and indelicate allusions, appear in the tale, told as it has been handed down to him by a preceding raconteur, which he fears will offend such hearers. Bishop Servantzdiantz disguised himself as a layman in order to obtain these tales in their unexpurgated form, and he transcribed them accurately in the dialect peculiar to each region of country. It must have been a trial to the Bishop to curb his pen and give the short, crisp sentences of the Oriental story-teller instead of his own flowery style, of which the following extract will serve as an example, and give, at the same time, his aim in preserving these tales:—

"To save Armenians from oppression, they must be taught to know themselves. To rescue Armenians from the brink of the grave of indifference, it is necessary to call to them in the dialect of their ancestors. It is necessary to play upon the flutes of Mount Masis (Ararat) in their ears; it is time to wipe the dust from our harps; to reset and stretch their loose and broken

[1] *Collection de Contes et Chansons Populaires*, Tome xix., *Contes Arméniens*, (1905). Some of the same stories also appear in *The Olive Fairy Book*, 1907.

strings; to set the press at work, and by its means to scatter broadcast the national songs and tales, and study the literature and the archæology and the writings and sayings of our people."

A few years ago it was a common sight,—and in some villages it is still,—to see the men of the place hastening through the evening meal in order to be on hand at the house of the story-teller, who has a supply of tales warranted to last all winter. You may see them slipping, singly, through the streets at nightfall, each with a flat cake folded and thrust under his arm, and a small loaf of fresh bread, called *popotch*, stuffed into the front of his blouse. They enter a low-raftered room, a portion of which is railed off from the rest. The inner portion has divans extending along the opposite sides, raised slightly above the central strip. This space is carpeted, while the divans are spread with large flat cushions, or mats, which are piled two and three deep at the upper end. These are the seats of honour, on either side of the fireplace. Here the oldest members of the company seat themselves, and the others follow in strict order of age or importance. The younger married men sit cross-legged in the centre of the room, while the beardless men and boys are ranged beyond the railing. The flames of the fire and the flickering rays of a wick floating in a clay lamp of the kind used two thousand years ago, furnish the light for the occasion.

As the company gathers, the entrance of each graybeard is the signal for a general up-rising; the old men move down a peg or two to give room to one who is more worthy, or wealthy, or hoary than themselves; the younger men stand with hands folded across their breast, a solemn row, unless some irrepressible fellow discomfits their gravity by some droll aside, causing them to drop to the floor with smothered laughter. Salaams are exchanged with each one upon his arrival, and again after the full complement has arrived. "Good evening, Uncle Toros."—"God give you a good evening, my son!" "How are you, are you well?"—"How should I be, my son? He who lives will see sorrow; life is fleeting."—"Oh, you will live to see a hundred years!"—"My father lived to be a hundred and ten, but I shall not see my grandchildren's grandchildren, alas!"

After such preliminaries the aged guest turns to the host and

inquires, "What have you for us to-night, Dede Agha?", and soon the story is in full swing. The elder men nod gravely, and interject an occasional "Amen," or a "Praise to Thee, O Lord!" The young men roll up the flat cakes, and, holding them like giant cigars, munch away on them, varying their fare with a bite taken now and then from the loaf which they hold in the other hand. Thus, with hands and mouths agreeably employed, they drink in the tale with both ears, and have their eyes fixed upon the story-teller, who holds them spell-bound with his graphic narrative.

1. *The Foolish Man.*

Once upon a time there was a man who was very wealthy, but he was a spendthrift and he ate up all that he had. Neither bread nor broth remained. So he thrusts one hand into his bosom, and, resting his head upon the other, he sits and meditates upon his condition, and wears himself out moaning and lamenting. His acquaintances come and gather around him, and an old gray-bearded man amongst them rises and says,—"You have done something (some sin). Your Luck has deserted you. Arise, go after your Luck. You may possibly find it, and, regaining it, be as fortunate as before."

The man set out. He travelled over rocks and hills. Night and day he sought for his Luck. One night, in a dream, he sees his Luck lying face downwards on the top of a mountain, moaning and bewailing, like himself.

When he awakes the next morning he directs his steps towards that mountain.

He goes, and goes. He sees a lion seated in his path. The lion calls the man, and asks,—"Where are you going?" The man says,—"I am going to find my Luck." The lion says,—"I am sure that your Luck is very wise. Ask him how I can get strong. (It is seven years that I have been crippled.) When you return, come and tell me, and I will do you what kindness I can in return." The man promises, and goes on his way.

He goes, and goes, and he sees a vineyard which is full of a thousand kinds of fruit. When he gathers some and eats it, he finds that it is bitter. The owner of the vineyard happens along,

and is angry at him. Afterwards he asks the man where he is going. The man tells the owner of the vineyard his trouble. "If that is so," says the owner of the vineyard, "ask your Luck what remedy there is for my vineyard, for, in spite of everything I do, the fruit is bitter. I grafted it; it did no good. I set out new shoots; it did no good. When you return, bring me an answer; I will do you what kindness I can in return." The man promises, and goes on his way.

He goes, and goes, and he comes to a kiosk and a palace. He enters, and he sees a beautiful young woman walking about inside the gate. She asks the man,—"Brother, what are you doing here?" The man tells her his story. The young woman replies, —"I have great good luck, much property and goods; but I have a grief, so that my days and nights are passed in sorrow. If you will ask your Luck for a remedy for me, I will share all my riches with you." The man promised, and went on his way.

He went, and went, and, lo! and behold! there was his Luck, lying on the top of a mountain! He gives a *salaam*, and sits down beside him. He complains to him about himself (about his plight), and then he asks all the questions he had promised to ask, and receives the answer to each. "Now let us be going," says he. "You go ahead, and I will follow," says Luck.

The man sets out, and, coming first to the young woman, he says,—"Your remedy is to marry some brave fellow, and then your sorrow and grief will be over."

He comes to the vineyard. He calls the owner of the vineyard, and says,—"In the stream from which you water your vineyard there is gold ore. Bits of gold come with the water; the trees absorb these, and the fruit becomes bitter. Either draw your water from another stream, or dig out the ore, and your fruit will taste sweet."

The man then comes to the lion and sits down beside him, and tells him how he found his Luck, and all about the vineyard-owner, and about the young woman. The lion enquires,—"Didn't the young woman do you any kindness?" The man replied,—"She said,—"Come marry me, and let us enjoy together the goodness of God." But I did not consent." The lion asks,—"What kindness did the owner of the vineyard do to

you?" The man replies,—"The owner of the vineyard dug up the ore. A heap of gold was taken out, and he gave it to me, but I wouldn't take it. I said,—"Who is going to take that on his back and carry it all the way home?"" "Well," says the lion,—"What remedy did he say there was for me?" The man says,—"And for you he said,—"If he eats the head of a foolish man he will grow strong.""

The lion thought it all over very carefully, then, raising his paw very gently towards the man's head, he strikes it to the ground, and smashes and eats it, and he says to himself,—"Lord, I can't find a more foolish man than you on the face of the earth!"

Talas (Cesarea). J. S. Wingate.

Scraps of English Folklore, V.

Buckinghamshire.

A farmhouse, demolished about thirty years ago, was situated where now is the garden of the Mound, Long Crendon, and at the beginning of the last century was inhabited by two old women. One of them, who was single, stole the wedding-ring of the other, who was lying dangerously ill. So the sick woman vowed that after her death she would haunt and torment the thief. This she did, and the victim felt as if she were being pricked by pins and followed by the ghost, especially when near an old elm-tree which was on the green in front of the house. This continued until the ghost was laid in the salt-box of the house, which was kept near the fireplace to keep the salt dry. The ceremony of laying the ghost was performed by twelve parsons, who, standing in the middle of the room, *chanted* a prayer backwards, one of them meanwhile holding a dove in his hand. The spirit, in the shape of the dead woman, tore the dove in pieces, and then went into the salt-box, there to remain "whilst water runs and the sun shines."

The above account was given by Mrs. Cadle, of Long Crendon, who heard it from her grandmother.

Geoffrey I. L. Gomme.

Mrs. A., a resident here, says that every time a robin comes into her house there is trouble. She cites three instances, two in which the omen was followed by serious illness, and a third, when robins entered repeatedly, by death.

Yesterday (May 26th, 1910), I was given an orchid which had been rescued from one of the Royal wreaths on the way to the bonfire. The next woman I called on told me it was very unlucky to bring such things into the house.

Slough. (Rev.) R. V. H. Burne.

Essex.

The following cure for whooping-cough was told by an old woman, about the year 1878:—"You must cut a little hair from the nape of the child's neck and make it into a ball with some fat," (some particular fat was specified), "but butter will *do*, and lay it on your front door step, and the first dog that comes by will eat it. My little Bill" (her grandson) "was bad, and I tried it for him. I had hardly laid the fat on the steps when Master Edwards" (the shepherd) "come by, and his dog snapped it up, and the child *never whooped again*,"—(these last words very solemnly and impressively).[1]

One day, the Rector,—it must have been in the sixties or seventies,—called at some cottages in a remote part of the parish. In one house the woman said her baby had been very bad with teething, but she had been to Walden and got a skein of red silk to put round its neck, so she hoped it would be better. Next door, the woman had cut her hand badly, but "I greased the knife and put it on the shelf," which she seemed to think would give her great relief.

About 1899, I discovered that our garden-boy would not go to the pond for water if a dragon-fly were about,—"merrymaid" a' he called it,—as "it would draw him into the water." (Apparen' some confusion with mermaid?)

A cook who lived with us for some years always kept a Q head (a shilling) on her bad leg, but whether to ease the pa to

[1] Cf. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties* 143; vol. xx., p. 221 (*Staffordshire*).

keep the place from breaking into an open wound, I cannot now feel sure.

Essex people say, "If you draw may into the house, you draw the head of the house out"; and this last spring (1909), when I was staying near Saffron Walden, I gave an old woman in the almshouse a piece of pink may that I was wearing, and her rather sudden death the following week I found was attributed to this.

Eynsham, Oxon. M. F. Irvine.

Lancashire.

At Coniston it is believed that no light should be taken outside the house from Christmas Eve to the New Year, and that, for the same period, the ash-pit under the kitchen fire must not be emptied lest a death should follow speedily.

Coniston. Harriet M. Smith.[2]

At Manchester on New Year's Eve a gold coin is thrown into the house for luck before the "firstfoot" enters.

Florence M. Brown.[2]

Surrey.

L. B. (aged about 25) says that at Hascombe it is thought unlucky to throw away the greenery of Christmas decorations; it should be burnt, but there is no particular day for burning it.[3]

She says also that it is unlucky to have "palm" in the house before Palm Sunday.

Woking. Barbara Freire-Marreco.

Somerset.

If you strike any glass vessel and stop it ringing, a sailor is saved from drowning.

Slough. (Rev.) R. Dyke Acland.

[2] A member of the West Riding Teachers' Anthropological Society (*supra*, p. 103).

[3] Cf. vol. xx., pp. 488-90.

Yorkshire.

In the colliery district near Normanton, it is believed to be unlucky to meet a woman or anyone with a squint when going to work.[4]

In Craven it is unlucky to put up an umbrella in the house,[5] or to put it on a table; to put shoes on the table;[6] to sit on a table;[6] for one crow to be flying about; or for a bird to enter a house suddenly.[7]

In Craven it is lucky to hear a cricket whistling.

At Carleton-in-Craven, my grandmother and parents were quite convinced that at Christmas certain things must be done and others left undone, viz.—no greenery was to be brought into the house before Christmas Eve;[8] no green was to be burnt;[9] and a Yule log must be burnt both on Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve. My grandmother believed that on Old Christmas Day (January 6th) all oxen knelt down at a certain hour to do homage to the Saviour, and that a flower bloomed for a short time.

Coniston. HARRIET M. SMITH.[2]

The following items were collected in villages near Pontefract in 1909-10:—

To spill milk is the sign of a birth.

A child must be christened before paying its first visit, or evil comes to the house visited.[10] On that visit it receives a present of an egg, salt, and silver.[11] The salt prevents trouble with the teeth, and in Knottingley the egg is to make a custard for the mother. Sometimes a match is given; this is explained as intended to light

[4] Cf. vol. xx., p. 222 (*Staffordshire*).

[5] Cf. vol. xx., p. 345 (*Worcestershire*); *ante*, p. 89 (*Argyllshire*).

[6] Cf. *ante*, p. 89 (*Argyllshire*).

[7] Cf. *ante*, p. 90 (*Argyllshire*); *ante*, p. 222 (*Buckinghamshire*).

[8] Cf. vol. xx., p. 343 (*Worcestershire*).

[9] Cf. vol. xx. p. 488-90 (*Cheshire*, *Lincolnshire*, and *Staffordshire*); Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[10] Cf. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[11] Cf. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 20 (egg, salt, and white bread or cake). My grandmother, who died in 1882 at Huddersfield, used to give salt, a slice of cake, and a sixpence (A. R. Wright).

the way to heaven, but I have heard it said that it is to light a fire to keep the child warm all his life.[10]

Two spoons in a cup is the sign of a wedding.[12]

It is unlucky to see the bridal dress by candle light.

The door of the bride's home must not be closed while she is at church.

A bride is fortunate in her choice if the clock chimes *just* before she enters the church, but will be unhappy if it strikes while she is inside. Local brides will wait outside the church until the chimes have sounded.

A plate of cake should be thrown over the carriage of a newly-wedded couple, and it is considered lucky if the plate breaks into many pieces, but very unlucky if it escapes damage.[13]

It is unlucky to put boots on a table.[14]

A Featherstone miner who finds his boots toppled over in the morning will not work in the pit that day for fear of disaster.

To put the right boot on first is unlucky. Huntsmen in the district believe that to do this, or to put a riding boot on the wrong foot, foretells a mishap in the hunting field.

It is unlucky to open an umbrella under a roof;[15] to pick up your own umbrella if it falls;[16] or to have a loaf upside down on the table.

To pick up someone else's umbrella is lucky.

To meet a person on the stairs signifies a quarrel.

If a cock crows before the clock chimes twelve, it is unlucky to all who hear it.

If a spoon falls on the floor, expect disappointment.[17]

If a fork falls, a gentleman visitor is to be expected, but, if a knife falls, a lady comes.[18]

[12] Cf. vol. xx., p. 219 (*Oxfordshire*).

[13] Cf. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[14] Cf. Craven above.

[15] Cf. Craven above.

[16] Cf. vol. xx., p. 345 (*Worcestershire*).

[17] Cf. vol. xx., p. 345 (*Worcestershire*).

[18] In Manchester a knife signifies a man, and a fork, a woman (F. M. Brown). So in Staffordshire, and I think generally (C. S. Burne).

Soot hanging on the bar of the grate foretells a stranger's visit; if it falls into the fire, the stranger has changed his mind.

On New Year's Eve, in Knottingley, coal is brought into the house first of all.

A dead man's tooth is carried to ward off toothache.[19]

Two well-known residents in Castleford wear garters made of eelskins to prevent attacks of rheumatism.

Death is foretold by a shooting star, or by a mirror cracking without cause.

The following items were collected in the neighbourhood of Scarborough :—

If the sign of the cross is made over the nets before fishing, a good catch is certain.

If a sea-gull flies against the window, some member of the family is in danger at sea.

Wives of fishermen will not wind wool after sundown, for, if they do, they will soon be making their husbands' winding sheets.

Many fishermen believe in signs seen in the tea-leaves at the bottom of a tea-cup. The meanings of some of the signs are :— an oar, a warning to be cautious when embarking; an anchor, safety; a loaf, future life to be free from poverty; and a lily, a good omen.

Knottingley. FLORENCE M. BROWN.[2]

[19] Cf. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 145 (*Devonshire*); Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the North-east of Scotland*, p. 48.

ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

TO THE KING'S
MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

On behalf of the Folk-Lore Society I humbly beg leave to approach Your Majesty with an expression of the heartfelt sorrow which its members feel at the demise of their late gracious and beloved Sovereign His Majesty King Edward the Seventh.

This Society, established for the study of the traditions and modes of thought of all races of mankind, finds among the many and various peoples which are united under the British Crown a most fruitful source of materials for that study, and has had reason to know and appreciate the deep and widespread loyalty which His late Majesty evoked from all his subjects of every race and degree of culture.

Your Majesty has personally visited most of the British dominions beyond the seas, and in all has left a gracious impression which cannot but increase their sentiments of loyalty and devotion.

We rely with unabated confidence on the sympathy of Your Majesty and Your Royal Consort in all our efforts to promote a better understanding of the modes of thought of barbaric and uncultured peoples and classes, by those who are called upon to govern or have dealings with them.

We beg most respectfully to assure Your Majesty of the loyal devotion we entertain to Your Majesty's throne and person.

Signed on behalf of the Folk-Lore Society,

C. S. BURNE, *President.*

22, ALBEMARLE STREET,
May 11*th*, 1910.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SALE OF SALVAGE STOCK TO MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY: HINTS TO COLLECTORS OF FOLKLORE.

(*Ante*, pp. 93-101.)

FULLER examination of the salvage stock has revealed the existence of sundry odd copies of single numbers of the serial publications, insufficient to form complete volumes. The Council have decided to offer these odd numbers for sale to members at *sixpence* each, post-free, with all faults. Applications for these odd copies, and for the remaining copies of the salvage volumes of which a list appears in March *Folk-Lore*, should be addressed to Mr. C. J. Tabor (The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton, Essex), and must be accompanied by a remittance. The following is a list of the odd copies:

Folk-Lore Journal: Vol. I., Part I.; Vol. II., Parts II., III., VI., IX., XII., and Part containing index, title-page, etc.; Vol. III., Parts II., III., and IV.; Vol. IV., Parts III. and IV.; Vol. V., Parts III. and IV.; Vol. VI., Parts II. and III.; Vol. VII., Parts III., IV., and V.

Folk-Lore: Vol. II., Nos. 3 and 4; Vol. IV., Nos. 1 and 4; Vol. VI., Nos. 1 and 4; Vol. VII., No. 4; Vol. VIII., Nos. 2, 3, and 4; Vol. IX., Nos. 1, 2, and 3; Vol. X., Nos. 2 and 3; Vol. XI., Nos. 2 and 4; Vol. XIII., Nos. 1 and 2.

I further take this opportunity of making it known that the Council have recently had some leaflets of Hints to Collectors of Folklore printed, which may be obtained gratis from the Secretary by any member anxious to promote the work of collection with increased diligence.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE, *President*.

Cuckoo Heroes.[1]

(Vol. xx., pp. 503-4.)

Dr. Pokorny's article on Cuchulinn, Mongan, Finn, and Arthur as Cuckoo Heroes was first brought to my notice by Sir John Rhys' review in *Folk-Lore*, and I trust I may be allowed to bestow upon it a further notice which it deserves both on account of its many ingenious views and because Dr. Pokorny, following the example of his hero the Cuckoo, essays to lay in the mythological nest an alien egg which I, for one, mean to do my best to expel.

Dr. Pokorny notes the traits which the four heroes cited above have in common, and, in the discussion which followed the reading of his paper, the well-known Germanist, Prof. Much, adduced similar traits in the Volsung saga. Neither scholar seems to have recalled J. G. v. Hahn's study on the Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula, in which he dealt *inter alias* with the Volsung saga (the story of Siegfried and his kin), nor my extension of the formula to Celtic territory (*Folk-Lore Record*, vol. iv.). J. G. v. Hahn had omitted Celtdom from his survey; I had no difficulty in showing that the Arthur, Finn, and Cuchulinn stories also belonged to the same group as that studied by Hahn. If, therefore, Dr. Pokorny's explanation is valid for the Celtic members of the group, it must be equally so for the non-Celtic, and we must look upon Siegfried and Perseus, Theseus and Romulus, Cyrus and Dietrich, as, in Mr. Lang's phrase, "magnified non-natural cuckoos." Dr. Pokorny approves himself a bold, a very bold champion, but I fancy this prospect may act like the bucket full of fish in the tale, and send a shiver down even his back.

First, let me welcome certain suggestions by the author, and beg owners of the *Voyage of Bran* to note them on the margin of their copies:—

[1] This letter will be read with mournful interest as it was written only a few days before the death, by drowning, of Mr. Alfred Nutt in a gallant attempt to rescue his younger son from the river Seine near Melun. An obituary notice of Mr. Nutt will appear in the September number.

P. 99. I believe Dr. Pokorny is correct in holding that in the Mongan saga the same mythic being is father of both Mongan and his wife Dubh Lacha, in other words that Mongan, like Arthur and Siegmund, weds his sister.

P. 100. I accept the equivalence of Arthur's wife Gwen-hwyfar and Mongan's, Find-tigernd.

P. 101. The equation of Finn's hound Bran 'of the poison claw' with the venomous hound which Mongan's supernatural father bestowed upon the mortal king in exchange for his wife's favours is ingenious.

P. 101. I regard the explanations of the stories which pictured Mongan as a rebirth of Finn as plausible. The two heroes are originally and essentially one, but, when the variant form had been associated (*a*) with a third-century champion, Finn, and (*b*) with a sixth-century kinglet, Mongan, the nevertheless persistent identity had to be accounted for. The rebirth theme afforded an easy explanation.

P. 104. The birth story of Cuchulinn. Of the three variant forms Dr. Pokorny regards the incest one (in which the hero is son of Conchobar and his sister Dechtire) as the oldest. In the *Voyage of Bran* I allow the possibility of this; Dr. Pokorny's explanation of the form which makes Cuchulinn a reincarnation of Lug, swallowed by Dechtire, as being transferred from the hero's grandmother, Ness, to his mother, Dechtire, is ingenious and seems plausible. This would make Conchobar, not Cuchulinn, the *hypostasis* of Lug. Dr. Pokorny also hints that the third form, that in which Conchobar and his men come to Lug's palace, really involves the incest form.

I now come to the essentials of Dr. Pokorny's theory. Of the four Celtic sagas that of Cuchulinn is the oldest, and the only one in which the hero retains his original name and his bird-like nature. The name is explained,—not, as the Irish themselves explained it, as Cu-chulaind or Culann's Hound,—but as Cucu-lind or Cuckoo-dragon. As such it is equated with the Esthonian Kukkulind.

As practically all the traits upon which Dr. Pokorny relies appear in a more decided form in the Conchobar-Cuchulinn saga than in the other Celtic variants, I will confine myself

to it in giving a schematic arrangement of Dr. Pokorny's argument.

1. The parentage of both Conchobar and Cuchulinn is 'wropt in mystery.' So is that of the cuckoo.

2. Conchobar 'does' his uncle Fergus out of the kingship. The cuckoo turns his step-brothers out of the nest, and displays no affection towards his foster-parents.

3. Cuchulinn overcomes the 150 youths of the Ulster court. The cuckoo gets the better of the other nestlings, however many they may be.

4. Both Conchobar and Cuchulinn are pre-eminently 'ladies' men.' The cuckoo is the Don Juan or Solomon of the bird world.

5. As the cuckoo is unacquainted with its relations, he inevitably weds his sister, as does Conchobar, or fights unknown with his son, as does Cuchulinn.

6. Conchobar is deceived by Medhbh, and forsaken by Deirdre. The cuckoo's name is a wide-spread term of reproach to the deceived husband.

7. Cuchulinn is a great bird-hunter. The cuckoo is feared by smaller birds.

8. Cuchulinn pays a visit to the other world. The cuckoo disappears in the late summer, "whence the conception of its passing its time in the Under-world easily arose" (p. 115).

9. Arthur and Mongan live on in the deathless Other-world. According to Gubernatis the cuckoo is regarded as immortal because he goes and comes mysteriously.

10. Cuchulinn, when the fury of battle is upon him, is subject to a mysterious transformation which swells and distorts every limb. Birds when they fight,—and the cuckoo is very combative,—puff up their feathers and present such an appearance that the origin of the archaic description of the hero's distortion "cannot remain in doubt any longer" (p. 114).

11. Cuchulinn alone of the Ulster heroes is not subject to the childbirth weakness which overtakes the Ulstermen at stated periods. Like most scholars Dr. Pokorny refers this mysterious ailment to the custom of the *couvade*, and maintains that a cuckoo hero has naturally nothing to do with a custom intended to

strengthen the tie between father and son. But Dr. Pokorny forgets that Conchobar, who *ex hypothesi* is also a cuckoo, *is* represented as prostrated by the *noinden Ulad* equally with all his warriors save Cuchulinn.

12. The name which in the Arthurian romance appears as Gawain is in Welsh Gwalchmai (*i.e.*, according to Sir John Rhys, Hawk of May). But popular belief, the trace of which may be found in Aristotle and Pliny, treats the cuckoo as an immature hawk. Gawain is nephew of the cuckoo hero Arthur, possibly even his son.

I make Dr. Pokorny a present of the demonstration, fully worked out by Miss Weston [2] following up hints of mine, that Gawain is a Brythonic counterpart of Cuchulinn.[3]

I omit minor 'proofs' upon which the author himself lays less stress, as also philological arguments which I am incompetent to appreciate, but which, even if correct, cannot warrant his inferences from them. Although I have summarised the theory semi-humoristically, I do not think I have done it injustice. I may say at once that I do not believe a word of it. In the first place, as I have indicated, the Celtic variants of the Expulsion and Return theme cannot be treated apart from the other Aryan forms. Now, if the theory were true, the Cuchulinn form would be the nearest to the original one: no other Aryan hero has retained so many

[2] *The Legend of Sir Gawain.*

[3] It is well known that the German *Wälsh* (whence our Welsh) is derived from the Celtic tribal name Volcæ. The Germans of about 400 B.C. came across the Volcæ in what is now central Germany, and regarded them as 'the stranger' *par excellence.* (The mediæval Eastern use of *Frank* to designate all Westerners is analogous.) Now, in the discussion which followed Dr. Pokorny's paper, Prof. Much made a statement of considerable import for the history of the Arthur cycle, if correct. He asserts the Welsh *Gwalch* (Hawk) to be a loan from Germany, and maintains that the form Gwalchmai can only have come into existence after the Celts had come into contact with the Anglo-Saxons. The historical process involved is, to say the least, complicated. The primitive German comes in contact with the Volcæ, and styles the hawk (why?) 'the Volcan bird' or 'the Volcan' (Anglo-Saxon *Wealh-nafor*, Old Norse *Falr*). Several centuries later the Celt discards his own term for hawk (why?) in favour of the German one, and applies it to a famous hero of his own, little doubting that its real meaning is 'the Volcan (*i.e.* *Welsh*man) of May.' I would like Sir John Rhys' opinion on all this.

traces of the pristine cuckoo nature. When it is recalled that among the other Aryan forms are such early recorded ones as the Hellenic Perseus, the Italic Romulus, and the Iranian Cyrus, the force of the objection is manifest. Furthermore, the father and son combat is a standing part of the Expulsion and Return formula. But this theme, as Dr. Potter has shown in *Sohrab and Rustem*, is of almost world-wide occurrence. Can it be seriously maintained that it has its origin in reflection suggested by the domestic, or rather non-domestic, arrangements of the cuckoo.

My initial and fundamental objection is psychological. The sagas discussed were the cherished possession of the foremost races of mankind, of the races which have developed the whole of modern culture, to whom every advance in thought and art is due. At a certain stage of their development these races associated this saga with their wisest and mightiest chief, with their pre-eminent champion, with their eponymous hero. I assert that the elements of the saga, elements purely mythical, must be referable to a section of the mythology which had a vital, a predominant, interest for these races. I am quite willing to admit that the cuckoo may have possessed a mythical significance. I protest that it can only be a secondary one at the best, and that among no people can the cuckoo have played such a part as could by any possibility whatever have enabled stories connected with it to have developed into a heroic saga of the first rank. This is not the case with explanations derived either from 'solar' or from 'Life-persistence and Increase' mythology. Both have demonstrably given rise to considerable mythical systems with corresponding ritual; both are *capable*, by their extension in the mythopoeic age, by their cultural import, of furnishing a soil in which subsequent heroic saga could flourish. If ever a cuckoo mythology existed,—and Dr. Pokorny should first have demonstrated this,—it must, in the nature of things, have been *incapable* of doing what he claims.

Numerous other objections will occur to everyone: it is the female cuckoo which lays the egg in the alien nest, and one expects a cuckoo saga to develop on matriarchal lines; the reproachful use of the term cuckoo is of course ironic,—the names of the arch-deceiver being applied *par antiphrase* to the deceived

one; etc., etc. When the basis is unsound, it is waste of time to criticise details of the superstructure.

If my distrust of the theory could be intensified, it would be by Dr. Pokorny's advocacy of 'pre-Aryan' hypotheses in their wildest form. Of course the hypothetical cuckoo saga is, like Druidism and other characteristic traits of Celtic culture as known to us historically, taken over from the pre-Celtic inhabitants of Ireland. These were, in part, probably Finns. Dr. Pokorny has seen a photograph of an Esthonian peasant which reminded him strongly of a non-Aryan Irishman; in Esthonian saga the cuckoo, *Kukkulind*, plays a great part.[4] As a matter of fact there are 'very few pure Celts' in Ireland; where the Irish are dark-haired they are pre-Celtic, Finnish or Iberian; where they are fair-haired and blue-eyed, they are "probably for the most part of Germanic origin," (p. 108). I do not see how it is possible to make any serious progress in Celtic or in mythological studies on such lines as these. Instead of starting from a fixed point,—a definite literature in Gaelic or Brythonic appealing presumably to men of Gaelic or Brythonic blood and culture,—of which we can know something, we assume a hypothetical stage of which at the best we can know nothing definite, and gaily build on further our 'Cuckoo-City in the Clouds'!

Like Sir John Rhys I welcome Dr. Pokorny as a Celtic student. He has enthusiasm and imagination. I am sure he will do useful work. But, as for his theory, I say, topically, *Hol' sie den Kukkuk!*

ALFRED NUTT.

THE FUTURE WORK OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

(*Ante*, pp. 101-2.)

Mr. E. S. Hartland, in reviewing recently two volumes of M. Sébillot's *Folklore de France*, expressed the hope that we might

[4] Philology is a mystery with which a layman like myself fears to meddle. But I cannot help pointing out that the word cuckoo is onomatopoeic. The backbone of the word is the medial *ck*. In the nature of things this must be so. But the name of the Irish hero is pronounced Coo-*hóo*-linn. Irish phoneticians can perhaps say if there is any evidence that it was ever pronounced Cu*ck*oolinn.

one day possess a record of the folklore of this country to compare with it.

There is no need to emphasise, in the pages of *Folk-Lore*, the desirability of pushing forward the researches necessary for such a production.

One important preliminary for the work would seem to be a systematic search into our literature from century to century in order to place upon record the various items of folklore contained in it. Notes of time, showing the first appearance in the written language of any belief of "the folk," as well as tracing the modifications it has undergone (if any) in passing through the ages, need to be carefully recorded.

The English writings of the fourteenth century are occupying part of my leisure, and I should be prepared to carry out the above suggestions for this period. But I would suggest that, if workers can be found, (and there must be many who have but few opportunities of undertaking the more valuable work of collecting folklore orally), the preceding and subsequent centuries should be taken up upon a uniform basis.

P. J. HEATHER.

THE WEST RIDING TEACHERS' ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(*Ante*, p. 103.)

In answer to Miss Freire-Marreco's appeal in March *Folk-Lore* I have undertaken to do my best as her substitute for the next eight months. Being wholly unpractised in the work, I in my turn appeal for help, especially in the shape of spare copies of papers or lectures likely to help and interest the teachers who form the West Riding Teachers' Anthropological Society. My address is The Hudnalls, St. Briavels S.O., Gloucestershire, and I wait hopefully for the Society to assist in cheering on these promising beginners.

L. M. EYRE.

REVIEWS.

THE WHITE BOOK MABINOGION: Welsh Tales and Romances reproduced from the Peniarth MSS. Edited by J. GWENOGVRYN EVANS, Pwllheli (Subscribers only). 1909.

IN this impeccably printed volume Dr. Evans has again provided students of Welsh philology with material of first-rate importance, and as, ultimately, many questions of literary history can only receive their answer in the court of philology the student of subject-matter is also his debtor. Further, although Dr. Evans disclaims presenting reasoned hypotheses respecting the date, process of growth, and significance of his texts, he has in his preface made a number of statements and suggestions of high interest and far-reaching import. Alike the authority of the editor and the supreme importance of these Welsh tales necessitate searching examination of what he either definitely asserts or simply suggests.

As is well known, the title *Mabinogion* properly belongs only to the series of four tales, the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*. The current explanation of the term, due to Sir John Rhys, is that "mabinog was a technical term belonging to the bardic system and meaning a literary apprentice." Thus the *Four Branches* cycle revealed itself as a summary of certain mythico-romantic themes the knowledge of which was indispensable to the bard.

I accepted this explanation in my annotated edition of the Mabinogion, as did Mr. Ivor John in his booklet (*Popular Studies*, No. 11). I have often enough found myself compelled to question opinions expressed by Sir John Rhys for it to be unnecessary to repel the accusation of accepting an explanation solely on his authority. I did so because, as far as I could test it,

it satisfied the historical and psychological conditions of the case. It presupposed in Wales what we know existed in Ireland,—an order of men of letters with a settled hierarchical organisation and a definite programme of studies. In view of the clear statements of the Welsh Laws respecting the attributes and prerogatives of the bard, and of the close parallelism between Goidelic culture in Ireland and Brythonic culture in Wales, such a presupposition was inevitable. But a literary class comprising teachers and learners forcedly implies text-books (or their oral equivalents). Finally we have the illuminating parallel of Snorre's *Edda*. This, avowedly a text-book for apprentice bards or *skalds*, to use the Icelandic term, contains a series of prose narratives strikingly akin to the *Four Branches*, a schematic summary of the main features and chief incidents of the mythology.

Now, according to Dr. Evans, "no evidence has been produced in support of this view" of the term *mabinog*. For him it would be "more correct to say that any narrative which treats of early life is a mabinogi." But unfortunately the *only* narratives to which the term *mabinogi* is applied in Wales are the *Four Branches* series, which, in no sense of the word, treats of "early life." Dr. Evans shows, indeed, that *mabinogi* occurs in mediæval Welsh as a synonym of the Latin *infantia*, but this is in the literal, not the figurative, sense. He compares the Norman-French term *enfances* as applied to a particular *genre* of story. But this comparison is far from assisting him. *Enfances*, in this technical sense, is the account of the early years, the apprenticeship, the squire-ship, of a famous warrior; it necessarily implies a secondary stage of story-telling. Primitive and early epic does not take a hero in the cradle; it is only later that the story-teller reverts to the cradle because, knowing the hero, the audience are curious respecting his origins. Nothing of the kind is to be detected in the *Four Branches* cycle.

For the present, therefore, I see no reason for rejecting Sir John Rhys' explanation, or for withdrawing the deductions from it which both Mr. John and I have made. Needless to waste a word upon the absurdity of the equation,—*mabinogi* = tale for the young,—which some scholars, who ought to have known better, have approved. Mediæval literature has no "juvenile department."

It must not be thought that this is an idle question of terminology. In default of the explanation due to Sir John Rhys, the existence of the *Four Branches* cycle cannot be accounted for in any rational way. Literature in a society such as that of mediæval Wales is the product of sociologico-psychological necessities, not, as it often is in advanced civilisations, of individual impulse. It can only exist and survive if it satisfies communal requirements, and plays its due part in the organised social scheme. The first question to be asked of any monument of primitive literature is,—what general need does it serve? Sir John Rhys' hypothesis gives a satisfactory answer to this question as far as the *Four Branches* cycle is concerned.

Respecting the chronological order of the tales brought together in Lady Charlotte Guest's collection, Dr. Evans expresses opinions which I find myself unable to accept. First, be it noted that he puts the earliest actual Ms. date of any portion of the Mabinogion, (fragments of the *Four Branches*), at about 1235. But, as he shows at length, the earliest Ms. approve themselves copies of far older originals. In fact, the "paleographic evidence takes us back at a bound to the first half of the twelfth century. . . . The *Four Branches* are therefore demonstrably a century older than any manuscript containing them, which has come down to our time," (p. xiii). In my annotated edition of the Mabinogion I assigned the composition of the *Four Branches* cycle in its extant form to the last quarter of the eleventh century. As Dr. Evans' date is that below which the cycle cannot be brought, and as he does not preclude "the possibility of composition being a century or more earlier," (p. xiii), it will be seen that so far there is no quarrel between us. But I, in common with all earlier investigators, looked upon the *Four Branches* as the oldest portion of the collection. This Dr. Evans will not allow. For him "the Winning of Olwen is the oldest in language, in matter, in simplicity of narrative, in primitive atmosphere," (p. xiv). It may seem a matter of slight importance whether one Welsh fairy romance precedes or follows another. Not so; if Dr. Evans' contention is admitted, our view of the whole development of Arthurian romance in the 11th–12th centuries is vitally affected.

Let me premise that both Dr. Evans and myself refer in our

dating of these tales to the extant form. He would, I am sure, agree with me that the substance may be, nay, almost certainly is, far older. This point of possible misapprehension eliminated, I must say that I do not think Dr. Evans has stated the case quite correctly. He says, (p. xiv),—"It is commonly assumed that nothing containing the name of Arthur can be earlier than Geoffrey of Monmouth. . . The name of Arthur, it is argued, does not occur in the Four Branches, therefore they are older than Geoffrey; the name of Arthur does occur in Kulhwch, therefore it is later than Geoffrey." I confess I don't quite know against whom this polemic is directed. The "common assumption" can only be that of very ignorant persons.[1] A moment's glance at Nennius would convict them of error. What I think is commonly held, is that the appearance of Geoffrey's *Historia* exercised such a marked effect on Welsh literature as to render the emergence of any body of romantic fiction independent of the Arthur cycle, or of other portions of Geoffrey's work, unlikely in the extreme. The *Four Branches* cycle stands entirely outside the Arthur legend, and in no relation to any non-Arthurian section of Geoffrey; it is therefore a fair assumption that it must have preceded the latter. But this assumption by no means implies the presumption that *all* Arthurian romance must necessarily be post-Geoffrey. That is a question to be decided on its merits in each case. Now, as regards *Kulhwch* (the Winning of Olwen), the case is a complicated one. That remarkable story is one of the finest romantic fairy tales in all literature. As a fairy tale the "matter" *is* early, as early probably as anything preserved in Welsh; true, also, that the "primitive atmosphere" of this fairy tale is, on the whole, kept with extraordinary skill. All this must be granted to Dr. Evans. But *Kulhwch* is not a fairy tale pure and simple; it is a fairy tale which has been woven into the framework of the Arthurian epic. Considered under this aspect it cannot belong to an early stage of that epic, neither to its spring nor its summer, but must be referred to its autumn, its decadence, in the literal

[1] I had done my best to destroy this "common assumption" by clearly stating in my edition of the Mabinogion, (p. 333),—"The Arthurian legend was, of course, perfectly familiar to eleventh-century Wales, and was undoubtedly a fertile theme for the Welsh story tellers of that time."

sense of the word without implication of aesthetic or ethical inferiority. Every truly national epic passes through certain stages,—at first it is treated with, in the Arnoldian phrase, "high seriousness." Personages and themes appeal primarily to the racial, the historic, the realistic instinct, and secondarily to the romantic, the aesthetic instinct. But there comes a time when the epic, having established a standard, becomes a convention, and the development of that convention proceeds along lines laid down more and more by appeal to the romantic instinct of the hearer, or in accordance with the individualized aesthetic impulse of the teller. Ultimately these two tendencies reduce the convention to a condition in which it can only be saved by the exercise of deliberate, self-conscious humour, and the "simple, sensuous and passionate" presentment of the epic in its heyday may end in a parodistic rendering, charming or grotesque, naïve or profound, according to the temperament and genius of the race and the artists which elaborate it. This general statement is verifiable alike in the case of the Greek and of the Irish epic. The "primitive" character of the Homeric poems has been denied on account of their surpassing literary merit, but this is due to the genius of the Hellenic race. The Homeric poems are, on the whole, "primitive" in a true sense, because, on the whole, they belong to a "primitive" stage of epic; they are conceived in a vein of "high seriousness"; they are charged with ethical intent on the part of the narrating artist, with appeal to the ethical feeling of the audience, and by these tests the *Odyssey* approves itself younger than the *Iliad*.

Now of the Arthurian epic nothing has survived "primitive" in this sense, as the Homeric poems are primitive, though much of the matter used in it may be quite as primitive as anything in the two-thousand year older Greek epic. That such a stage was once represented in Welsh literature I see no reason to doubt; the extant remains of the *Gododin*, and, though to a less extent, of the *Llywarch Hen* cycles are conceived in a realistic, serious spirit, and such a spirit shines forth through the halting Latin of Nennius in what he relates of Arthur. The *Four Branches* cycle, belonging to pre-Arthurian heroic myth, is still, though

with a not inconsiderable romantic mixture, conceived in such a spirit. If *Kulhwch* really were as old as, or older than, the *Four Branches*, its matter might be substantially the same, but its manner of telling would, I believe, be far different. In especial the distinct parodistic touch, the presence of which I have noted in it, would be absent.[2]

The effect of Geoffrey upon the Welsh presentment of Arthur is indicated in a phrase of Dr. Evans,—"Geoffrey changed a national into an international hero." Rather, I should say, he completed the process of internationalisation which must have begun at least 100 years before his time, but he completed it in the most thorough and startling manner, and in so doing he burst the moulds in which, as I believe, the Welsh Arthurian epic had hitherto been confined, destroyed the serious, realistic mode of conceiving and presenting it, and made it the sport of romanticising or humorous fancy. Of such fancy both *Kulhwch* and *Rhonabwy*, expressed in a manner modelled upon that of the Irish story-tellers of the tenth-eleventh centuries, are, I believe, examples. Thus, whilst I cannot accept Dr. Evans' pre-Geoffrey date for *Kulhwch*, I can as little accept his date, "second half of the thirteenth century," for *Rhonabwy*. Both tales are, I believe, products of the same school of story-telling; with the exception of isolated passages in *Geraint* and *The Lady of the Fountain*, they are the only examples of that school in Welsh literature. It may be not impossible, but it is in the last degree unlikely, that they should be separated by over a century and a half.

Of the three Welsh tales,—*The Lady of the Fountain*, *Geraint*, *Peredur*,—the subject-matter of which corresponds to that of the French metrical romances by Crestien de Troies,—*Le Chevalier au Lion*, *Erec*, and the *Conte del Graal*,—Dr. Evans regards the *Peredur* as the oldest, "distinctly older" than the other two "in language, more Welsh in feeling and atmosphere, less influ-

[2] In any case there are passages in *Kulhwch* which cannot be as early as claimed. Thus, when Kulhwch comes to Arthur's court, the porter Glewlwyd speaks thus,—"I have been in India the greater and India the lesser . . . and when thou [Arthur] didst conquer Greece in the East." This at least must be post-Geoffrey.

enced by the prevailing romances of chivalry," (p. xv). This opinion is worth recording in view of the doctrine, advocated by Professor Förster, which holds the Welsh tales to be simple abridged versions of the French poems, for the order of the latter is the reverse of that stated by Dr. Evans, and it would be strange indeed, if the German scholar were right, that the Welsh translation of a French poem finished about 1200 at the earliest should be "older in language" than that of the poems belonging to the period 1160-70. Whilst agreeing on the whole, in so far as I am competent to express an opinion, with Dr. Evans, I think his statement is too general; it neglects the fact, upon which I have repeatedly insisted, that none of the three Welsh tales is homogeneous; each is the result of a process of amalgamation, and it is quite possible that there may be not inconsiderable differences of date between the component parts. Thus the opening of *The Lady of the Fountain* is certainly older and more "Welsh in feeling and atmosphere" than the subsequent adventures; similarly, there are passages in *Geraint* which belong to the school of the *Kulhwch* story-teller. Again, in *Peredur* there are considerable sections which have no analogue in the French poem; portions of these strike me as older than anything in the *Conte del Graal*; portions again as younger. A deal of minute analysis is necessary before philological criticism has contributed all it can to the determination of the date and *provenance* of these three tales.

As stated above, I agree on the whole with Dr. Evans' chronological classification, because the points of difference between *Peredur* and the *Conte del Graal* imply, to my mind, more distinctly the priority of the Welsh tale than is the case as regards the other two Welsh tales and their French analogues. Whilst admitting certain signs of relative lateness in *Peredur*, I must still insist, as I did a quarter of a century ago, upon the fact that it presents in orderly and intelligent sequence a series of folk-tale incidents which can just be detected, but in a fragmentary, obscure, and distorted form, in the *Conte del Graal*. This thesis of the substantial antiquity of *Peredur* is supported by Dr. Evans with arguments, not only of a linguistic and stylistic nature, but implicating the subject-matter of the tale.

Like most scholars brought into contact with the fascinating mystery of the Grail, Dr. Evans has felt its alluring charm, and tc *Peredur* he devotes one-third of his Introduction.

To the elucidation of the Grail problems he makes one contribution which, if well founded, is of capital and decisive importance. As is well known, the central incident of the Grail legend is the healing or deliverance of the Grail guardian by the Grail quester. In the *Conte del Graal* the latter is Perceval (the Welsh Peredur). Now in the, seemingly, very archaic Verses of the Graves found in the twelfth century *Black Book of Carmarthen*, and commemorating all the great heroes of Welsh legend, (many of whom are otherwise unknown to us), Peredur has, according to Dr. Evans, the epithet *penwetic*, which signifies chief physician. Dr. Evans maintains that this epithet carries with it the definite Grail legend in a Welsh form, and with Peredur as hero. He is thus in disaccord with the German school, which looks upon the Welsh tale as secondary and derivative, and also with Miss Weston, who holds that Gawain was the earliest Welsh Grail hero.

The stanza of the Verses of the Graves in which this pregnant epithet occurs refers not to Peredur himself, but to his son, Mor, who has the epithet *diessic* (unbruised). As Miss Weston has pointed out, this Mor seems to be the original of the Morien, son of Perceval, in a romance now only extant in a mediæval Dutch version, and of the Feirefis, son of Parzival, in Wolfram. Both of these heroes are Eastern on the mother's side, and it is conjectured that this Eastern origin is due to a misinterpretation of Mor as *Maure*. Of two things, one: the stanza of the Verses of the Graves must be posterior to the development of the Perceval story which gave him an Eastern son, *i.e.* posterior to Kiot, author of the lost French romance underlying the *Parzival*, whose date can hardly be put before 1190, and the Welsh Mor must be due to misinterpretation by the Welsh poet of the French Maure; or else it must be anterior, and if anterior to that, also, as a necessary consequence, to Crestien, indeed to the entire French or Anglo-Norman treatment of the legend. I do not think that even Professor Förster and his pupils, reckless and wilfully blind to evidence as they have shown themselves,

will champion the first alternative. Does Dr. Evans' contention follow then? Well, I must avow hesitation. Is it quite certain that the epithet *penwetic* necessarily implies all that he maintains? I reserve my adhesion, pending further criticism of the passage in the Verses of the Graves.

Dr. Evans alleges other reasons for holding *Peredur* to be earlier than Crestien or Kiot-Wolfram; some of these, *e.g.* the greater preponderance in the Welsh tale of an ascetic element, I must frankly say, strike me as fanciful, nay, rather to plead *against* priority. One argument, developed at length, though of interest and value in itself, is inconclusive; it is that the episode of the Witches of Gloucester is misplaced. The hero *should* receive the training the lack of which is apparent when he first visits Arthur's court from these mistresses of magic and war-craft, Welsh counterparts of the Irish Scathach, or Bodhmall. In other words, the episode should immediately follow the slaying of the Red Knight and the departure of the untrained hero, smarting under the insults of Kai, and precede the visit to the realm of the Fisher (Grail) King. But this is not so in the Welsh tale, which thus shows itself, in its present form, secondary, although it has retained the pivotal Witches episode of the original legend, and conclusive arguments for the priority of *Peredur* can only be based upon its present form. Pleas based upon what may have existed in an earlier and purer Welsh form, great as may be their measure of probability, cannot convey certainty.

Dr. Evans compares his primeval Peredur legend with the Achilles story. I quote his words: "Both heroes are carried early to retreats through the anxiety of their mothers to keep them from taking up arms; both are associated with females; both very early in life catch stags or hinds without help of any kind; both are introduced to the sight of arms by accident or stratagem; both immediately after take up arms; both receive careful training . . . by preternatural agencies; both sulk determinedly; both are unrelenting in their anger and revenge; both have embassies sent to them in vain; both listen to the gentle persuasion of a comrade; both are pre-eminent in the use of the lance; and the lance of each is distinguished by its size."

I am not clear in what sense Dr. Evans would interpret this

alleged parallel,—as implying community of origin between Hellenic and Brythonic heroic myth, or influence of mediæval Welsh by Graeco-Roman literature. Here again I must frankly say that many of the terms of the parallel strike me as so vague as to be altogether inconclusive, and that those which are most striking are of comparative unimportance in the respective sagas of the two heroes. If we compare the entire life-history of Achilles with that of Peredur, we fail, in my opinion, to trace any such organic kinship as obtains, for instance, between the sagas of Peredur and Finn, or of either and Cuchulinn. If it is urged that a mediæval Welsh story-teller borrowed from such versions of the Achilles story as may have been accessible to him, I believe he would in such a case, forcedly, have borrowed more and made the likeness much closer.

I trust I have made clear the pregnant significance of the few pages which Dr. Evans has given to these questions of date, origin, and nature. Acceptance of his statements would imply the existence (*a*) in eleventh-century Wales of a romantic Arthur legend which had already entered the stage of decadence, *i.e.* of humorous semi-parodistic treatment; and (*b*) in early twelfth-century Wales of a fully-developed Grail legend presenting substantially the same series of incidents as we find in the *Conte del Graal* of 1170-1200. The brief form in which these far-reaching views are stated may easily mislead concerning their essential importance; this must be my excuse for a notice which is well nigh as long as the text upon which it comments. All future Mabinogion criticism must take account of what Dr. Evans has here written.

ALFRED NUTT.

THE HOODEN HORSE. By PERCY MAYLAM. Canterbury: Privately Printed, 1909. 4to., pp. xvi + 124. 5 Plates.

THIS is an admirable piece of work, careful, thorough, unambitious, and complete in itself. Mr. Maylam has all the humour and sympathy and unfeigned enjoyment of his informants' society and doings that go to the making of a genuine collector, and adds to

them the skill in weighing and marshalling evidence that belongs to his legal training; and he has left no point untouched that could serve to throw light on his subject.

"Hoodening" is a Christmas custom observed by the men employed in farm-stables in the Isle of Thanet and the adjoining district of East Kent. On Christmas Eve they go round the neighbourhood collecting money, and singing carols and other songs, accompanied by musical instruments (usually a concertina and triangle), or sometimes performing tunes on hand-bells. The distinctive local feature of this all-but-universal practice is that the men take with them a *hooden horse*. This is a wooden horse's head fixed on a pole like a child's toy "hobby-horse," and carried by a man whose body, together with the pole, is completely shrouded in a rude garment of sackcloth or other rough material, attached to the head and generally adorned with some attempt at representing the be-ribboned mane and tail. The head is decorated with "horse-brasses," and the jaws are well provided with iron nails representing teeth. The lower jaw is fixed on a hinge, and is worked backwards and forwards by the man inside, who prances and curvets and imitates the action of a fidgetty horse. He is known as the "Hoodener," and is led by another man dressed as a "Waggoner" with a long whip, who makes him show off his paces, and is accompanied by a "Rider" or "Jockey," who attempts to mount him, to the amusement of the spectators; and also by "Molly," the man in woman's clothes who commonly accompanies such rustic shows, and who here carries a birchen broom and makes a great show of sweeping. When these have sufficiently shown off their antics to the mingled terror and delight of the younger folks present, the money is collected, and in some places must be put into the Hooden Horse's jaws. The Horse is kept from year to year in the farm-stables, and has been known to be renewed from time to time when lost or worn out. On its existence, of course, depends the continuance of the custom. Mr. Maylam points out that the places in which it is observed are all in the area of the Lathe of St. Augustine, which is also the area of a distinct variety of the Kentish dialect. The natural inference from this would be that the custom took shape when the Lathe in question was still in some sense a political unit, a distinct entity with its own special features.

Discussing the origin of Hoodening, Mr. Maylam first decides against the received derivation from *wooden*, albeit this is countenanced by the *English Dialect Dictionary*; and if, as he says, the elision of the initial *w* is foreign to the genius of the Kentish dialect, we think he is right, and even more so when he dismisses the other popular etymology from Woden or Odin. He is well aware of the absurdity of trying to prove a direct connection between Teutonic paganism and hoodening, and applies himself rather to the examination of mediæval pastimes as the "proximate origin" of the custom. Here, of course, he meets with the familiar Shakspearian "hobby-horse," and the representation of the hobby-horse in the famous window at Betley Hall, Staffordshire, *temp.* Edw. IV. Perhaps the connecting link with Pagan times may be found in the well-known extract (which he quotes, p. 28) from the Penitential of Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordaining the penances to be performed by "any who on the kalends of January clothe themselves with the skins of cattle, *or carry about the heads of animals.*" Here we come as near as may be to evidence of similar Christmas customs in the Lathe of St. Augustine in the seventh century.

But we cannot agree with him when he derives the name of the *hooden* horse from Robin *Hood.* In the first place Robin Hood was an archer,[1] a footman; not a mounted highwayman with pistols like Dick Turpin. He never appears as riding but when he accompanies the King to Court or on some similar occasion. Marksmanship with the long bow, not horsemanship, is his characteristic. Then again, the Robin Hood pageant was *par excellence* a *May* game appropriate to the "greenwood" visited by the Mayers, and not a Christmas custom. Mr. E. K. Chambers (*Mediæval Stage*, vol. ii.) shows us that the festival games of the Middle Ages consisted of *three*, not two, elements:—the morris-dance, the masquerade (of Robin Hood or St. George), and the "grotesque" characters, as he calls them, who acted independently of the rest. These were usually three in number, the Fool, the

[1] On the evidence of Mrs. F. A. Milne and other spectators of the Abbot's Bromley Horn Dance in 1909, it is the crossbow-man who is called Robin Hood, not the Hobby-horse, as stated by Mr. Maylam (p. 62) on the authority of *Sir Benjamin Stone's Pictures.*

Molly or Bessy, and the Hobby-horse, though they were not all invariably present. Two of them appear in the Hooden Horse party, and, on the analogy of the feats of the circus clown, the Fool *may* be represented by the Rider or Jockey. (The particoloured costume worn by the tambourine player in Plate A resembles that frequently worn by the Fool in the mumming plays; and on page 92 is a mention of the hoodeners "knocking one another about with sticks and bladders,"—the characteristic action of the Fool). The whole affair seems to us to be a performance of these grotesques without the dancers or actors. Mr. Maylam confesses that he has found no trace of Robin Hood in Kent.

We should be inclined to connect the name "Hooden" with the covering worn by the "Horse," which, from the photographs, resembles a rude edition of the "hoods" (always so known in the stable world) worn by valuable horses on journeys etc. to protect them from the weather. Search might be made for the use of "hood" as a verb, meaning to cover or disguise (cf. a *hooded* hawk). But these are guesses. All one can say is that the genealogy of the Hooden Horse probably goes much further back than the days of Robin Hood, who, so far as Mr. Maylam's evidence goes, does not appear to have penetrated to the Isle of Thanet.

We must congratulate Mr. Maylam most warmly on an excellent bit of work. Let us hope he will be persuaded to continue his local investigations. Kentish collectors of folklore are "sadly to seek," and Mr. Maylam is a collector of the first rank. A word of praise must be added for the care he has bestowed on the paper and illustrations, so as to ensure the durability of his record; a matter which, as he remarks in his preface, is too often overlooked, thereby, as will one day be discovered, wasting all the labour bestowed on making it.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

OLD ETRURIA AND MODERN TUSCANY. By MARY LOVETT CAMERON. Methuen, 1909. 8vo, pp. xxii + 332. 32 ill.

IN this unpretentious work, which modestly claims only to be a portable guide to Etruscan sites and museums and to

supplement well-known earlier works now falling out of date, Miss Cameron brings together, with numerous illustrations, what is known of the manners, customs, and religious beliefs of the mysterious Etruscan people. In her introduction she rightly praises the collection of the fast-growing material, not in huge central institutions, but in local museums, where the finds from the neighbouring ancient sites are preserved in juxtaposition and can be studied as local wholes. In her final chapter on "Links between Old Etruria and Modern Tuscany" she may perhaps insist a little too strongly on resemblances such as those between Etruscan and mediæval demons in art, on the descent of horse races such as the *Palio* of Siena from Etruscan times, and so on, but her references to the *giostra* plays in remote Apennine villages, (which sometimes have for subjects Bible stories but never Gospel narratives), and a curious folk-tale (pp. 320-1) collected by her on Monte Amiata, make one wish that she would utilize her intimate knowledge of modern Tuscan places and people to do for the folklore of the remoter districts what another member of our Society, the late C. G. Leland, did for the neighbourhood of Florence in his *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition* and two volumes of *Legends of Florence.*

High Albania. By M. Edith Durham. Edward Arnold, 1909. Demy 8vo, pp. xii + 352. Ill. and Map.

What is the literary gift? As well ask why does one here and there win your confidence by a smile, but another not by a service. All things are big with jest, said George Herbert, if you have the vein; what bores one to death makes a charming tale for another. Miss Durham has the vein; she has the gift; she has also any amount of pluck, and wins everybody's confidence,—her readers' also. What a treat for one of our Society, which can so easily fall into priggishness! Not that Miss Durham takes her task lightly. Far from it, she uses all pains to get at the truth, her curiosity is insatiable, and down it all goes in the book. Here we have not a transcript of life, which must have been as dark as life itself can be, but a picture of life, the lights and shadows

brought out and unity in the design. It is impossible to quote from the book; as soon as we begin one anecdote the eye catches another, and there is nothing for it but a self-denying ordinance. You must buy the book, there's an end of the matter. But I will just note a few of the topics it deals with. Here are descriptions of the face and form or the dress of the people, with sketches to show how they shave their hair. Headtufts and headwraps are not too insignificant for Miss Durham; she learns that the headwrap is said to date from the battle of Thermopylae! Then there is the blood-feud, which is not only explained in detail, but comes again and again into the story with great effect; our readers will be interested to hear about the Old Law, as it is called. Politics appear,—not as hatched by callous and greedy men in chancelleries, but as they affect the people. How they hate the Turks! Miss Durham asked one how long a certain village had been Moslem: the answer was,—"They have stunk for seven generations." It was not want of washing; Islamism stinks. Here again is the local telegraph; news is shouted from hill to hill, and any one who hears it sends it on. How much does a wife cost? Twelve Napoleons in Vulki, where they are cheap. Charms and the evil eye come in on occasion; one man made a bunch of grapes shrivel by looking at it. Excellent folk-tales appear. And that unhappy "Constitution," hailed with such joy, but practically stillborn! Some of us know what a Turkish constitution means; but not in England. "It was not until I came to London," says Miss Durham, "that I met people who really believed in the 'Konstituzion.'" The Albanians still say you cannot trust a Turk. But Miss Durham ends thus:

"I cannot write

FINIS

for the END is not yet."

So I have quoted after all. Never mind. What does consistency matter? I am still consistent, anyhow, in saying that this is a delightful book.

W. H. D. Rouse.

WITH A PREHISTORIC PEOPLE. The Akikûyu of British East Africa. Being some Account of the Method of Life and Mode of Thought found existent amongst a Nation on its first Contact with European Civilisation. By W. SCORESBY ROUTLEDGE and KATHERINE ROUTLEDGE (born Pease). Edward Arnold, 1910. Ryl. 8vo, pp. xxxii + 392. Map and cxxxvi Ill.

THIS is a book to be cordially welcomed by anthropologists,—using that elastic word for convenience' sake in its widest sense. Of the thorough way in which Mr. and Mrs. Routledge have done their work, and of the excellence of their methods, it is superfluous to speak,—since we cannot improve upon Mr. Marett's estimate (pp. 357-8). We have here a large amount of unimpeachable first-hand information, presented in such a way that even the non-specialist can read the book, (or the greater part of it), with interest.

The Akikûyu, it may not be superfluous to premise, are a (probably) Bantu tribe dwelling in the country between Mount Kenya on the east, and the Aberdare Range on the west, and extending south as far as the Athi River and the Uganda Railway. They consider themselves an offshoot of the Akamba: this statement was made to the authors in at least five different localities. Sir Charles Eliot is of opinion that they are "a comparatively recent hybrid between the Masai and Bantu stock."

The work before us does not, so far as we can see, lend any support to this theory, and we may remark, in passing, that it seems strange if the men of a race containing a strong infusion of Masai blood should, as a rule, attain no greater stature than 5 feet 4 inches (see p. 19). Their language is undoubtedly Bantu;—but language, as we know, is not invariably a criterion of race, and we learn that "they possess another language in addition to that in common use." It is of the utmost importance that this form of speech should be investigated and its affinities determined,—if, indeed, it is a real language and not an artificial jargon like the *kinyume* of Zanzibar, or the "secret" languages taught to the *Nkimba* initiates on the Congo. Perhaps the relationships of the Akikûyu and Akamba are to be sought in the as yet imperfectly

known Wasandawi, Wambugu, Wambulunge, and Watatura of German East Africa.[1] We gather that the hair of the Akikûyu is not woolly but curly (pp. 19, 26, 27); but this is scarcely evident from the photographs,—except Plate CXII. It must be said, however, that most of the heads shown are either shaved or elaborately dressed, so that it is difficult to tell. This important racial characteristic would certainly seem to tell in favour of a Masai mixture.

We own to a doubt of the etymology suggested on p. 19. It is contrary to all analogy to find *ki-* as a locative prefix; and the fact of *A-* being prefixed to it, shows that *ki* is part of the root; otherwise the people would be called Akuyu. True, we sometimes find double prefixes (*e.g.* Wa-nya-ruanda), but *-ki-* does not seem to occur in this position. Mr. H. R. Tate[2] asserts, on the authority of Dr. Henderson, that the name should be written as *A-Gikuyu*, as *k* before another *k* (and several other consonants) becomes *g*. It may seem hypercritical to add that, while the authors have in the main followed sound principles in their spelling of native names and words, we can see no reason for the retention of the apostrophe after initial *m* or *n* (*e.g. M'kikuyu, n'guo*), and "Ké-ny-a" is surely misleading. The *y* is consonantal and *nya* makes but one syllable,—otherwise we should write—"Ke-ní-a." In the division of words, the rule that all Bantu syllables are open has been persistently ignored: thus, on p. xxiii., "Wa-nan-ga" should be "Wa-na-nga," "Ka-ran-ja" should be "Ka-ra-nja" etc. The unnecessary *r* inserted in *mali* on p. xxiv., suggests a doubt whether "N'jarge" should not read "Njãge": the *r* sound occurs in Kikuyu, but is unlikely before any consonant,—except possibly *w*.

Mr. Tate, in the paper just referred to, gives the legend told by the "Southern Gikuyu," (*i.e.* Kinyanjui's people in the country N.W. of Nairobi), to explain their own origin and that of the Akamba and Masai. As it is different from any of those recorded

[1] See Meinhof, *Linguistische Studien in Ostafrika*, x., xi., in *Transactions* of the Berlin Oriental Seminary for 1906 (Dritte Abteilung: *Afrikanische Studien*, pp. 294-333). The volume for 1909 contains a Sandawi vocabulary: *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs für Kissandani*, von Hauptmann Nigmann (pp. 127-130). This language has several clicks.

[2] *Journal of the African Society*, April, 1910, p. 237.

by Mrs. Routledge (pp. 283-4), and involves a point of great interest, I make no apology for quoting it:—

"In the beginning the father of our people, named Mumbere, came out of his country and travelled day after day until he came to the sun-rising. Upon his arrival there the sun asked him, "Where do you come from?" He replied, "I do not know; I am lost." Thereupon he asked him, "Where are you going?" and was answered "I do not know." Then the sun said to him, "Because you have seen where I come from, out of the ocean, which no man is supposed to do—if you do not want to die you must call me "Kigango."" This means "The most high," or "The Great Over-all." Moreover the sun gave him a strip of meat, telling him to eat a tiny piece each day as he travelled many days' journey towards the sun-setting, and that this would be sufficient food for him until he arrived at the country where he was to dwell. When the food was finished he had arrived at the country of the Mbere, near Mount Kenya.

There he found a woman, married her, and had born unto him three sons and three daughters. When they grew up, the father called them together, and placing on the ground before them a spear, a bow and arrows, and a cultivating stick, told them to choose. One chose the spear, and his children became the Okabi, or the Masai tribe; the second chose the bow, and his children became the Kamba; while the third chose the cultivating stick, and his children are the Gikuyu. Afterward, when the Masai wanted vegetable food, they came to the Gikuyu for it, giving them in return sheep and cattle; it is thus we have flocks and herds like the Masai, and also carry spears like them as well as our own swords.

After Mumbere had lived to a great age, he called his descendants together, telling them to bring him meat and receive his blessing, as on the second day following he was to die. Accordingly on that day he called the sun by its customary name 'riua' and died."[3]

The word for "sun" given in Mrs. Hinde's Kikuyu *Vocabulary* is *njua*, but the forms *erua* and *eruwa* occur elsewhere; cf. also the Yao *lyuwa*. I can find no indication as to whether any of the Akikuyu use the word *kigango* for the sun at the present day. This notable example of tabu, whatever may be the real facts covered by the legend, (no doubt an attempt to explain a local prohibition for which the reason had been forgotten), may help to throw some light on the differentiation of words in the Bantu tongues. There is a remarkable uniformity, all down the eastern side of the continent, in the use of the root *juba* (or, according to Meinhof, γuva), varying locally according to well-ascertained phonetic laws,

[3] *Journal of the African Society*, *loc. cit.*, p. 236.

—but with such remarkable exceptions as the Zulu *ilauga* and the Chwana *tsatsi*, which are probably to be accounted for in a similar way, perhaps by the existence of a chief named Juba, which caused the word to be interdicted among his subjects.

It is worth noting that the sun is looked on as the moon's husband, and the stars as their children, because the opposite sex is very generally attributed to the moon among the Bantu, at any rate on the eastern side of the continent. The evening and the morning star, (no one, of course, supposing them to be one and the same), are thought to be the moon's wives,[4] the Anyanja of the Lake even having names for them,—Chekechani and Puikani.

The Akikuyu say (p. 3) that, when they first settled the country, they now occupy, the Ndorobo (whom they call *Asi*) were living there. This is curiously borne out by the Masai tradition which postulates the Ndorobo as having been there from the beginning. "When God came to prepare the world, he found three things in the land, a Dorobo, an elephant and a serpent."[5]

With regard to the clans, the list given on p. 21 is nearly (but not quite) identical with that obtained by Mr. Tate among the Southern Akikuyu. Some of the differences are probably mere matters of local pronunciation (as *th* for *z*). As Mr. Tate gives some details not mentioned by Mr. and Mrs. Routledge, and as their list seems to clear up some difficulties in his, we quote the passage in question.

"(1) *Clans of the Gikuyu.*—1. Achera. 2. Anjiru. 3. Agachiku. 4. Aithiageni. 5. Amboi. 6. Agathigia. 6a. Airimu. 7. Angare. 7a. Aithekahunu. 8. Aichakamuyu. 9. Aithaga. 9a. Ambura. 10. Aitherandu. 11. Angui.

If the three clans, Airimu, Aithekahunu, and Ambura are identical with those that precede them under other names, the Gikuyu clans are 11 only in number. If separate they are 14.

Formerly (probably until the European invasion of British East Africa) the first five clans were the most powerful, and were constantly engaged in fighting with one another over property.

[4] Note made at Blantyre in 1894; the names are given in Barnes, *Nyanja-English Vocabulary*, p. iii., s.v. *mwezi*. The appended explanation shows that the Anyanja have observed the heavens with sufficient accuracy to connect the new moon with the evening star and *vice versâ*.

[5] Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 266.

They lorded it over the smaller tribes and appear to have bullied them more or less. Blood money owed to the latter was not usually paid by the five "cock" clans.

There are five recognised heads of these clans to-day, but the importance of being chieftain of a clan is not what it was years ago. Some of these men, however, are Government headmen to-day (Kinyanjui is head of the Achera), and have thus a dual standing in the District.

The Agathigia and remaining clans are said to have never had any recognised head, the five big clans being paramount.

The origin and derivation of the names of clans are unknown for certain. My informants cannot say whether the names come from the first head of the clan or from the ridge or district in which they formerly lived. The first is probably the correct solution and has been endorsed by information given to Europeans other than myself."[6]

If Mr. Tate's "9a Ambura" corresponds to "6. Akiuru or Mwesaga or Mburu," (the first two names, apparently, do not occur in Southern Kikuyu), we are right in counting it as a separate clan. The same is the case with the Agathigia and Airimu; but, on the other hand, the "Angari or Aithekahuno" are taken by Mr. Routledge as one, so that the total number is thirteen.

We must conclude this necessarily very incomplete and inadequate survey, of a book which has permanently enriched the records of ethnology, by a glance at the folk-tales. Two points of special interest emerge here,—the rainbow-snake[7] and the *ilimu.* The story called "The Giant of the Great Water" represents the former being as eating "the father and the young men, and the women and the children, and the oxen and the goats, and then he ate the houses and the barns, so that there was nothing left." Subsequently all the lost were recovered when the sole survivor of this destruction made an incision in the giant's middle finger, just as Masilonyane's cows (Jacottet, *Contes Pop. des Bassoutos*, p. 51) came out of the old woman's big toe. But in *Masilo et Masilonyane* this point is scarcely of the essence of the story, which belongs to a very widespread type in which the jealousy of one brother (or sister) leads to murder, and the murder is discovered by means of some part of

[6] *Journal of the African Society*, April, 1910, p. 237.

[7] For the rainbow-snake in West Africa, cf. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 142. The Zulus seem to retain traces of a similar conception, but the story in the text is the first I have met with which connects it with the swallowing story.

the victim's body, which takes shape as a living being.[8] The big toe incident, which in *Masilo et Masilonyane* is combined with this *motif*, really belongs to the type represented in Suto and Chwana by "Kammapa and Litaolane," and found in numerous variants,—one of the most interesting being the Shambala one, where a pumpkin grows to an enormous size and swallows all the people of a district, except one woman, who afterwards gives birth to a boy. This boy, when grown up, cleaves the pumpkin with his sword and releases the people. It is found among so many different Bantu tribes, as well as some on the West Coast,[9] including some with whom our acquaintance is comparatively recent, that it does not seem feasible to trace it, as some have done, to a Christian origin.

As for the *ilimu* (*irimu*, *irimu*), he is our old friend the Zulu or Suto cannibal (*izimu*, *modimo*), with perhaps rather more of monstrous and abnormal characteristics. He is known to the Duala as *edimo*, and just survives in Swahili folklore as *zimwi*, though usually Arabicized into *jini*. In many places his character and attributes are becoming shadowy, but with the Akikûyu, though evidently a very variable quantity (p. 315), they are tolerably distinct. A comprehensive study of the traditions concerning this being, embracing the whole Bantu field, would be well worth undertaking.

To conclude,—Mr. and Mrs. Routledge have given us a book which is of the greatest value, not only to students of *Völkerkunde* in general, but to all who have any practical concern with the welfare of our subject races. It would be beside the present purpose to enlarge on this point, but I cannot refrain from quoting a sentence or two which every colonial administrator would do well to bear in mind:—

"The present and avowed object of the East African Judiciary is to suppress native justice altogether as derogatory to the dignity of the British Courts. Even allowing for all the imperfections of

[8] Traces of one variant occur in "The Forty Girls," p. 324.

[9] Cf. Dr. George Thomann's *Essai de la Manuel de la Lanque Néouolé* (Nē tribe of the Ivory Coast), Paris, 1906, p. 144 ("*La calebasse enchantée*"); also, for the toe incident, the preceding story, "*La jeune fille, La Mort, et le vanneau.*"

primitive methods, this shows a point of view at which it is hard to arrive. . . . Theoretically, also, it is an obvious absurdity to speak of raising the natives, and at the same time deprive them of the best means of education, namely self-government" (pp. 220-221).

A. WERNER.

VOLKSKUNDLICHES AUS TOGO. Märchen und Fabeln, Sprichwörter und Rätsel, Lieder und Spiele, Sagen und Tauschungspiele der Ewe-Neger von Togo. Gesammelt von JOSEF SCHÖNHÄRL. Leipzig: Kochs, 1909. 8vo, pp. x + 204.

FOLK STORIES FROM SOUTHERN NIGERIA WEST AFRICA. By ELPHINSTONE DAYRELL. With an Introduction by ANDREW LANG. Longmans, Green, & Co., 1910. 8vo, pp. xvi + 159. Frontispiece.

HERR SCHÖNHÄRL'S book is an important addition to the scanty records of the folklore of the Ewe-speaking peoples. It comprises 28 tales from Togoland, half a dozen from Dahomey, 200 proverbs,—(Ellis gives only 120),—176 riddles and parables, 119 *trinknamen*, 11 games, 3 sleight-of-hand tricks with maize grains, and 25 songs (with the music of 20). Beast fables, combining keen observation of animals' ways with a full disclosure of native ways, are the most popular of West African tales, and there are numerous specimens here, as well as tales of origins,—how death came (28), why women have breasts (15), why foxes chase hens (23), why a mosquito buzzes in one's ear at night (25), etc. The trick played by the hare in the fourth tale, (in which the crocodile suckles the same young one four times in succession, mistaking it for the three other children already slain and eaten), and the similar trick played on the leopard by the wicked twins in the thirteenth story, are the same as that played on the leopard by the jackal in a Hottentot story,[1] and there are numerous other resemblances to Bantu as well as Negro tales. In Togoland, as elsewhere amongst the Ewe, the spider (*Eyevi*) is the superior of all animals, as the possessor of the inventive

[1] Vaughan, *Old Hendrik's Tales*, p. 117.

cunning adored by the native. In the twelfth and seventeenth stories, however, Eyevi is the name of a human trickster,—an example probably of anthropomorphizing tendency, as the person tricked is, in the former story, a dove. No. 16 is an inconsequent story in which the fiercer animals appear as slave-dealers, and in the next story a king's daughter is stolen as a slave. The few comparative notes given are chiefly from German Kamerun and East African collections, and could have been extended very usefully.

The proverbs and riddles are an unusually interesting gathering of negro wit and wisdom; the riddles are especially welcome, as such devisings are commonly dismissed with much less notice than they merit as products of the black man's mind. The *trinknamen* (*ahanoňko̱wo*) are names, or rather sentences (and generally well-known proverbs), which, to the number of 5, 10, or 20, are attached to a palm-wine drinker. He cries out these "names," or has them cried at him by a friend, as an encouragement in times of difficulty or war. They may refer to his weak side as well as to his more heroic qualities of body and mind, and personal names may be chosen from them. Several Togo variations of the wide-spread game of *mandala* are described, with figures, and other games resemble European games with tops, ninepins, etc. Unlike the lower Congo natives, the Togos prefer "sit-down" games to those requiring much bodily exertion. The songs are said by the natives to have been borrowed from the Tshi, and a curious tale ascribes the origin of drum-beating and singing to the natives of a Fanti seaside town who learnt them from the sea. Forty pages are devoted to a painstaking account of Togo music and songs.

District-Commissioner Dayrell's volume of forty stories has the advantage of a ten-page introduction by Mr. Lang (who indicates in his usual delightful fashion the surprisingly numerous variants in ancient myth and European *märchen*), but the tales themselves are on the whole less varied and interesting than the Togoland collection. About half of them refer to Calabar or its immediate neighbourhood, or are dated by Calabar kings, and many of these contain references to the Egbo society. The number of these stories of which variants have already been recorded from elsewhere

in West Africa is not large. In the second tale a hunter disposes of his creditors,—the cock, bush-cat, goat, leopard, and another hunter,—through their successive slaughter of each other from a trick like that in a Hausa tale.[2] In the eighth story a vain and disobedient daughter marries a skull from spirit land, who borrows parts to make up a complete body from all his friends there, and returns them on his way home after the wedding; this is a version of a story found also in Sierra Leone[3] and amongst the Yoruba.[4] The twenty-fifth story ("Concerning the Leopard, the Squirrel, and the Tortoise") is a completer form of a story collected in Jamaica,[5] and the twenty-ninth ("How the Tortoise overcame the Elephant and the Hippopotamus") has a variant in a Hausa tale.[6] In the beast fables the tortoise is the chief animal, as amongst the Yoruba, and the only reference to the spider seems to be in the third story, in which an old childless king marries one of the spider's daughters because they always had plenty of children. Unfortunately one does not feel sure that the tales are close and unornamented renderings from the originals, and this doubt is strengthened by comparing Mr. Dayrell's versions of No. XXIII. and an incident in No. XII. with Calabar versions taken down from a native by Mr. C. J. Cotton.[7] Moreover, there are no particulars given of the narrators or their localities, and such humorous "morals" as "always have pretty daughters, as no matter how poor they may be, there is always the chance that the king's son may fall in love with them, . . ." are not obviously native. Nevertheless, this is a book for the folklorist to buy, as the body of the tales is undoubtedly native.

A. R. Wright.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 211-2. A better-told version from Calabar,—of a worm, cock, wild cat, leopard, and hunter,—appears in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. iv., pp. 307-8.

[3] Cronise and Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider and the other Beef*, pp. 178-86 ("Marry the Devil, there's the Devil to pay").

[4] Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples etc.*, pp. 267-9.

[5] P. C. Smith, *Annancy Stories*, pp. 51-4 ("Paarat, Tiger an' Annancy").

[6] *Ante*, p. 203.

[7] *Journal of the African Society*, vol. v., pp. 194-5.

THE GAROS. By MAJOR A. PLAYFAIR. Introduction by SIR J. BAMPFYLDE FULLER. (Published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam.) Nutt, 1909. 8vo, pp. xvi + 172. Illustrations and maps.

THIS account of the Garos forms one of the excellent series of monographs on the tribes of Eastern Bengal and Assam which we owe to the Government of that province.

The Garos, the first of the wilder forest tribes which came into contact with the British, inhabit a range of hills forming the southern boundary of the Brahmaputra valley, and numbered at the last census 160,000 souls, divided into two branches,—one, the more primitive group, occupying the hilly tract, and the other newcomers settled in the districts of the plains. They are members of the Tibeto-Burman stock, emigrants from the trans-Himalayan plateaux, their connection with which is proved by some interesting survivals,—their matrilinear social organisation, portions of their vocabulary, their reverence for the yak (*bos gruniens*), and their habit of collecting gongs, which are highly prized. They have now to a great extent abandoned the predatory habits which formed the subject of repeated complaints against them in the older reports, and they have settled down to agriculture, cultivating cotton and other staples with much success. Their economical position is thus superior to that of the neighbouring tribes.

Major Playfair has given a detailed account of the religion, ethnology, traditions, customs, sociology, and folklore of this interesting tribe, which it is impossible to summarise or discuss in detail.

Their religion is of the animistic type, a number of departmental spirits being supposed to control all the spheres of human activity. Thus Tatara-Rabuga is the creator of all things; Chorabudi the benign protector of crops; Nostu-Nopantu the fashioner of the earth; Goera god of strength and causer of thunder and lightning; Kalkame, brother of Goera, holds in his hands the lives of men; Susime gives riches, and causes and cures blindness and lameness; and so on. Ancestor worship plays a leading part in the funeral rites. The main elements of the worship of this pantheon are

sacrifices of animals and birds, and drinking, usually accompanied by ritual dances.

The spirit occupying the bodies of men, when released at death, wends its way to Mangru-Mangram, the ghost world, identified with certain neighbouring hills, and regarded as a place of purgation through which good and bad alike must pass. The way to it is long and dreary, and for the journey the soul must be provided with a guide in the shape of a dog or the night-jar bird, money, and eatables. On the way lurks the monster Nawang, who covets brass earrings, which the spirit flings before him and, while the demon is busy collecting them, takes the opportunity to escape. Hence such ornaments are commonly worn by all classes. If a sick person becomes comatose before death, it is supposed that Nawang has seized him. Hence the corpse is so rapidly put away that it is supposed that premature cremation not infrequently occurs. The period of probation in Mangru-Mangram depends partly on the cause of death and partly on the sins committed during life. The suicide is reincarnated as a beetle, and one slain by an elephant or tiger in the form of the animal which caused the death. The spirit of a murderer is detained for seven generations before regaining human form. A wrong-doer is often reborn as an animal, but when it dies human shape may be regained after a second period of purgation. The Garo recognises no distinction between the souls of men and animals, both being supposed to go to Mangru-Mangram.

Many of their feasts are devoted to the expulsion of the powers of evil. An annual rite is performed to protect the tribesmen from the dangers of the forest, sickness, and other mishaps. The sowing season, the time of first-fruits, and harvest (at which a representation of the head of a horse is paraded and subsequently flung into water, apparently with the intention of dispersing evil influences), all have their appropriate observances.

Among other beliefs the trust placed in prognostication from dreams is noteworthy. When an evil vision is seen, the tribal priest collects a bundle of reed-like grass, repeats spells, and strikes the dreamer with the stalks. Then the priest and patient sacrifice a cock on the bank of a stream, letting some of the blood fall into a miniature boat made of the stem of a plantain, which is launched

into the water, carrying the evil with it. The cure is completed by the patient bathing.

A small collection of folk-tales, among which is a good case of animal metamorphosis, concludes this excellent account of a remarkable tribe.

W. CROOKE.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Races of Man and their Distribution. By A. C. HADDON. Milner & Co., 1909. Large crown 8vo, pp. 126.

DR. HADDON has accomplished with a large measure of success the difficult task of compressing within a small handbook the main principles of Anthropology. He describes the physical characteristics on the basis of which attempts have been made to classify the human race, and he gives a succinct account of the various peoples of the world. The matter is, of course, very closely compressed; but the author has used the latest authorities. So far as it goes it may be safely recommended as a useful summary of a wide subject, and a valuable introduction to more comprehensive treatises on Anthropology. W. CROOKE.

A Worcestershire Parish in the Olden Time. Reprinted from the *Worcester Herald.* Worcester, 1910. Pp. 41 + ii.

This sixpenny pamphlet on the recently transcribed accounts of St. Andrew's Parish from 1587 to 1631 indicates the useful results which could be obtained, by a systematic investigation of such accounts, both for future volumes of *County Folklore* and for study of the origin and continuity of customary folklore. Such annual events as the beating of the bounds, the communion on Low Sunday, and the bell-ringing instituted after the Gunpowder Plot, are all reflected in the accounts, and the revival of old practices after the Reformation appears in the payment in 1621 of 1*s.* "for singing the carrall on Christmas Day," and in 1629 of 2*s.* 2*d.* "for Hollie, Ivy, Rosemary, and Bayes against Christmas."

Old-Lore Miscellany of Orkney, Shetland, Caithness, and Sutherland, Vol. II., and Vol. III., Parts I. and II., (*Old-Lore Series*, Vols. II. and III.) Edit. by ALFRED W. JOHNSTON and AMY JOHNSTON. Viking Club, 1909-10.

Folklore students should keep themselves in touch with this and other publications of the Viking Club, or they will miss many useful notes. The Parts of the Old-Lore Series before us include articles on "Orkney Folk-lore," "Some References to Witchcraft and Charming from Caithness and Sutherland Church Records," and "Tammy Hay and the Fairies," and short notes on witchcraft, fairies, 'forespoken' animals, counting-out rhymes, "casting the heart," New Year songs, etc. Other matters of interest are articles on the odal families of Orkney (*i.e.* families whose estates were subject to odal sub-division), and lists of Shetland names of animals etc. We heartily welcome this active co-operation in the collection of a section of British folklore.

As Old as the Moon. Cuban Legends: Folklore of the Antillas. By FLORENCE JACKSON STODDARD. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909. 8vo, pp. xxv + 205. Ill.

This volume is a collection of the myths and tales of the Antilles and the Lucayas or Bahama islands, from allusions and brief mentions in historic chronicles and narratives of the Spanish conquerors' adventures etc. Unfortunately the author gives no references to her sources and no exact translations of the original passages, but says "these fragments I have had to piece together bit by bit, feeling for what was unsaid to complete what was given for a consistent whole" (p. x). In consequence, a book containing much interesting folklore of a little-known people has been rendered of small use to the student by the setting and burnishing processes which have certainly made it an attractive "story book."

Books for Review should be addressed to
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,
c/o DAVID NUTT,
57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXI.] SEPTEMBER, 1910. No. III.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20th, 1910.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. G. G. Knowles, Mr. S. Lister Petty, and Mr. J. G. Tolhurst as members of the Society, and the enrolment of the Lund University Library as a subscriber to the Society, were announced.

Mrs. H. Hamish Spoer read a paper entitled "Notes on the Marriage Customs of the Bedû and Fellâḥîn" (pp. 270-95), and in the discussion which followed Dr. Rivers, Mr. Tabor, Mr. Lovett, and Miss Rashleigh took part. Mrs. Spoer exhibited a number of bridal necklaces, amulets, and other objects illustrative of her paper.

The following objects were also exhibited:—

By the President and Mr. E. Lovett:—Some hand and evil-eye charms from Arabia and elsewhere.

By Mr. A. R. Wright:—A collection of fifty finger-rings

from Tibet, Palestine, Syria, Nineveh, Persia, Ashanti, Southern Nigeria, Arizona, and England.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Spoer for her paper.

The Secretary reported the following additions to the Library since the meeting held on June 16th, 1909, viz.:—

The Bleeding Lance, by A. C. L. Brown, Ph.D.; *Ethnographie Européenne*, by H. Bourgeois; *Rude Stone Implements from the Congo Free State*, by Prof. F. Starr; and *Renward Cysat*, 1545-1614, by Renward Brandstetter—presented by the respective authors: *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Sciences*, Vol. XII., presented by the Academy; *Annual Progress Reports of the Archæological Survey of the Northern Circle*, 1908-9; *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle; Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Department, Southern Circle; Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle; Report on the Administration of the Government Museum and Connemara Public Library; Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah, near Agra*, by E. W. Smith, M.R.A.S.; and *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (7 vols.)—all presented by the Government of India; *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii*, by Emerson; *Tlingit Myths and Texts*, by Swanton; *Antiquities of the Mesa Verde National Park*, by J. W. Fewkes; *Tuberculosis amongst certain Indian Tribes of the United States*, by A. Hrdlicka; and *The Choctaw of Bayou Lacomb, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana*, by David L. Bushnell, Junr. —all presented by the Bureau of American Ethnology: *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen; Die Mythologie der austronesischen Völker;* and *Grundlinien einer Vergleichung der Religionen und Mythologien der austronesischen Völker*, by P. W. Schmidt, presented by the Administration of *Anthropos*; and *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. 28, Parts 3 and 4, acquired by exchange.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11th, 1910.

SIR E. W. BRABROOK (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

AT a Meeting of the Society held this day, the Chairman proposed, Dr. M. Gaster seconded, and it was unanimously resolved, that the President be requested to draw up, sign, and submit to H.M. the King, on behalf of the Folk-Lore Society, a loyal and dutiful address, expressing the sorrow of the members on the occasion of the demise of His late Most Excellent Majesty King Edward VII., and their devotion to His Majesty King George V., upon whom the Crown has devolved.

The meeting then adjourned until Wednesday, June 1st.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1st, 1910.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the Meetings of April 20th and May 11th were read and confirmed.

The President reported that, in pursuance of the resolution passed on May 11th, she had prepared an address to H.M. King George V. on the lines indicated in the resolution, and had forwarded the same to the Home Secretary for presentation (p. 228).

The President announced the tragic death of Mr. Alfred Nutt by drowning in the Seine, near Melun, in attempting to rescue his son, on May 23rd, and moved a resolution in the following terms, viz.:—"That this meeting has heard with the deepest regret of the sad but heroic death of their old and valued colleague, Mr. Alfred Nutt, one of the original members and founders of the Society, to which his

services have for so many years been rendered without stint, and desires the Secretary to communicate to Mrs. Nutt an expression of their sincere sympathy with her and her family in their melancholy bereavement." The resolution was seconded by Dr. Gaster, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Longworth Dames read a paper by Mr. F. Fawcett, entitled "Odikâl, a method of killing among the Muppans, a hill tribe of Malabar," and some notes on certain death ceremonies observed by the same tribe. He also exhibited some blunt arrows and an "Odikâl stick" used in the killing process, and a bamboo water vessel employed in one of the death ceremonies. These objects were sent by Mr. Fawcett, and presented by him to the Society.

Mr. T. C. Hodson read a paper entitled "Some Nāga Customs and Superstitions" (pp. 296-312).

A general discussion on the two papers followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Mr. Tabor, Mr. Longworth Dames, and Mr. W. W. Skeat took part.

Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited the following objects from India, viz.:—Amulet given to pilgrims to shrine of Jaggannâth; talisman in form of a face in relief and containing a MS. and thirteen garnets, twelve rough and one polished; a decorated betel-nut cutter with mirrors; a copper "foot of Vishnu" with symbols; three copper talismans worn on the person and prepared according to the horoscope; large copper hand on brass-cased wooden staff, carried in processions; shrine with decorated folding doors; and tiger's claws mounted below a silver case containing a very hard cement mixed with tiny white and red beads and silver foil and cuttings; and, from Ceylon, the horoscope of one Dingaros, the casting of which cost £2.

The meeting concluded with hearty votes of thanks to Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Hodson for their papers, to Mr. Fawcett for his gift of objects to the Society, and to Mr. Wright for exhibiting his objects of folklore interest from India and Ceylon.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15th, 1910.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the Meeting held on June 1st having been read and confirmed, the President moved, Dr. Gaster seconded, and it was unanimously resolved, that a rule be added to the Rules of the Society as amended at the Special General Meeting of the Society held on January 17th, 1900, in the terms following, viz. :—"In all proceedings by or against the Society, the Society shall sue and be sued in the name of its Secretary for the time being."

A letter from Mrs. Nutt was read acknowledging the vote of condolence passed at the last meeting.

The election of Mr. H. J. Rose and Mr. G. Pendlebury as members of the Society was announced.

The death of Major McNair, and the resignation of Earl Beauchamp, were also announced.

Dr. Westermarck read a paper entitled "Moorish Beliefs and Customs," and in the discussion which followed Mrs. Spoer, Capt. A. J. N. Tremearne, Mr. Calderon, Dr. Gaster, Mrs. Grant, Mr. G. L. Gomme, Mr. Longworth Dames, Mr. Shearman Turner, Miss A. Werner, Major O'Brien, and the President took part.

Some amulets against the evil eye suspended in the doorways of small shops at Naples were exhibited by Mr. E. Lovett, and a collection of amulets and votive offerings from Italy and Corfu by Mr. Hildburgh.

Mr. F. Fawcett exhibited, and presented to the Society, a tally stick and a hand-made pot from Malabar, Southern India.

The meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Dr. Westermarck for his paper, to Messrs. Lovett, Hildburgh, and Fawcett for their exhibition of amulets and other objects, and to Mr. Fawcett for his gift of objects to the Society.

NOTES ON THE MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE BEDU AND FELLAḤIN.[1]

BY MRS. H. HAMISH SPOER (A. GOODRICH-FREER), F.R.S.G.S.

(*Read at Meeting*, *April* 20*th*, 1910.)

I. *The Bedu.*

IT is not surprising that the marriage customs of the Fellâḥîn,—or agricultural population,—and still more of the Bedu,—or desert, nomadic population,—of Palestine should show traces of the remotest antiquity. On the other hand, it is also natural that in the course of ages, and by reason of change of place and the admixture of alien elements, such customs should have been subjected to many modifications, affecting different districts in various degrees, so that the invariable custom of one village or tribe may be wholly alien to the next, and even in so small a country as Palestine,—about the size of Wales,—it is not fair to assert or deny the existence of any usage without extensive and continuous study, opportunity for which is not always easy to obtain. We all owe a debt of gratitude to such observers as Burton, Doughty, Baldensperger, Goldzieher, Musil, and Euting. Among women, I know of none whose observations are of value except Miss Rogers, (who wrote in the middle of

[1] I wish to express my thanks to Musil's *Arabia Petræa*, vol. iii., and to Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*. I need hardly say that without the help of my husband much of the contents of this paper could not have been observed and recorded. I am also greatly indebted for practical help to Herr Elias Ḥaddād, Teacher of the Syrisches Waisenhaus, Jerusalem.

last century), and, within a limited geographical area, Lady Burton.

The nature of marriage usages depends, primarily, upon the status of man and woman respectively, and the conditions of the social organisation under which they lived during the period of their development. The Semite races lived, as the Bedu still do, in tribes, the basis of which was blood-relationship, and the end to be kept in view that of increase in the number of fighting men and marriageable women. The tribe was a compact whole, and this conception of solidarity required that the woman, with her children,—(named by her according to her own tribal usage),—should remain with the clan to which she belonged. She had the right to dismiss her husband at will, and the children were traced by descent from the mother only. Of this we may expect to find certain traces.

Gradually, however, the matriarchate gave place to a new system of regarding the descent of the child as from its father, and the woman followed her husband to his own tribe, thereby losing all rights over herself. The husband now assumed a new position. He was called her baᶜal[2] or owner, and was in a position to divorce her at will. The fact of being an alien among her new surroundings was in some degree an element of weakness, but at the same time a condition of security in a race in which the sense of kinship is, as among the Semites, enormously strong and reaching far beyond the third and fourth generations. To injure her was to arouse her tribe, to whom that of her husband had to account, so that she could not receive physical injury nor be sold as a slave. It seems at first sight surprising that a people with so strong a sense of relationship should be willing to hand over women of their blood to a stranger, to whose will she was entirely subject. In pre-Islamic times, however,—as now,—her own family received a considerable payment, usually in camels or small cattle.

[2] Cf. Hosea, c. ii., v. 16.

The Bedawi of the present day receives a proposal for the hand of his daughter in some such phrase as "Thou hast come to buy of me my liver." The price among the better classes, especially in towns, has now come to be rather of the nature of a marriage settlement, and much of it accrues to the bride herself. Not wholly, however, as will be seen. This prematrimonial pledge, of which we read as far back as in the history of the negotiations by Eliezer on behalf of Isaac, was in some sense a pledge of security for the woman, but it was, in large degree, an actual purchase. Women had a definite value, especially in the desert. The Bedu, unlike the Semitic town-dwellers, have very few children. The conditions of life are hard, food of the scantiest, and girl-children succumb to their hardships more readily than boys. To this day, the bridal price of a woman varies not only according to her rank and appearance, but also according to the district to which she belongs. It was this scarcity and costliness that led to the necessity for the capture of women. Of this there are still certain symbolic traces. The last time it occurred in fact was after the withdrawal of the French in 1798. As a general rule, the person of a woman is always respected,—among the Moslems.

It is to the humane teaching of the prophet Mohammed that the Arab woman owes the removal of many of her disabilities, and he specially required the fair treatment of captured wives,—insisting upon the equality of all believers. The old Arab poetry is full of contempt for the children of such marriages, and Mohammed did not succeed in establishing the principle in his own day, when to be called the "descendant of a slave" was the last insult which could be offered to the haughty sons of the desert. Time, however, brings its revenges; now, in the towns, some of the noblest Arab families of our own day are proud of the traces of obvious admixture of Abyssinian or Nubian blood, as evidence of long descent and prosperity,—of relationship with those who





BARGAINING FOR THE BRIDE AMONGST THE BEDU.

MÛSA, A *RÂWI* OR PROFESSIONAL SINGER.

To face p. 272.

could afford to keep slaves.[3] The agriculturist Fellâḥîn "smiles at the claims of long descent," but the Bedawi still boasts himself "the son of a woman with a white forehead," and holds the maxim,—"If you cannot find an equal match for your daughter, her best place is the grave." Needless to say an unmarried woman, unless physically defective or evil spoken of, is practically unknown among Moslems. "Take a woman of a clan," they say, "even if she be on a mat," *i.e.*, is possessed of no property but her sleeping mat.

It is the duty of every able-bodied Moslem to marry so soon as he possesses a moustache.[4] It is his first duty to

[3] There are certain "points" in a woman's appearance which tell against her. For example it is held undesirable to choose a wife with "rounded heels." In North America I believe that a projecting heel is considered a sign of "coloured blood." Has the former the same significance?

[4] This point of view may perhaps be regarded as Semitic, as it is shared by Jews and Christians, who also hold that a young man of marriageable age is committing actual sin by remaining single. Such an one is buried in wedding clothes, just as a Moslem dying uncircumcised must be circumcised after death. In February, 1909, when a fierce *émeute* took place amongst the Christians of Jerusalem, a young unmarried Arab of the Greek Church was amongst those killed. His corpse was paraded about the town in procession, seated upright in full wedding finery, a cigarette in one hand and a bouquet in the other, and his father danced the wedding dance. The following song refers to such an occasion:—

1. "Barhoom, O Barhoom!
O father of locks! [i.e. having the abundant hair of youth.]
With your eye you beckon me!
Woe to me! And with your hand you beckon me!
Woe to me! And with your hand you beckon me!
2. Barhoom is upon the roof,
And his hair is fluttering,
And the heart is wounded.
Woe to me! It is the wound of the knife!
Woe to me! It is the wound of the knife!
3. Barhoom is behind the door.
He is calling O youths!
The moon has set, has set.
Woe to me! He no longer entertains me.
Woe to me! He no longer entertains me.
4. Barhoom is not with us,
And the hair has been dyed with henna.

see that no maiden among his cousins, especially the daughter of his paternal uncle,[5] shall remain single. Among the Bedu such marriage is even his right, and he may insist upon the rejection of every other suitor should he himself desire her, and she only has the right to refuse him. Even after she has been assigned to another, and is already seated upon the camel which will conduct her to her future home, her nearest cousin may deliver her, *with her own permission.*

This marriage of near relatives has the advantage[6] of ensuring previous acquaintance and intercourse, as the pair have probably played together in childhood. Among the Bedu and Fellâḥîn this is not important, as the women are unveiled with very rare exceptions, (such as the tribes of Jummaᶜîn, Jayûsah, and el-Baraghit), and the sexes have free intercourse, within certain rules of decorum. Among the Bedu and many Fellâḥîn, all relatives on the mother's side beyond those of the same generation are regarded as lawful, or rather, to quote their own expression, "not unlawful." A man may not marry his paternal aunt, but may his paternal uncle's daughter. A woman may not marry her uncle, as he is regarded as "complete parentage"; the maternal uncle is, moreover, her protector, in many cases even more so than is her father. Relatives-in-law are not

Demand and wish,
O my brother, and the wedding is doing an injustice.
O my brother, and the wedding is doing an injustice.
5. Barhoom is in the village square,
He is smoking a cigarette.
Implore you, O Sara.
Woe to me! Rise and open to me
Woe to me! Rise and open to me."

Spoer and Ḣaddād, *Manual of Palestinean Arabic, etc.*, p. 174.

[5] This is so far taken for granted that an Arab will speak of his wife as *Bint ᶜammi* (the daughter of my uncle), whether she really holds that relation or not.

[6] Cf. Musil, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., pp. 173 *et seq.* Disadvantages, however, cannot be denied, from repeated marriages of consanguinity. Cf. Doughty, *op. cit.*, vol. i.

expected to concern themselves with blood feuds. A woman is regarded as a stranger to her husband's family. After his death he may be looked upon by his mother and sister only. If his wife should come near the body, it would have to be re-washed. This was explained to me once as being due to the fact that a man would give his wife permission, upon his death-bed, to remarry, so that she is regarded as divorced. Other reasons are, however, conceivable. Moreover, widows are not, in general, held in high honour. A Moslem will marry a divorced woman rather than a widow. If she be left with young children, her husband's brother is bound to marry her, should she be without means or protection. If a man marries a widow without such necessity, there is no rejoicing at the wedding, no feast, and the men will spit in her face as she goes by to her new home. No man may marry a widow and her daughter at the same time. The marriage with a wife's sister is not regarded with favour. In some tribes, *e.g.* the Ṣûr, he may marry his wife's sister after the wife has borne him a son. Should two young people be forbidden to each other, as, for instance, in the case of the prior claim of a near male relative, they will, if determined to marry, escape to another tribe, where the maiden is carefully guarded in the women's tent while the man puts himself under the protection of the Shech, who acts as intermediary with the tribe of his guests; and not until the matter has been settled are the pair allowed to meet.

I may remark here that among the Bedu maiden purity is most jealously guarded. If a girl has consented to her own dishonour, she is put to death, with horrible details, by her nearest relatives. If they refused to do this, the whole clan would be dishonoured; they would lose all civil rights, and would be unable to marry their sons or daughters. I once witnessed the funeral of the Shech of a tribe of Nowar (gipsies), a nomadic people whom the Moslems regard as "forty times unclean,"

—pointing perhaps to their pagan origin. It was attended by an immense crowd, including many *biladiye* (townspeople), whom I was surprised to see in such association. It was explained as being due to the respect felt for one who had, with his own hands, unhesitatingly killed his own daughter on hearing of her misconduct. A man who wrongs a girl with her consent must marry her and pay "the price of her virginity," *i.e.* the same sum as if he had killed a man. Moreover, her family have the right to harry and loot his clan during a period of eight days.

Love plays quite an important rôle in Bedawi marriages. Arabic poetry tells many a tale of secret meetings, though these are not sanctioned by convention. It is, however, easy enough for a lad to make known his sentiments, and for a girl to send him word *enet ḫašš mušt râsi* ("thou hast entered into the comb of my head").

"The woman is a donkey by day and a wife by night," say the Bedu, yet the man is, in general, considerate of his wife and, unlike the fellaḥ, commonly sets his wife on camel-back when travelling, if only on account of the work which is expected of her on alighting, when the erection and arrangement of the tent falls to her lot. The Bedawi poet Nimr, whose songs may be heard at every camp fire, celebrated his first wife in 365 songs, and could not be consoled for her death, although he tried 80 others, all of whom he returned to their homes.

A Bedawi has very rarely two wives at a time. Baldensperger, the longest and perhaps the most trustworthy observer of Arab customs, says he has never known a single case. Divorce is easy, and, like Nimr, he may have many wives in succession. Divorce does not carry the stigma which it does with us, as adultery in the desert is practically unknown. Both persons would be at once put to death. A man who desires his neighbour's wife, asks him for her, —naturally for "a consideration," which commonly consists of the bridal money he has already paid with certain

presents in addition. Many stories are related of love-lorn Bedu who have ruined themselves by high payments on such an occasion.

Two young people, deciding to marry, must announce their views to their respective fathers. A straight path to any object being unknown in the East, the father of the youth employs a spokesman whom, with other friends, he accompanies to the father of the maiden, and who, possibly to forestall a rebuff, opens up transactions, rather unfairly, in some such terms as these,—"This maiden, thy daughter, is in the habit of running after this youth the whole day, from the moment he drives out the herd. Her soul is in him, and his soul in her."

The father will probably reply,—"If her soul dwells in him and his soul dwells in her, I shall not separate soul from soul. Listen to what she herself has to say. In case she wishes to take him I shall give her, and blessing shall go with her and guide her."

The maiden herself is now visited by the intermediaries, and, if she gives her consent, she is begged to authorise someone to act on her behalf. The same process is repeated with regard to the youth, and, everyone having agreed on both sides, the real business begins.[7] The two spokesmen, with the friends of the youth and maiden, adjourn to the tent of the girl's father to consider the financial aspect of the case. The price of a virgin is double that of a divorced woman or widow. If the suitor belongs to a small tribe, or is of inferior rank, he will be expected to pay in proportion to the advantages he gains by the alliance. The daughter of a Shech will command a considerable addition in camels. Doughty relates that the bride-price in the districts which he visited is very rarely

[7] The terms of the enquiry are interesting as a historical vestige. The spokesman asks, in either case,—"Wilt thou take M. (or N.) the son (or daughter) of . . .," naming his (or her) *mother*. Cf. the Psalmist's "I am thy servant and the son of thine *handmaid*."

paid, the sum in question being then regarded as the estimated value of the lady and the process of valuation as honorific or possibly for future reference, as, for example, in case she should merit divorce for physical defect or lightness of conduct. One may not question the accuracy of such an observer as Doughty, but such paternal liberality would be difficult to find elsewhere. Nimr, the Bedawi poet already referred to and a powerful Shech of the Adwân, obtained the peerless Waṭẖa without price as a reward for chivalrous conduct towards her, but he probably paid the usual terms for the remaining eighty matrimonial experiments made after her death. Even Waṭẖa, however, on more than one occasion returned at her own caprice to her tribe, and this is a contingency to be guarded against. The bridal price having been agreed upon, a forfeit in case of such desertion on the part of the untamed beauty of the desert must be arranged. This is, as a rule, double the value of the bride,—two camels, mares, sheep, etc., for every one of the dowry. This is sworn to in the presence of witnesses, but, as such a condition might be an incentive to ill-treatment, her father adds,—"If, however, which may God forbid, thou maltreatest my daughter, I will take her back, and thy hand shall remain empty. This is custom and law. Neither to thy tribe nor to thyself shall enmity arise from this." It may of course happen that the father of the maiden refuses to give his consent. This, however, is not an insurmountable obstacle, provided only that the lady is willing and the would-be bridegroom has means to pay the bridal price, as popular feeling is in favour of matrimony as tending to the honour and preservation of the tribe. In such a case, the representatives, having received their refusal, will return reinforced in numbers and bearing with them, or more probably driving before them, the bridal price. A formal demand is again made by the spokesman of the young man, and on meeting a second refusal he conveys the

message to his client's father, and returns, bringing one camel, or mare, or a few goats less than before, a process which is repeated at every renewed refusal until all are withdrawn, when the young man is free to take possession of his bride, in whom her father has no further property.

The most propitious time for a wedding is the night between Thursday and Friday, the Arabic name for Friday being *yôm el-jummaᶜ*, or day of assembly or union.

The mother of the maiden, hitherto in the background, now becomes important, and seven days before the wedding erects a white flag over her tent, which now becomes a centre of gaiety until the wedding day. The young people meet there every evening, dancing and performing feats of arms about a blazing fire, the elders apart,—the men drinking coffee, the women chatting, and the old ones possibly spinning goat's- or camel's-hair for carpets or tent-clothes,—all smoking if means permit.

A favourite game is for the young men, with arms interlocked, to form a semicircle before a young girl who holds in each hand a drawn sword. She stands at some distance from the fire with her back to it. Stepping slowly towards the men she sways gracefully backwards and forwards, whirling the swords above her head. The young men, swaying rhythmically and singing simple words of invitation,—"O be welcome" or the like,—beat the ground in measured time with their feet, and seek to drive her backward towards the fire, while she defends herself with the swords. Should they succeed, she kneels down, holding one sword above her head; the men also kneel, but, incited by the onlookers, especially the women, she will seize a chance to regain her feet and continue her dancing, driving them away at the sword point. When exhausted, she will escape and shelter amongst the women. Is this a reminiscence of marriage by capture?

Another amusement is for the girls to place the bride upon a camel and lead her between the tents to an open

space beyond the camp. There she is fêted by songs and dances in her honour. If she does not go herself, a hayfork is dressed up to represent her. The songs are naturally topical, with allusions to the joys and sorrows of her position,—the mother-in-law of course being a prominent butt.

"Thy father gave the Beloved to me, but his mother opposed.
May her death be terrible, because she did not give him.
May seven black dogs be the sacrifice for his mother on the day of her death."

If an old man should,—as a matter often of duty,—marry the young widow of a near relative, they will sing,—

"I'll die the worst death, but a greybeard shall never embrace me.
His white beard is like a scorpion piercing my bosom."

The future husband, if good-natured, will reply,—

"We'll go to-morrow to the dyer, and for love's sake I'll have my beard dyed,
"And I'll be a fine fellow, who has no equal among the Bedu." (Trans. from Musil, *op. cit.*, vol. iii.).

Or, again,—

"I am smelling the odour of the sweet trefoil,[8]
She who is above has taken my understanding,
And he who goes to the hot bath
Hears the tinkling of the anklet.
I am smelling the odour of the sweet trefoil,
I am smelling the odour of ginger,
Spur on thy horse, my brother; spur on,
Spur on thy horse which is noble."

Another song is,—

"O paternal uncle, said Râlye,
A lady of the costly ones is costly.
I take none except the Bedu
The father of the head-cloth which is put on askance. [This is a sign of jollity; cf. Plate XII.].

[8] Sweet herbs, or a necklace of cloves, are always a part of the bride's toilette.

A rider against the mob of Arabs
At mid-day, the middle of the noon-rest. [*i.e.* attacks them when they are most alert.][9]

On the eve of the wedding-day the bridegroom is seated before a small tent, generally new, to receive the offerings of his friends, for which the "friend of the bridegroom" gives thanks. The bride meanwhile is arrayed by her mother, and, when all is ready, she is led forth upon a camel, her maternal uncle on the saddle behind her,—she crying all the time "O my father! O my brother!" This is now a mere conventionality, but may have originated in real fear or anxiety, the presence of the mother's brother having originally been intended to prevent flight. When she reaches the bridegroom's tent, the remaining portion of the bride-price is handed over. Then a sacrifice is brought, and killed at the tent door, the bridal pair being sprinkled with the blood. This is the religious act which makes them man and wife. During the bustle which follows while the offering is being prepared for the feast, the bride seizes the moment to escape into the desert, where she hides herself for a longer or shorter time according to her temperament and inclination. The husband must seek her out, taking with him food and water. For at least six days he alone knows of her hiding place; in some tribes she is hidden for as much as half a year. Not to fly directly after the sacrifice would be considered shameless, and her children would be born cowards.

On returning to the camp her first act is to go with her friends to the well to wash her husband's clothes. It is now her turn to receive presents, which remain her inalienable property. She also receives a lamb, which she herself slaughters and consumes with her friends. She

[9] These two songs are from Spoer and Ḥaddād, *Manual of Palestinean Arabic etc.*, p. 177.

is invited by all her neighbours, and, after four days, she invites her parents, and is then "at home" to all and sundry.

II. *The Fellâḥîn.*

The Fellâḥîn, the agricultural population of Syria, are a people of, for the main part, other traditions than those of the Bedu, by whom they are despised as mere labourers whose rough stone or clay-built villages and toilful lives, albeit more comfortable surroundings, contrast widely with the freedom, the hospitality, and the lawlessness of the tent-dwellers of the desert.

With the Fellâḥîn, the first consideration in seeking for a wife is utility. The Shech of a village would not marry his daughter to one of lower rank than her own, unless the bridegroom offered him considerable financial inducement thereto, but another man has other aims. His wife must help him to wrest a scanty living from the over-taxed field and orchard; she must have physical strength and capacity for work, or, failing that, she must have property of her own; if these qualifications be lacking, she must at least be cheap. To have more than one wife at a time is very unusual among the townspeople or the Bedu; to the Fellaḥ an additional wife means an extra hand at farm-labour, and the potential mother of wage-earning sons. Matrimony is so much the more incumbent upon them. A Fellaḥ, however, will not willingly give his daughter to a townsman; trousers are an indecency, and a hat prevents one from looking up to heaven. A girl is often betrothed at birth. "Blessed be the bride" is the form of announcement of that event. A neighbour possessed of a boy a few years older will probably claim her at once. This is a formal engagement. The *fatiḥa* is read, and a sacrifice offered. A popular arrangement is to affiance a boy and girl of one family to a girl and boy of another. Such a mutual

accommodation economises at the wedding festivities, and saves the bridal price. There is no age limit among the Bedu. I have witnessed the marriage of boys of twelve to girls of ten. At the other extreme, a man is considered marriageable, however old, so long as he possesses enough vitality to move his toes. For a girl to do so is considered a gross violation of decorum, however natural where all are barefoot. It is one of the charges brought against the "frenji," the European population, who, unconsciously or indifferently, defy many rules of oriental etiquette, and then are astonished that the natives do not respect them!

A Fellaḥ likes to have at least one wife with fair skin, white teeth, and, as his poets express it, eyes like a gazelle and mouth like a quarter of a *mejidi* (a coin of about the size and value of a shilling); for the rest, muscular development is the main thing. There are certain villages, which I could name, known for furnishing wives good and cheap,—and plain; others, where women are cheap and—less refined as to morals and manners.

Boys and girls even, not to speak of older suitors and sought, have a voice in the selection, but there is less love-making than in the desert. There is less leisure, and the needs of life are more pressing. The spokesman, visiting the girl's father, opens matters with "We have come to seek your daughter and relationship,"—to which he replies what may be translated "According to your wish," but which is literally "According to your purse." Coffee is then offered. The etiquette of coffee is a science in itself. In general, to decline it is a deliberate insult or declaration of enmity On this occasion, however, it may, in some districts, be declined as an intimation that the preliminaries are not satisfactory, or that difficulties are foreseen.

Business proceeds somewhat as follows,—"We come to you as petitioners,—and are not to be refused by God or

you." "Your arrival be welcome," replies the father, "Darkness be behind you, and moonlight before." Each party then state the benefits to be conferred according to their own point of view, and at great length. Finally the father of the maiden assents, in the words, "I am the camel,—you are the knife," and, after this declaration of entire submission, proceeds to ask some exorbitant sum. "You will destroy the house!" cries the spokesman indignantly, and one by one his party arise and go out, trailing their long cloaks behind them, in sign of displeasure. The relatives of the girl,—should they at heart desire the alliance,—will now pursue them, and with flattery and promises persuade them to return. All re-seat themselves, and a lengthened haggling begins, as is inevitable in any bargain in the East. As in ordinary affairs a man who wishes to buy a horse, or a piece of ground, or even a mat, will ask for a reduction in the name of his children or of the salesman's children, or, if he be a Christian, in the name of the Messiah, so now the spokesman will say,—"Now how much will you take off for the sake of God?"[10] Something having been conceded, he asks again and again for the sake of your father, and of mine, of our paternal and maternal uncles, children, grandchildren, and of this or that friend. Serious offence is sometimes taken by some friend whose name has not been mentioned, or on whose account some sum, inadequate to his consequence, has been remitted. Then the women appear, and one by one claim that, for their sake, a reduction shall be made. Finally some sum commensurate to the bridegroom's means, if not to the lady's value, is arrived at, and the spokesman accepts the terms in the phrase,—"The girl is priceless, but we will give you so many thousand piastres for her." (2000 ps. equal

[10] For the following scenes cf. Dr. H. H. Spoer, "A Fellaḥ Wedding at Siloam," *Biblical World*, vol. xxvi., Pt. 1; "Some Contributions to the Interpretation of the Song of Songs," *Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, vol. xxii., Pt. 4.

about £25.) The sum varies from 20 to 80 napoleons. Out of 80, quite a usual price, about 30 go to the bride, 3 or 4 to the mother, 2 or 3 to the maternal uncle, and various smaller sums to other uncles, to brothers, sisters, etc., so that the father's share is somewhat reduced before it reaches him. The price among the Fellâḥîn is usually paid, at least in part, in coin, and the rest may be in small cattle, wheat, olives, butter, etc.—not in camels or mares as among the Bedu. The price is often paid off by degrees during the engagement.

It will be observed that the bride has no part in the preliminaries. Rebecca, who was asked,—"Wilt thou go with this man?" belonged to a nomad race, and to the nobler desert life.

The *fatiḥa*, the opening *Sûra* of the Korān, is repeated by a religious teacher, and the two are now legally husband and wife, though the wedding may not take place for some time. During this religious ceremony much evil may be effected by the ill-disposed, and various amulets, usually blue, are hung about the person of the bride. It is also a good plan to return home by a different route. One serious source of danger was but lately disclosed to me. If a person, while uttering curses, scatters flour upon the ground, it is almost as difficult to avert them as to collect the flour, and any one suspected of evil intentions should be carefully watched. Also the bridegroom should not step over water for seven days. At length the date for the marriage is fixed, and a week of festivity follows. The convenient season for Fellâḥîn weddings is after the harvest, when they have leisure and ready money, but the actual date, among Moslems and Christians alike, is arranged after consultation with a sorcerer who consults the stars. These sorcerers are Nowar (gipsies) or Moghrabis (Moors) as a rule, though a few may be found in the towns.

All expenses of entertainment before the engagement and the marriage fall upon the bride's family. It is,

however, customary for visitors who are not relatives to contribute something,—from a handful of coffee beans to a sugar loaf. All such offerings are collected by a friend selected for the office. The expenses of the marriage are defrayed by the bridegroom.

The favourite entertainment on all joyous occasions, such as return from war, or a long journey, or a pilgrimage to Mecca, and above all at weddings, is the dancing round a tree, the people carrying torches. If the occasion be in the summer, the family of the bridegroom makes a fire in an open space; if in winter, in the guest-house of the village Here sit the older people, men and women apart, and the men according to age or rank. Mats are spread, or carpets called *ḥujra* (*pl. ḥujâr*) which are woven on the table-land above Hebron. The unmarried men, the friends of the bridegroom, and even the bridegroom himself, wait upon them, handing coffee and water-pipes. The services of a poet and story-teller are engaged, who accompanies himself upon the *rabâbé*, the one-stringed fiddle, often with really beautiful effect. His stories are mainly of the deeds of heroes, Bedu of course, Zîr, Jassâs, Zarrâti, and others, of which the villagers are never tired. The young men, placing themselves in a row before their guests, vary the entertainment by songs of love and heroism, the hearers encouraging them by exclamations of "Allah! Ullah!! Ull-*aw*,—aw!!!" in increasing appreciation. At times they dance, clasping each other's hands or each pair united by grasping the end of a handkerchief, some of the spectators clapping their hands in time to the movement, which is backwards and forwards and is called *saḥye.* Simple as it looks, this dance has a strict etiquette, and must be learnt. Sometimes one will play upon the *shalmoy*, (a double pipe with stoppers), and another execute a sword-dance, or they sing an impromptu song,—one giving out a line or couplet, and others adding to or repeating it in chorus. These songs are generally topical, and sometimes very amusing. This

goes on from three to six nights, called *layālil-fárah*, ("Joy evenings"). No business may be introduced during these first days. Then comes a period known as *rádwetel-ab*, ("the satisfying of the father"). The two fathers or their representatives meet, apart from the guests, and give accounts mutually of what has been received. An account written down at the time ran thus,—

Thou hast received three *mejidât* from Hassan es Silwani at Beit Jala.

Also the wages of a ploughman for five days,—5 *mejidât*.

Also two rottles of meat (about 12 lbs.).

Also a sheepskin; a sack of straw; two pairs of horse-shoes.

Come, think ye this insufficient? Name a worthy sum of us, and render yourself what is meet, yet not all which you intend to give.

At this stage things are expected to go smoothly and with mutual compliment, but a night or two later there is plain speaking. The whole business often begins again, and outsiders are called in to adjudicate. Finally peace is restored, and festivities continue.

But a third stage is yet to come, called "the satisfying of the relatives." These tend to multiply in number and in their claims. It may even happen, as at a wedding at which my husband was present, that, when the bride is ready to start, some small brother or sister may shut the door of the house till he or she gets the *ʿabbai*, or shoes, or veil desired,—or the bride herself may decline to start till assured that she has received all her rights. It is during this period that the bride and her companion, or the bridegroom with his friends, repair to the town for the wedding outfit, which is an occasion of great rejoicing and merriment.[11] The procession is joined by many friends on

[11] The wedding dress of a *Fellaha* bride is somewhat costly, but, unless she buys European materials, will last almost a lifetime. In some villages, and especially in Bethlehem and Ramallah, the gown and veil are beautifully

the way, and the purchases are brought home in gaily painted chests upon the head of one or other of the company in turn, with songs and rejoicing, the women announcing the occasion by the *zaghareet*,[12] a trilling cry

embroidered by her own hands. Even amongst Christians in some of the convent schools these beautiful handicrafts are encouraged. I obtained the following estimate from a bride in Beit Jala : Silk robe, 50 francs ; embroidered jacket, 50 fr. ; *ᶜabbai* (mantle), 25 ; sash, 6 ; *shaṭwe* (headdress), 10 ; veil, 30 ; total, 171 fr. (nearly £7). This does not include silver ornaments for head, neck, wrists, fingers, and possibly ankles, nor the decoration of her headdress, which consists of the coins received from her father, husband, and friends, pierced and strung in rows. Such a headdress weighs from 8 lbs. upwards, and is worn night and day. The coins are never removed, except in case of real necessity, nor have I ever heard of a woman being robbed of them.

[12] The following are examples of the *zaghareet*, (Spoer and Ḣaddād, *Manual of Palestinean Arabic etc.*, p. 176) :—

For the bridegroom :—

Aēēēē. O N.N., O rose upon a tree !
Aēēēē. O Prince, O son of princes !
Aēēēē. And I have prayed the Lord of Heaven that wealth come to thee by trading.
Aēēēē. Mayest thou rule, and prescribe, and receive the Wazirs ! Lŏŏlŏŏlŏŏlēē !

For the bride :—

Aēēēē. O lady, O N.N., mankind has not borne the like of you !
Aēēēē. O Gillyflower opened in a glass !
Aēēēē. O Thou with whom is God and *Chadr abool-ᶜabâs* [*i.e.* St. George, patron saint of the demented].
Aēēēē. O Those who protect you against the eyes of man [*i.e.* the evil eye]. Lŏŏlŏŏlŏŏlēē.

For a bridegroom and bride who are orphans :—

Aēēēēē. O dish of mulberries
Aēēēē. Upon whom the spiders have rested.
Aēēēē. O God, may He protect the children who are orphans,
Aēēēē. Who have grown up and built houses. Lŏŏlŏŏlŏŏlēē.

Song when making the wedding cake :—

1. I am going and returning to my fatherland,
The virgins met me in the valley.
They said to me good-day, [*lit.* health] O camel-driver,
Thy camels are from Aleppo,
Their halters are silken and beautiful.
2. I am going and returning to Nēēḥa.
The virgins met me at Rēēḥa [*i.e.* Jericho, or any names which rhyme].

of joy inimitable by European throats. During this same visit to the town the bride is perhaps taken to the bath, where she is specially treated for the occasion, and whence she emerges with henna-stained nails and hair, and face shining from the entire removal of the down from the skin. The etiquette of the bath is most elaborate, and I have decribed it elsewhere.[13] The Jinn which haunt such places have to be propitiated, the evil eye averted, and the future kept in view. She must be confronted only with what is pleasant, a young mother, actual or prospective, must accompany her, and her companions should be healthy, good-looking, and gay.[14] If the period be that of the new moon, as is generally desirable, proper measures must be taken to secure a favourable month. On seeing it, (or *him* as the Arabs say), it is proper to observe,—"God's new moon has appeared in his exaltedness. May it be for us a blessed new moon." Then, taking up a stick and breaking it, "We have broken a stick under the eyes of the envious." If any person is present of gloomy countenance or who is ill, the bride should turn away her face, and some pleasant object, such as a napoleon, should be held up before her.

The bridegroom usually goes to the house of a friend to be prepared and arrayed for marriage. In a country where the beard, (even in the future), is an object of importance, even of veneration, shaving is of course an important ceremony. This is done by the friends of the bridegroom; each takes a share, to bring good luck to himself.

When the wedding day comes, all the men of the village meet at some open space and amuse themselves, firing at a target being a favourite sport. Their range is often up to 60 metres! The prize may be a pair of shoes which

[13] *Inner Jerusalem*, pp. 305-7.

[14] A Christian (whether bride or not) must never bathe on Sunday, on pain of losing the benefits of baptism.

the bridegroom brings on a horse, or possibly the head of the lamb which has been slaughtered for the evening meal. This meal may also be of a sacrificial nature, especially if the young pair are to inhabit a new house, in which case the animal is killed on the threshold,[15] and the blood is sprinkled on doors and windows,—if the people are Christians, in the form of a cross. If no such sacrifice is made before occupying the new house, Azrael will claim his victim,—one of the occupants must die. The bridegroom, however, generally takes his bride to his mother's home; unfortunately mothers-in-law have earned the same reputation in the East as elsewhere.

Music is always an important feature at a wedding. The guest is expected to offer a coin to the musicians. In the course of the evening the wedding gifts are offered to "the friend of the bridegroom," (St. John, iii. 29), who is master of the ceremonies during the whole day. He is seated on the floor of the bridegroom's house, with a cloth in front of him into which the gift is dropped after being announced. The same guest will give his offering a part at a time, (as who should give half a crown in sixpences), for the sake of hearing his name proclaimed again and again, and his generosity lauded. The amount is often greatly exaggerated in proclamation.

The real amount is, however, noted, and the same sum will be returned to the giver on any future occasion when it is his turn to be the recipient. This reduces the question of "presents" so definitely to an affair of loans that the custom is dying out among the well-off. We lately received an invitation from a townsman with the postscript "No compliments." Then comes the evening meal, served on the ground. Honoured guests may be provided with spoons.

The bride meanwhile receives her guests in her own

[15] H. H. Spoer, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxv., pp. 312-13, vol. xxvii., p. 104.

home, taking no part, however, in the entertainment. It is etiquette for her to take no interest in anything, to eat nothing, and even in some places to make a pretence of trying to run away. The guests, however, amuse each other with dance and song. The songs are mainly in praise of the bride, and prophetic of her future happiness. When the night is far advanced and all claims satisfied, the cry is heard,—"Behold the bridegroom cometh,—go ye out to meet him!", and the procession, bearing lights as of old, sets forth to meet that of the bridegroom, and to conduct the bride to her new home.

She is mounted upon a mare; in sign of submission, because the horse is stronger and more powerful, is the explanation of some. Others, with more probability, say because the mare is so much more valued, and the honour paid to her is the greater. Another informant said that the first reason was Christian and the second Moslem. In either case the animal is led by the father or uncle, for the maiden, heavily veiled, is unable to guide her steed. A near relative, uncle or brother, must also hold her on, as both of her hands are occupied with the sword which she holds before her face, and which is often brought for the purpose by the bridegroom decorated with flowers and gilt stars. In some districts two relatives, walking on either side, hold each a drawn sword, the two points meeting over her head, the idea being that of protection in either case.

The procession is accompanied by crowds of friends, the young men shooting and performing sword feats, the girls clapping, and the matrons trilling their *zaghareet*. A complication may arise if the bride and bridegroom belong to opposite factions, one being *Ḳais* and the other *Yemâni*.[16] Though the difficulties

[16] Formerly the whole country was divided between these two factions, the origin of which is lost in the mists of folklore. Now only certain villages keep up the tradition. A rich Shech of the race of Antar of Bab-el-wâd, the point where one leaves the Judaean hills and enters the Plain of Sharon, had a

now raised are not so great as formerly, still I have myself seen the wedding festivities suddenly turned into a scene of confusion, and even danger, several persons being wounded, in the Christian village of Ramallah, before the Shechs from the next Moslem village of Bireh could be called in to make peace. The standard of the *Ḳais* is red, and that of the *Yemâni* white, and the bride must adopt the colour of her husband's faction. It was formerly necessary that she should wear a veil of one colour lined with the other, which could be turned according to the village through which she passed.

An interesting vestige of matriarchate times is that, in some districts, the maternal uncle will cause the stoppage of the entire procession by refusing to allow the bride's steed to go further, until he receives a gift of money *from the bride's father*, which he hands over to her. All presents to the bride are her own property.

Of course there are variants of these proceedings. In some places the bride *walks* in the procession, other details being the same. Again, where her new home is distant, the procession may take place by daylight.

On nearing the bridegroom's home, he and his friends press forward so as to be ready to receive her. Meanwhile her maidens take the opportunity for her further adornment, painting her face, colouring her eyebrows, and affixing patches of gold paper to her cheeks and forehead. The veil is replaced, as only the bridegroom has the privilege of removing it.

Arrived at the house, he lifts her from her horse, and

beautiful daughter. Her numerous suitors were reduced to two,—one favoured by herself and the other by her family. Confident in the prowess of her lover, she consented to marry the one foremost in various prescribed feats of valour. The rivals were always equally successful, and finally she decreed that they should be tested in single combat. Both were killed, and the girl drew a dagger and slew herself between their bodies. The two factions are still fighting out the question. (More prosaic interpretations are also vaguely assigned.)

she yields up her sword to him in sign that he is, for the future, her protector. Then with his long knife he removes the veil, and gives her a present of money, in gold or in silver *mejidât* according to his means, laying each piece against her forehead while the chief bridesmaid extends her long sleeve to catch them as they fall. Each piece is offered with the phrase,—"This is for the love I bear to thy father," to thy uncle, mother, etc., as the case may be. The father and mother, relatives, and friends, in turn, do the same. Her face is then washed, and the decorations removed and burnt.

Symbolic actions follow, varying with the district. In some places the bride sticks a piece of dough on the doorway, and sometimes upon her own forehead, in token that she is, according to popular derivation, the lady or loaf-giver of the house. In others she breaks a pomegranate upon the threshold, and throws the seeds into the house; or a jar of water is placed upon her head, which she carries over the threshold, in allusion, again, to her future duties. This done, she slaps the bridegroom on the hand, and the parents and friends slap him on the back. I do not know whether this is the modern version of an ancient usage, not yet wholly extinct, though in modified form, by which the bridegroom felled his wife with a club in token of the submission required of her?

In some districts, again, a female sheep or goat is sacrificed by the bridegroom upon the roof, over the nuptial chamber. The bride is sprinkled with the blood.

The bridal pair are now placed upon a raised seat. Pots or bunches of sweet basil, clove pinks, or other sweet-smelling herbs, are laid near by, and supper for all guests is prepared at the bridegroom's cost. For seven days the bride does no work. Breakfast next morning is prepared by the bridesmaids, but during the whole week the house is not cleaned. To violate this rule would be to cause the death of one of the inmates. A festival diet, mainly of

mutton and rice, is eaten during the whole week. On the evening of the sixth day the father of the young wife sends her a present known as "*eṣ-ṣuḥbe.*" It consists of a kid or lamb divided into pieces, each upon a separate *tabak* or straw dish; also bowls of uncooked rice, and of *semn* or fat for cooking. These are covered with red gauze. He sends also a wadded jacket, a woman's *ʿabbai* or mantle, three or four *tyâb* (dress lengths) of red or blue cotton, and some head-coverings. These are brought by the female relatives with song and dance, generally taking a long way round by way of announcing the festal occasion. Then there is supper for all, and in Christian villages much drinking, and, at a later hour, friends of the bridegroom will bring presents, generally of a domestic nature, such as dried figs, raisins, *dibs* or grape-honey, coffee, and the like. These are known as *inḳoot-es-sâbiʿ*, or presents of the seventh.

These may amount, in all, to three or four hundred piastres (fifty, sixty, or seventy shillings), and in rich districts even to one thousand piastres.

On the seventh day the young wife leaves the house for the first time. When the pair pass the house of a friend, he will rush out and strew their path with sweet things, raisins or figs. An enemy takes the same occasion to express his sentiments in less savoury fashion.

Most of these customs obtain whether the happy pair be Christian or Moslem. There are, of course, variants. The bride, if of the Latin Church, will wear a crown of flowers on her wedding day; if of the Greek Church, both wear crowns of gilt. These are put on in church. Modern converts learn to despise the customs of their race, wear caricatures of European clothing, and celebrate the occasion in travesty of European manners. They do not come within the sphere of our present discussion.

The married life of the Fellaḥa is not so secure and happy as that of her Bedawi sister. Her marriage is less often a matter of choice, and in the lack of tribal feeling she

is less assured of protection. She may even be beaten by her husband with the same freedom as the woman of the same class in England and elsewhere, so long as serious injury is not inflicted,—in which case her family must interfere. "The flesh belongs to the husband, but the bones to the clan," is an aphorism commonly recognised. The family, however, will not encourage her to apply for divorce, as they would have to return half of the bridal price. If the husband divorces her, he receives nothing back. The village Shech is sometimes called upon to interfere in cases of incompatibility, and he counsels the pair like a local magistrate.

My own experience, and I could give many illustrations, is that even in the Fellaḥ house "the grey mare is generally the best horse," and divorce in this class is very rare. The Fellaḥ, unlike the Bedawi and townsman, as has been already said, is not averse from polygamy, and so has not the excuse which in their case sometimes leads to divorce,—*i.e.* failure of offspring.

Divorce for misconduct such as comes into our own courts is unknown, and even serious incompatibility (generally among the harēm) seldom leads to more than separation. The wife merely returns to her family, taking her personal property with her, and perhaps a sheep or two, and, amongst the Bedu, a camel, in addition. The law of divorce requires that, in case the pair should wish to re-unite, she must marry some one else in the interval.

So, for the most part with fair confidence, we may leave our bridal pair to be happy ever after.

A. M. Spoer.

SOME NĀGA CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

BY T. C. HODSON, EAST LONDON COLLEGE.

(*Read at Meeting, June 1st*, 1910.)

WHEN I was busy with the census of 1900, a Nāga[1] once asked me what the census was for. Shrewdly enough he suspected an increase of taxation, but I was not to be drawn. I was near the truth when I told him that the Maharani was so interested in her Nāga subjects that she had sent me to find out how many of them she ruled over. It must have seemed to my questioner that I was engaged in rather a useless task if I was merely satisfying the curiosity of that distant mysterious personage whom many of them believed to be the wife of John Company, and therefore called *Kumpinu*, the feminine form of *Kumpini*. We are living in an age in which social problems are rigorously investigated by statistical and scientific methods. The interest of the State in the conservation and enhancement of the forces, social and economic, which repair continuously the wear and tear of the fabric of society, is now vivid and direct. More and more are we devoting our energy to the task of organising and preserving the raw material of the

[1] Nāga is generally derived from Assamese *nauga* (naked), and has nothing to do with *nāg* (snake). The Nāga tribes and their congeners,—Abors, Mishmis, Daflas, and Miris on the north; Kukis and Lushais on the south; Chins and Singphos on the east; and Garos, Kacharis, Tipperahs, and Mikirs on the west,—speak dialects which are members of the Tibeto-Burman group of Indo-Chinese languages.

future. We talk of eugenics as if it were a new thing, but I suspect that it has a long history behind it. Simple communities such as those of the Nāga hills, as I think, do indeed recognise the social importance of these vital processes. Their recognition may at best be but imperfect, indirect, and subconscious. The rites they perform as organised communities in the active presence of these processes afford indications both of the nature of, and of the degree of intensity of, their feelings towards social phenomena. These rites are the outward expression of the faith that is in them. They are customary rites, and have therefore a peculiar extrinsic validity. As Hobhouse acutely remarked,—"At a low grade of reflection there is little room for doubting that at bottom custom is held sacred because it is custom. It is that which is handed on by tradition and forms the mould into which each new mind is cast as it grows up. Thus, while for society it is custom, for the individual it has something of the force of habit and more than habit."[2] I seek to show that in this small area, where with all its diversity of custom there is substantial homogeneity of culture, the end which these rites serve is often consciously realised as a social end, beneficial to them as organised communities. We have views as to causality in the physical world which are not theirs. The means they employ have in our eyes no sort of quantitative or qualitative relation to the ends they seek to compass.

"*Felix qui potuit rerum cognescere causas.*"

Nāga communities are simple in structure. Here and there are groups of villages in political subordination to one large and powerful village, but Meithei rule has broken up and put an end to such troublesome agglomerations. The village groups of Mao and Maikel offer something

[2] *Transactions of the Third Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. ii., p. 435.

more nearly resembling tribal unity. They are believed to be related, and legend attributes their present separation to a religious schism. In each case there is a common *gennabura*, or priest-chief, who exercises great but strictly constitutional authority in matters of ritual. Yet in matters of *coiffure* and costume there are tribal resemblances which, taken with linguistic identities, serve as tribal marks. To certain food tabus extending to members of tribes I shall recur presently. As a general rule it may be said that each village forms an independent, self-contained group. The natural environment makes for the multiplication of such small self-contained communities. Yet, where colonisation is recent, the colony, —if we may call it a colony,—preserves its connection with the mother village by regarding the same marriage regulations. A Nāga village consists of a number of clans, never less, as I found, than three, and sometimes as many as twelve or more. The usual story is that the village was founded by a band of brothers, who are often the eponyms of the clans. These clans each occupy a well-marked area or quarter of the village, and are not intermixed. Marriage is forbidden within the clan, so that the married women in any clan are always brought in from outside, from some other clan or from some other village. The tendency is for women to be taken from some clan in the same village rather than to introduce women from other villages, and they tell me that they would not marry women from a village whose dialect they do not understand, thus employing a rough linguistic test which in practice answers well enough. In one village I found that the four component clans were arranged in pairs. Each pair formed an exogamous whole, and the reason advanced for this was that they were related. Each clan is composed of a number of families, each owning a separate house. There yet remain villages where exist Bachelors' Halls, institutions which are, I fear, doomed

to disappear, as modern methods of taxation tend to introduce modifications in the economic environment, with corresponding changes in social structure. The Bachelors' Hall is an institution which is found in many parts of the world. In this area it is universal in some form or other. In Meithei literature reference to the *Pākhonvāl* and to the *Ningonvāl*, to the *Pākhonlakpa*, to the *Nahārakpa*, and to the *Ningonlakpa* is constant, thus proving that there they had the Bachelors' Hall, the Spinsters' Hall, and officials to look after the young unmarriageable males, the young marriageable males, and the unmarried girls. From the Nāgas of the north[3] to the Lushais[4] on the south comes evidence that these houses for the men were strictly forbidden to women.

It seems that married men were bound to live in the Men's House till old age, visiting their wives by stealth and at night only. I know of cases where the men live in the Men's House till marriage, and we have, as I have pointed out above, the household system where the paterfamilias, his wife, and children live together under one roof, until the sons and daughters marry and depart. This separation of the sexes, whether in its modified form or in its severer mode, is a social fact of importance related to social structure. The earliest differentiation of function in economics follows the line of cleavage by sex.[5] In these communities where the men must wive themselves from another clan, the women, if married, are *ex hypothesi* daughters of another clan, and, if unmarried, are at least prospectively associates of some other clan. The permanent element is therefore small. Yet women are

[3] Peal, "On the Morong," (Bachelors' Hall), *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute etc.*, vol. xxii., p. 248.

[4] Shakespear, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute etc.*, vol. xxxix., p. 374.

[5] Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, vol. i., p. 173; Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. i., pp. 633 *et seq.*

recognised as part and parcel of the village or clan in which they happen to be, whether as wives or as daughters, since some of the cultivation rites demand the active presence and co-operation of the women of the village. The beginning and the end of the cultivating season are celebrated by a village *genna* or communal festival, the most conspicuous feature of which is the tug-of-war between the women and the girls on one side and the men and the boys on the other. What is with the Nāgas a serious business has become among the Meitheis a mere pastime, since we find mention in the Meithei Chronicles of the pleasure which barbarous royalty took on occasion in similar tugs-of-war.

Eschatological belief often affords valuable light on customs otherwise difficult of explanation. It emphasises the division of the village communities by sex. Colonel Shakespear tells us that Pupaola always shoots at women, and that the dead at whom he shoots drink of the waters of Lethe, and are never minded to return to earth.[6] The heaven which serves as a baby factory, as Mr. Hartland calls it, is open only to certain meritorious males, especially to those who have been beloved of many women, a belief also found among the Garos.[7]

Among the Mao Nāgas is held the belief that a grim deity stands at the gates of heaven and guards against intrusion, so that the warrior must needs enter the kingdom of heaven by violence and fight with the warder of its gates.[8] This belief regulates mortuary ritual.[9] The implements put in a woman's grave are certainly of very little use for combat with a stalwart deity.

In fact the line of cleavage is primarily by sex, both in heaven and on earth. The Nāga heaven is divided into

[6] *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute etc.*, vol. xxxix., pp. 379-80.

[7] Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 104.

[8] *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 461.

[9] *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vol xii., pp. 447 *et seq.*

many mansions, which afford an interesting, though indirect, light on their own views of social segmentation. It is true and natural that these beliefs are not very distinct and clear.

Here and there in this area, but not among Nāga tribes, we find legends that the first man was born from an egg. As a rule the Nāga legend brings their progenitor from the bowels of the earth,—already a married man, accompanied by a family. Since then, the supply of ready-made families has ceased. When working at the eschatological beliefs of the Nāgas recently, I observed that a belief, perhaps rather a tattered belief, in the reincarnation of the good and the annihilation of the bad was a cardinal feature of their system. I have been assured that incontestable proof of the truth of this belief, that men when dead return to life, is afforded by the startling likeness which children are seen to bear to some deceased relative. Nāga society does not always renew itself with new material. It sometimes gets old stuff back again from the stores of vital essence. Colonel Shakespear tells us how the Lushais believe that, "after a certain period in one of these two abodes of departed spirits, the spirit is born again as a hornet and after a time assumes the form of water, and if, in the form of dew, it falls on a man, it is reborn as his child.[10] I have pointed above to beliefs which seem to give warrant for the view that only men are eligible for the intermediate heaven from which return to earth is possible. We find among the Nāga tribes that, if a woman died in childbirth, (an event of rare occurrence), the child was never allowed to live, because they believed it to be an evil spirit, a disembodied ghost, incarnated in the mother whose death it had caused.

What is the explanation of the rule which forbids unmarried girls to eat the flesh of male animals.[11] I own

[10] *Ethnography of India*, pp. 225-6.

[11] Cf. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, p. 104; *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor etc.*, p. 228.

that I lean to the suspicion that Nāga ideas as to the conception and procreation of children might not be found to be altogether in accord with modern gynæcology.

Age and physical and social maturity[12] mark important stages of social cleavage. McCulloch[13] noted that children up to eleven or twelve years of age and old people in Manipur are exempt from Hindu laws of dietary, and throughout this area the stages of society are reckoned by age, and physical and social maturity are marked by external and characteristic distinctions of *coiffure*, costume, and ornament.

Up to puberty the children are marked by having their hair closely cut all over, except for a tuft at the point of the skull. At puberty boys and girls alike let their hair grow, and it is often said that it is disgraceful for a girl to have a baby of her own before she has got long hair. Among the Tangkhuls, in those villages in the north where the women are still tattooed, this is done at puberty. The girls generally go to another village, if possible one in which they have a maternal uncle. They are kept under strict tabus, and the operation is so painful that it is often done in instalments. The object of the practice of tattooing the women was given to me as the desire to identify their wives in the afterworld. It is therefore a pre-nuptial or quasi-initiatory rite. If women do not go to heaven, the practice would fail to achieve its object. This inconsistency may be more apparent than real. Perhaps there is a side door to heaven,—"For ladies only." Since the men of the northern Tangkhul villages were renowned for their prowess, it was observed that their daughters were eagerly sought in marriage, as any harm to them was immediately and fiercely avenged. I was once touring among the Southern Tangkhuls, and met some lads wearing their hair combed down in front in the way of

[12] Van Gennep, *Rites de Passage*, p. 94.

[13] McCulloch, *Account of Mannipore etc.*, p. 17.

the unmarried girls in Manipur. Some of them had black spots on the sides and tip of the nose, and I learnt that these lads had reached the age for marriage and thus advertised the fact. Among Nāgas the custom of head-hunting is associated with and regarded as proof of physical maturity, and therefore as evidence of social maturity and fitness for marriage,[14] which is paralleled by an interesting survival in Manipur. The eldest son of the Raja is required, on attaining the age of twelve years, to take the silver-hilted *dao* which the king of Pong, the Shan kingdom, presented to King Khāgenba, and to go into the jungle and there to cut twelve bundles of firewood, and bring them home as proof of his courage and strength.[15] Among the Tangkhuls we have, if the house tax has not by now entirely obliterated it, a custom by which, on marriage, a man succeeded to his father's office, if his father happened to be a village office holder, and also occupied his father's house, turning out the old people, who seem to have been allowed to return after a short while and then to live in an inferior portion of the house. The effect, if not the purpose, of this custom, in so far as it relates to village offices, is to secure continuously for the office a man in the plenitude of his strength, physical and mental. No one who is physically deformed or of weak intellect is allowed to hold office. The Tangkhul Nāgas also assume the ring at puberty, and in some Kabui villages there is a village *genna* or communal rite for the unmarried boys and girls. Dr. Webster asserts that the presence in a primitive community of the men's house in any one of its numerous forms points strongly to the existence, now or in the past, of secret initiation ceremonies.[16] I cannot say that I have definite knowledge of any puberty or secret initiation rites performed in the Bachelors' Hall. I think it reasonable to regard the facts I have cited as

[14] Cf. vol. xx., p. 141. [15] *The Meitheis*, p. 114.
[16] *Primitive Secret Societies*, p. 16.

evidence of an organised appreciation of the importance of this stage in the growth of the individual tribesman, so that social and physical maturity are here not far apart.

A distinction is made in Nāga ethics between the married and the unmarried, as if they regarded marriage as not only in its social aspect a mark of full tribesmanship, but from another and more intimate point of view as in itself a liberal education. Theft, we learn, is more severely punished when the offender is a married man than when he is a callow youth.[17] The subtleties of the law are thus not unknown in the rarefied atmosphere of these hills. In mortuary ritual, too, a marked difference is made between the married and the unmarried, and their respective duties are strictly defined.[18] The relations of the sexes before marriage are lax in the extreme, while after marriage the strictest chastity and connubial virtue are exacted. Davis, a most competent observer, declares that the prenuptial "lover would, as a rule, belong to the girl's own khel and would be a man whom it would be impossible for her to marry in any case."[19] For the moment I only wish to emphasise the fact that a change in status is effected by marriage and brings with it an absolute and unconditional liability to the fundamental laws of this form of society. No village would tolerate in its midst a couple who sought to live together as a married couple when they were forbidden to do so by the law of exogamy. Indeed I have often asked directly what would happen if a couple did thus break the law and live together. I was assured that such a thing was impossible, that, if it did happen, they would be driven from the village and be outlawed, outcast, at the mercy of anyone who might choose to kill them, and that, were such marriages permitted, some dire mysterious misfortune would surely happen to the village. If a young

[17] McCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[18] Hodson, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vol. xii., p. 449.

[19] *Assam Census Report*, 1891, vol. i., p. 250.

couple do not regularly complete the marriage ceremony, and omit that important part the payment of the price, they are not allowed to eat or drink in the house of the girl's parents till the price is paid to the last farthing. Here, at least, there is no natural repulsion between those who have been brought up in close intercourse.[20] Marriage is the fact which for ever after keeps them apart.

All their *gennas* or communal rites are accompanied by special food tabus, followed by communal feasts at which men and women eat and cook apart. The little society is thus temporarily resolved into its primal elements, which are reaggregated at the end of the ceremony, when their normal commensality is resumed. Nervous exaltation is conspicuous on these occasions. I have often wondered whether savages such as these are more sensitive than civilised men to nervous crises and physical changes. They brood on them, and by anticipation enhance their intensity. They augment their sensibility by sudden alternations of fasting and feasting.[21] These festivals (*gennas*, as, after Davis,[22] they are specially termed in Assam), are characterised by temporary food tabus, by temporary disturbances of the normal social relations, commensal and conjugal. They are the means by which all events possessing social importance are celebrated. I shall have to recur presently to this aspect of their life, but now seek to draw your attention to the permanent food tabus which mark the lines of social structure. In emphasis of the sexual solidarity of these communities, we find that, among the Tangkhul Nāgas, women and girls are not allowed to eat dog. In other villages pork is forbidden to them and allowed to the men. As a general rule, the food regulations are relaxed for young children and for the aged. Unmarried but marriageable girls are not

[20] Cf. Thomas, "Origin of Exogamy," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor etc.*, p. 20.

[21] Cf. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, p. 47, on "Hyperaesthesia."

[22] *Assam Census Report*, 1891, vol. i., p. 249.

allowed to eat the flesh of any male animal. Women with child may not eat the flesh of any animal that has died with young. To them is forbidden the flesh of any animal that has died a natural death as we classify natural deaths, and, by a rather interesting amplification of the category of natural deaths, of any animal that has been killed by a tiger. Here and there I have found evidence of permanent food tabus affecting single clans, and therefore separating them from other clans in the same village. There are whole groups of villages which are subject to a common food tabu, which serves, therefore, as a rough test of tribesmanship. The Tangkhuls do not eat or keep goats. The Marām villagers do not eat pork, and have imposed this tabu on villages which they have conquered. They tell a tale about it which, though doubtless aetiological, seems to indicate a connection between food tabus and the law of marriage. Another important element in the structure of society is sharply and permanently demarcated by food tabus. To the priest-chief, whose sanctity is of a high and special order, necessitating many protective measures, are denied many articles of food otherwise allowed to his fellow villagers. His wife is equally subject to these food tabus, so that she bears a double burden, that of her sex and that of intimacy with so distinguished a lord and master. The first fruits of the cultivation are forbidden to the village until the priest-chief has put his hand to the harvest, thus rendering it available for all.

Even the food tabus which for a moment I classified as temporary may be categorised legitimately as permanent, because they are imposed not by individual choice or caprice, but of necessity, whenever events occur which are held to demand such measures. They are relaxed when the crisis is overpast, and are therefore as much part and parcel of the laws of society as are the permanent tabus. No doubt many of them "depend," as Tylor observed,[23]

[23] *Early History of Mankind*, p. 131.

"on the belief that the qualities of the eaten pass into the eater," but they have been incorporated into the fabric of society, and have therefore and thereby acquired a special significance. Salomon Reinach invites us to accept tabu as the basis of religion, "un ensemble," as he calls it, "de scrupules qui font obstacle au libre exercice de nos facultés." He goes further, and asserts that "la sanction prévue, en cas de violation du tabou, n'est pas une pénalité édictée par la loi civile, mais une calamité, telle que la mort ou la cécité qui frappe le coupable."[24] The criticism which I have to offer on this passage, and especially on the concluding portion of it, is that the penalty attaching to a breach of these social laws is in this area distinctly and unmistakably social, not individual. If the priest-chief eats food which is forbidden, the village may suffer a plague of boils, or of blindness. If a warrior eats food cooked by a woman before a raid, the whole enterprise will go wrong and all his companions be exposed to danger. If parents taste oil or pulse while the hair-cutting *genna* is in progress, the child will suffer. Just in this way the sin of Achan, who took the accursed thing, brought defeat and misfortune on the people of Israel. The strength of the *genna* system among the Nāgas lies, therefore, in the indirectness and uncertainty of its sanctions.[25] A violation of a tabu on hunting during the cultivating season would,—specifically,—bring about a shortage of rice, but any subsequent misfortune would be attributed to it. If all may suffer for the default of one, it becomes the business of each to see that his neighbour keeps the law. If not the germ of altruism, is not this conducive to altruism? I have exploited this social solidarity in a severely practical manner when dealing as a judicial officer with village and other disputes. But rarely was the penalty, death or such other misfortune as an active imagination might suggest, invoked in their

[24] *Orpheus*, pp. 4, 5.

[25] Cf. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vol. xii., p. 451.

oaths upon a single person. The members of his family in ordinary matters, of his clan in more serious cases, and in extreme matters of the whole village, were rendered liable to the penalty invoked in the imprecation which forms so important and characteristic a part of the Nāga oath. I did but follow their own custom, often at their own suggestion.

I find that we may estimate the importance of any event that takes place in the midst of Nāga communities in terms of *genna*. First, I consider the social unit affected by the *genna* appropriate to the particular occasion, and then I reckon the duration and intensity of the *genna* in question. My method may not be strictly scientific, but it does at least employ a standard measure of the country. By this method we must place birth *gennas* rather low in the scale. It costs less to be born than to be buried all the world over. We can carry our classification of birth *gennas* to some degree of accuracy, for it is usual to hold a *genna* on the birth of the young of any domestic animal in the house. The scale has been worked out elaborately in one village, Mayong-khong, where I learnt that chickens got one day, kittens and puppies two days, pigs three days, and calves five days. Only the eldest child gets as much as a calf, while the second and other children only rank with the pigs. Elsewhere the scale is kinder to man, for at Maikel the eldest child gets a *genna* for a month, and the second one for fifteen days, while a calf gets five days, and puppies and pigs only have one day. It is often usual to vary the *genna* according to the sex of the child, allowing a day longer to a boy than to a girl. Only the parents are affected by the birth *genna*, a fact of some importance as proving that the community as a whole does not recognise any direct interest in the event. What is also of interest is that, as among the Tangkhuls, the father is *genna* for a longer time than the mother, and that the *gennas* are stricter in his case than for his wife. He may not work, and the solace of a pipe is

denied to him. This *genna* seems to be more severe in those villages where the husband acts as the midwife. Among the Tangkhuls, too, the father gives the child its first food. He chews a few grains of rice, and then puts them in the child's mouth. Is this a sort of acknowledgment of paternity? Is it the assertion of a claim? Is it,—intentionally,—designed to create a bond between father and child? I myself regard it as in part explained by the fact that "*C'est le premier pas qui coûte*".[26] Just as the *Gennabura* sets free the new crop of rice by tasting it himself, so the father, who is the sacrificing authority inside the house, sets the child free to eat the staple of his adult life. It is a rite of aggregation and *une levée de tabou.* In cases where the marriage rites have not been duly completed before a child is born, provided the couple might otherwise marry, the father is often required to acknowledge formally the paternity of the child, which is then allowed to live. Were he to deny paternity, or if the couple might not marry, the child would not be reared. Marriage has therefore the effect of "legitimising" the children. *Is pater quem nuptiae demonstrant.*

At Maolong, a Quoireng Nāga village, where the birth *genna* for a calf lasts for a month, the same period as for a child, I was told that the fowl killed by the father when the child was born was eaten by the mother, and that the father was not allowed to taste it. In the same village I learnt that no one was allowed to eat the flesh of a dog or goat that has been sacrificed for them. In other villages the diet of the proud parents during the birth *genna* is fish and salt. Yet again in others fish and fowls only are allowed. The Kukis are not so strict about the rule enjoining the parents to have no contact with the rest of the village, for they allow drinks to be given by them to all, *except the unmarried.* Nearly all sacrifices are in part used as occasions for taking omens, and the fowl killed at

[26] Cf. Van Gennep, *Rites de Passage*, pp. 249-50.

the birth *genna* affords excellent omens. They watch the convulsive struggles of its feet in the death agony, and, if the left foot crosses over the right foot, the future is believed to be favourable for the child. I have been told that the sacrifice of the fowl was in worship of the *imung lai*, the household deity, but I realise that by employing a Meithei term my Nāga informants may quite unconsciously have given their own custom a colour and meaning which it does not properly possess. Meithei is the *lingua franca* of this part of the hills, and in nearly every village there is some one who knows Meithei well enough to act as interpreter, for the multiplicity of dialects is so great as to make a first-hand knowledge of each dialect impossible. As we find that the food prohibitions at the time of ear-piercing and hair-cutting are intended to save the child from harm, or rather that a breach of these prohibitions brings harm to the child, not to the parents, it seems not unreasonable to attach the same or a similar significance to the food prohibitions imposed during the period of the birth *genna*, and to think that the sacrifice then made may be in part an act of worship, in part designed to afford an omen, in part to absorb and remove impurity, and in part protective. Where, as here, a belief in evil spirits is common, women before, during, and after childbirth are peculiarly exposed to malignant influences. I have come across rites such as the worship of the River spirit and of the *lairen* (python) which are intended to procure an easy delivery. In some Kabui villages I was told that an unmarried lad,—not yet arrived at puberty,—accompanied women to the village spring after the birth *genna* was over, armed with a spear to protect his companion from evil spirits.

The birth *gennas* are entirely matters for the household, and, if I may continue to employ *gennas* as the standard of measure, I would infer that the household is thus recognised as a religious unit in the social structure, and that the child is thus made a member of the household only. The

gennas for name-giving, ear-piercing, and hair-cutting are also as a rule household *gennas*, though McCulloch states that "in February (of each year) there is a festival of three days continuance in which the ears of the children born after the last festival of this nature are pierced. This festival loses its interest for those who have frequently participated in it, and is looked forward to chiefly by those for whom it is new."[27] I am not sure from this whether or not the festival is looked forward to by the babies, but my reason for quoting the passage is to show that it may mean that this was a village *genna* like the other festivals which he was describing, not, as I found it elsewhere, a household *genna*. I find that at Maolong, a Kabui village, there is a village *genna* for unmarried boys and girls held annually (which may be a rite of initiation, and, if so, demands further investigation), and one for cutting the children's hair. As an example of the variety in local custom, I may say that my notebook shows that at almost the next village the child's hair is cut during the birth *genna*, and that the ear-piercing takes place during November or December at the *mangla tha*, the *genna* when the annual ceremony on behalf of the dead is performed. But there is no departure from the rule that the birth *genna* proper extends to the parents only, and is purely a household affair. The marriage *gennas* are similarly private matters, but the clans of the contracting parties take part in the rites. The smallest social unit that takes part in a death *genna* is the clan, while there are occasions on which the participation of the whole village is obligatory on account of the manner of the death of the departed tribesman.

There are some odd items of information about children which may perhaps be mentioned. There seems to be a general agreement that twins, boy and girl, forebode bad luck. Some say that twin boys bring good luck to the

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

whole village, while twin girls keep the good results to their parents. Some again say that children born out of wedlock bring good luck, but I suspect that they mean the children of people who are free to marry, since the marriage laws are strict enough. They interpret a dream of putting a hen in a basket as meaning that a girl child will be born to the dreamer soon. Dreaming of water is always a good sign, and we may connect this with the worship of the river spirit performed before the birth of a child. To dream of a tiger is good at marriage, but of bad import at other times. To dream that an unmarried girl has a child is usually interpreted as a sign of good crops or of other prosperity.

In this sketch I have tried on a small scale to bring birth customs into relation with social structure viewed from several aspects, and, while I am fully conscious of the many gaps in my information, due perhaps to the difficulties under which my work was carried on, yet I think I have shown the main features of the rites which express the interest of Nāga society in the processes which repair the ravages which death causes in its fabric.

T. C. HODSON.

OCCULT POWERS OF HEALING IN THE PANJAB.

BY CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

MR. H. A. ROSE, on his last visit to England, handed over to the Folk-Lore Society a number of miscellaneous notes on folk-medicine collected for him by his Indian correspondents. It was suggested that I should classify and arrange them for publication in *Folk-Lore*, a proposal to which Mr. Rose readily assented. He has read the manuscript and added explanatory footnotes.

The leading feature of the collection is the idea of the "virtue" of certain persons, places, and formulas in the cure of disease.

This virtue is inherent, not merely in certain individuals, but in whole families, or in the whole of the natives of certain villages, to whom it has descended from some eminent ancestor, or has been communicated by some friendly saint or *Fakîr*; and *contact* with some person or persons so gifted is the essential feature of most cures. It is found sufficient by itself, without the aid of charms, medicines, or ceremonies. Thus, we are told that:—

"The Bhagwânî Mâchhis (fishermen) of Râjanpur are said to have inherited the power of curing a throat disease called *gal peṛe* by touching it with their hands thrice. They read nothing, and use no medicine. They are said to have possessed the power for eight or ten generations."

"The Bhuttas (a Jât tribe) of Râjanpur can cure *galpeṛa* and *sanghṛi*, (both diseases of the throat), by merely touching the

place with their hands. They inherited this faculty from their *Pîr* (Mohammedan saint) some six generations back." (Dera Ghâzi Khân.)

"Any male born in the village of Mohîuddînpur Thirâna in Shat Tahsîl, or in Paiwant in Tahsîl Karnâl, can cure rheumatism in the knee by merely touching it."

"Any male Jât[1] born in Dîwan in Tahsîl Pânipât, of the family of Sahnî Jât, can cure colic simply by touching the patient's stomach."

"Any male Bairâgî of the village of Pardhâna in Tahsîl Panîpat can cure tumours by touching them with his big toe within the precincts of the shrine of Gungâ Dâs." (Karnâl.)

The limitation of place in the last item points to the source whence the wonder-working power was derived. The next is an interesting example of inheritance from a female ancestor: (*satî*, it need hardly be said, conferred sanctity, which involves wonder-working):—

"The members of a family of Madaha Bânias (the trading class) at Batâla cure *ringarwâh* (pain in the legs etc.) by a touch of the hand. This power was conferred on them by a woman of the family who became *satî*; and it has become hereditary in the family." (Gurdâspur.)

Healing powers can be communicated by one individual to another not related to him:—

"In the village of Panjgirain, Tahsîl Batâla, a Jât has received from a *Fakîr* power to cure *wad* (a kind of ulcer). He touches the *wad* with his feet seven times, and the patient is cured. He takes no fee." (Gurdâspur.)

"One Ahmad Dudi of Râjanpur says that a Saniâsî *Fakîr* taught him to cure *genṛ* (a disease of the stomach) by rubbing it with his hands." (Dera Ghâzî Khân.)

Perhaps this last item may really imply instruction in some kind of massage, rather than the communication of an occult power. If so, it is the only instance of the sort recorded in the notes. In the following case the power is individual, not communicated or inherited:—

[1] An important tribal caste of peasant proprietors, many of them Sikhs in religion.

"At Rohtak town there is an old widow who has a great reputation for the power of curing fever, which she acquired because she married three husbands in succession. This is said to be a common belief in India. The patient, or some one sent on his behalf, drinks water from her hand, and is thereby cured."

Touching with the hand or foot is not the only method of bringing about contact between the healer and the sufferer. The gift of food or drink, as above, breathing, spitting, and rubbing with earth or ashes may be equally efficacious:—

"In the village of Nârlî, Tahsîl Kasûr, there is a Brahman who has the power of curing anyone who is suffering from *paurî* (yellowness of the eyes). The patient is cured by eating *khîr* (rice cooked with milk) cooked by the Brahman." (Lahore.)

"The Sonî Khatrîs[2] of Nangroha in Tahsîl Nawashahr in Jullundur District have a peculiar power. Anyone who cannot see in the night-time goes to the house of a Sonî and asks him for a piece of bread, which is given to him and which he eats. This cures the night-blindness." (Ludhiâna.)

"In the villages of Ban Bodla and Zamîngai in Kasûr, there are Bodla *Fakîrs* who received power from their ancestors to cure dogbite by spitting in the mouth of the patient. This cure is exercised gratis."

"The Sayyids (descendants of the Prophet Mohammed) of Baras village in Tahsîl Karnâl, who are descendants of Sâlâr Chishtî, have the inherited power of curing hydrophobia by filling the mouth with water and throwing it over the patient's face, and then turning him out of the village." (Karnâl.)

"The Dalewânî Aroṛâs[3] of Jâmpur, who are Hindus, can cure hydrophobia by spitting on a little earth and giving it to the patient to apply to the bite. Their ancestors obtained this power by the blessing of their *Pîr*, the saint of the shrine of Dera Dîn Panâh." (Dera Ghâzi Khân.)

[2] *Khatrîs*, high-caste traders claiming Rajpût descent. *Sonî* or *Seonî*, a *got* or section of the Khatrîs which appears to derive its name from *sonâ*, gold.

[3] The Aroṛâs are the great trading caste of the south-west Panjab, and their *gots* or sections include the Dua, Dhingṛâ, and very many others.

"A family of Aggarwâl Bânias[4] of the Gol *got* or section, two of whose members reside at Batâla in the Gurdâspur district and two in Amritsar, have the inherited gift, said to have been conferred on their ancestors by a *Fakîr*, of curing swellings of the knees and jaws. The material used is the ashes of burnt cowdung (*arnâs*). These are charmed with the breath of the curer and then rubbed copiously on the affected part. This power, however, is only possessed by the males of the family." (Lahore.)

"Members of the family of Govind Mahâjan of Ladwâ in Tahsîl Thanêsar possess the power of curing enlarged glands (*bodh*, *kachhrâli*, or *kanperâ*), by blowing cowdung ashes on the patient and then rubbing them in." (Karnâl.)

"The Jagu-pota Nais (barbers) have the power of curing *lict* (*herpes* or ringworm) by rubbing ashes on the patient on two or three days." (Jullundur.)

Other methods of cure may perhaps be best described as aggravated forms of healing by touch :—

"*Chuk*, a pain in the loins (lumbago?), is cured by Sadânas (Arorâs) of Jâmpur, who take hold of the patient by his loincloth and push him forward thrice; by the Manjotha Jâts of Jâmpur, who put a clod of earth on the part which pains, and rub it with a wooden pestle, the pain disappearing after this process has been repeated thrice; by the members of the family of Remal Mal, a Dhingrâ Arorâ of Râjanpur, who only apply a part of their clothing to the part affected and give the patient a push, thrice; or, if all the members of the family are absent, the patient is cured by rubbing his back against the wall of a Dhingra's shop. The Dua Arorâs[3] have a power similar to the latter." (Dera Ghâzî Khân.)

"Some Kapur Khatrîs of Jullundur city can cure *kandû* (a swelling below the ears) by drawing lines on the part affected, in the name of their *Gurû* (religious teacher). This is done for three days." (Possibly these are cabalistic symbols.)

"A family in Khân Khâsâ in Tahsîl Râya have an inherited power of curing hydrophobia by making the mark of a cross on the patient's hand with some hard substance which bruises the skin, a condition being that no other remedy is resorted to within twenty-four hours." (Siâlkot.)

[4] Bânias are an influential mercantile caste of the East Panjab.

"The Dhandî Jâts of Mânakwâl have the power of curing a child under ten years of age, of any caste or creed, which has boils or eruptions on its body, by exorcising it with a branch of the *âk* shrub[5]." (Ludhiâna.)

In the last case the virtue of the healer seems to be reinforced by the virtue of the *âk* shrub, which we shall meet with again. The next two examples involve some rough surgery, but still it is not the means used which effects the cure, but the person who "has the power" of applying them :—

"The family of Gurdit Singh, *zaildâr* (principal headman) of Nagar, Tahsîl Phillaur, has the inherited power of curing rheumatism. They apply a lancet to the leg according to the season, or to the joint where the phlegm is much congested." (Jullundur.)

"The Lohârs (village smiths, low caste) of Aulain in Tahsîl Garhshankar have the inherited power of curing disease of the urethra (*nâl utar jâtâ hai*) by boring the patient's ear." (Hoshiârpur.)

In the following cases the power of the healer is qualified or assisted by some condition of time, place, or ceremony, by a food tabu, by banishment from the village, or by the like :—

"The descendants of one Jêwan Shāh, *Fakîr* of Kirto Pîndôrî, a village in Tahsîl Râya, are called *Bôdals*.[6] They have the power of curing hydrophobia by reciting incantations over *guṛ* (raw sugar), which is given to the patient, who must eschew the use of some one kind of food for life." (Siâlkot.)

"The descendants of one Bhargaṛ, a Gûjar[7] of Miâna Chah, are believed to have the power of curing sciatica. Bhargaṛ is said

[5] The *âk*, (*akk* in Panjâbî), or *Calotropis gigantea* is a plant, or rather a small bush, which produces fleshy green beans. *Âk* juice (*madâr*) is yielded by its beans, and resembles milk when fresh drawn, but soon congeals and forms a kind of resin. It is used to cause infanticide, but, though poisonous, is also used externally as a rubifacient in Indian medicine. The stalk and root of the *âk* are used medicinally when powdered. Very little is known of the properties or effects of the various parts of the plant, or the *post-mortem* symptoms caused by it.

[6] *Bôdal* literally means "simple," or even "imbecile."

[7] A cattle-keeping tribe.

to have been a saint, and there is a *berî* tree in the courtyard round his tomb. Persons suffering from any pain are told to rub the part affected against this tree, and the *gaddî-nashîn* (incumbent) of the shrine, who must be a descendant of Bhargaṛ, recites the verse of the Korân *Al-hamd-ul-illâh* etc., and touches the part. This is repeated on three successive Sundays." (Gujrât.)

"At the village of Shâhpur, Jhanjora, Tahsîl Shakargarh, there is a Lalotra Râjput[8] named Kako, who has the power of curing the disease of *athrâ*.[9] The woman or child suffering from the disease comes to him on a Sunday or Tuesday in the month of Chêt or Kâtak on a moonlight night. (These Sundays or Tuesdays are called *chandna*.) Kako rubs dried cowdung on the third right rib, at the point distant 2½ ribs from one side, and presses a piece of cotton besmeared with the milky juice of the *âk* plant on it, so that the part rubbed may be moistened; but care is taken that the *âk* juice falls only on the part rubbed. The charm is read before or after the process. The woman or child is then directed to pour *âk* juice on the place, or to get some one else to do so, on the following day, and this is done accordingly. When the place gets blistered by the *âk* juice, the patient applies spittle for twenty-one days, after which the disease is cured. Kako says that this power was conferred on his family by a *sâdhu* (saint or ascetic) some nine generations ago. No fee is paid, and, if any one of his own will offers *gram*, *guṛ*, or *pice*, these are distributed among the poor or the children present on the occasion. A child who continues thin may be cured in twenty-one days by the same process. No other member of the Lalotra caste can cure these diseases." (Gurdâspur.)

"In the village of Vila Bijjû, Tahsîl Batâla, the shareholders of *patti*[10] Vila, who are Jâts of the Bhindar *got*, received from a *Fakîr* the power of curing jaundice. Both the calves of the

[8] High-caste Aryan claiming to represent the ancient Kshatriya or Warrior caste.

[9] *Athrâ* is said to be a disease which attacks children in the eighth day, month, or year of their age. Obviously this is a folk-etymology from *âth* (eight). But I have seen somewhere *atra* (literally, bead) described as a disease.

[10] A subdivision of the village.

patient's legs are first bled. Next, seven *âk* leaves are besmeared with the blood, and then a *tila* (wooden stick) is run through them and given to the patient with instructions to keep looking at them and to hang them up in front of the entrance of his house. As the leaves get dried, the patient is cured. One member of this *patti* must fast on the *nauchânde* (new moon) Sunday." (Gurdâspur.)

Sometimes the healing virtue resides in the place where the cure is performed, not in the healer himself; but on examination these usually prove only to be secondary instances of personal *mana*. The power of the original healer has passed into his tomb instead of into his descendants, or has been communicated by him to a well instead of to a disciple; that is all. *Contact* is still the essential feature of the cure, and the same conditions and ceremonies occur.

"The tomb of *Pîr* Ghâzî Sayyid is famous for its cures of *chambal* (*herpes*). The patient must go to it on four successive Thursdays, and rub a little of the dust of the tomb on the part." (Locality not stated.)

"In the village called Malak Afghânân in Tahsîl Shakargaṛh is a shrine with a *kachcha* (mud or adobe) building which contains the tomb of Shâh Fatḥ Muhammad Sayyid, in the shape of a heap of mud, and adjoining it is a well. The *khângah* (shrine) and tomb have been in existence for the last four or five hundred years. If any one bitten by a snake can get there alive, he is cured and recovers his senses, even if he only reaches the boundary of the village. On arriving at the tomb a Hindu patient himself draws water to drink, but the *Fakîr* of the tomb gives water from the well to a Mohammedan. The *Fakîr* then takes some earth (one *tola* in weight, *i.e.* about one rupee) from the south side of the tomb, *i.e.* the side on which the patient's feet lie, and puts it in the water. The patient drinks the water, and the mud which remains at the bottom (of the vessel) is applied to the bite. The patient then goes back, either on foot or on horseback, fully cured. No charm is read. This miracle is ascribed to Shâh Fatḥ Muhammad." (Gurdâspur.)

"At Chiniot are a well and *chaubachchâ* (reservoir) before the tomb of *Pîr* Bûrhân Shâh. Children suffering from boils on the head and body are brought on Thursdays and bathed there. The water is drawn from the well by the *mujâwir*.[11] The patient is cured. No fee is fixed. It depends on the will of the relatives of the patient to give in charity whatever they think fit."

"At the Kacha Lahorî gate at the same place is the grave of Mâmâ-Bhânja (uncle and sister's son). Any one suffering from swellings near the ear (*kanpeṛâ*) takes earth from the grave from the hand of the Brahman *mujâwir*, rubs it on the place, and gets cured. No fee is fixed." (Jhang.)

"Children get *pânî-wata* or warts, from birth up to three years of age. There is a grave and well near the Cathedral at Lahore, to which mothers take their children early in the morning, before sunrise. They first *salâm* to the grave, then take some mud and rub it on the body of the child, and then bathe at the well, with the result that the disease is cured. They pay five *pice* to the *mujâwir*. The water of the well is brackish." (Lahore.)

"In the village of Lakra, Tahsîl Shakargarh, is the shrine of Hâjî Shâh Fakîr, and many *Fakîrs* act as *mujâwirs* at this tomb. Whenever anyone who has been bitten by a mad dog comes there, one of the *Fakîrs* blows on a piece of *guṛ* (raw sugar), and gives it to the patient, who becomes mad when the sugar is given to him, and remains so for a day, but on the following day he recovers his senses. The *mujâwirs* are paid by the patient according to his means, but a lump of *guṛ* and one *ser* (2 lb.) of flour must be given. This is alleged to be a miracle of Hâjî Shâh Fakîr, who conferred this power upon the *mujâwirs* of this tomb." (Gurdâspur.)

"In Nathûpura, a village near Atâri, is the grave of Pîr Dabarî. The *mujâwirs*, both Hindu and Mohammedan, have the power of curing dogbite by giving the patient a morsel of bread. A *mantar* (charm-formula) is written in Gurmukhi (the sacred script in which Sikhs write Panjâbî) on the bread, which is then given to the patient to eat. Each patient is charged As. 1/3 (*i.e.* five pice)." (Amritsar.)

[11] *Mujâwir* (vulg. *ar*), is an Arabic word used for the attendant at a Mohammedan shrine. He ranks below the *gaddî-nashîn* or incumbent.

"In Peshâwar near the Akhund Gate is the grave of the saint Pîr Ajaib. The earth of the grave is put on a wound on a Thursday.[12] This is done for several days, until the wound is cured. After the cure the *mujâwirs* receive seven *sers* of oil for burning lamps on the grave. If a man cannot learn the Korân by heart, he will succeed in doing so if he reads on the grave for three Thursdays." (Peshâwar.)

It will be observed that, whereas the possessors of inherited gifts of healing charge nothing for their exercise, the official guardians of sacred spots usually demand a fee, of fixed or uncertain amount.[13]

In some cases the residents at the tomb or shrine seem to co-operate in the cure with the dead man:—

"At Zakhanke in Tahsîl Pasrûr is a shrine belonging to a saint whose disciples can cure *chandri* (boils) by incantations and by rubbing ashes from the tomb on the affected part." (Siâlkot.)

"In the village of Samailpur, Tahsîl Gurdâspur, there is an Afghan family, every member of which is endowed with the power of curing the bite of a dog, by giving the patient water from his village, and, providing the dog is not mad, the bite is healed. At the tomb of Pîr Sayyid Burhân-ud-Dîn Bukhârî, five-pice-worth of red sugar is taken from the patient, and the ceremony of *khatam*[14] is performed in the name of the Sayyid, and the sugar is distributed to children. If the patient gives cash, an earthen pitcher is brought and offered on the tomb. It is not known when the family got this power. The tomb has existed ever since the foundation of the village." (Gurdâspur.)

[12] Thursday is the eve of the Mohammedan Sabbath.

[13] The following case may seem an exception, but one suspects an omission in the details given. The clod of earth is probably taken from the *Fakîr's* tomb. Possibly, too, the possession of healing powers may depend on drinking the water.

"A *Fakîr* named Nihâl Dâs has bestowed upon the family of Prêm Dâs, Jât of Jaura Singha in Tahsîl Batâla, the power of curing *hajîr* (swollen glands, literally a fig, and also boils in the neck). A clod of earth is given to the patient for application to the *hajîr*. If this is done on the Nauchândî Sunday, the gland heals; but the patient is prohibited from drinking the water of the village. A *dhoti* (loincloth) and five *pice* are taken from the patient as a fee." (Gurdâspur.)

[14] This rite is unknown to me. (H.A.R.) It generally means a recitation of the Korân provided at the expense of the patient. (W. Crooke.)

There is a touch of sympathetic magic about the next two cases. The old teacher's tree restores diseased brains; the innocent girl's white thread is an antidote to diabolical agency.

"In the village of Sabowari is the shrine of Waddâ Mîân, called Waddâ Mîân ka Dars. The saint opened a school, and taught the Korân to everyone, even if deaf, blind, etc.; for years he used to sit under the *wan* tree (*Salvadora oleoides*) which now hangs over his grave. A patient suffering from brain disease gets cured by eating a few leaves of this tree. No fee is charged." (Lahore.)

"In Kasûr is the grave of one Ahmad Bakhsh, *darwêsh,* to whom was given the power of curing *aseb* (shadow of a devil or jinn). The *mujâwir* keeps a small quantity of white *kankar* (nodules of lime) on the grave, and whoever goes there is given a bit of the *kankar*, which he ties with a cotton thread, prepared by a young unmarried girl, round the neck of the sick person, who is at once cured." (Lahore.)

The next point to be observed is that healing wells, though often found in connection with graves, are not necessarily associated with them:—

"In the Gumtî Bâzâr at Lahore, a Brahman has a well the water of which is said to have been enchanted by a *Fakîr*. *Kanpeṛâ* (swelling near the ear) is cured by taking mud from the *chaubachcha* (reservoir) of the well and by paying five *pice* to the Brahman." (Lahore.)

"In Peshâwar there is a well in the *dharmsâla* (resthouse, or hospice for pilgrims) of Bâbâ Jagan Shâh. Lepers, and those suffering from *saya* or *aseb*, are cured by bathing in the *chaubachcha* on a Sunday or *sankrânt* (the first day of the month)."

"At Kandrâlî, in Tahsîl Jhajjar, is a tank which was blessed by a *Fakîr*, and by bathing in it the bite of a dog or jackal is cured. It is also sufficient to rub the dust of the tank on the body. Sugar should also be distributed to children."

"At Anwal in the same Tahsîl, and at Chara in Tahsîl Sampla, are tanks blessed by *Fakîrs*, by bathing in which jaundice is cured." (Rohtak.)

Considering the reverence paid to water in the East,— the river gods, the worship of the Ganges, and the like,—it

may be doubted whether these legendary *Fakîrs*, who are said to have given power to the wells, are not in reality early devotees of the wells in question, whose memory lingers at the places they themselves worshipped, and beside which they were frequently buried. If this be so, then in the case of the well cures we have the *mana* of place existing *in se*, and independently of the *mana* of persons.[15]

The cults alluded to in the next item are not merely local:—

"In Mahêshi, Tahsîl Jagâdhrî, is a temple of Ṣiva, and in Bhut Mâjra in the same Tahsîl there is a grove of trees called the *banî* (copse) of Gûgâ Pîr. Persons bitten by snakes are cured by going to these places. The temple at Mahêshi has a wide reputation in this respect." (Ambâla.)

We have seen that, whatever combination of elements,—person, place, time, and ceremony,—may enter into a cure, one or other of two is always present, namely the communication of the "virtue" or *mana* either of a person or of a fountain, and that either of these two may stand alone, unconditioned by the other three. There is yet a third form of cure which may be found by itself and unassisted by other conditions, namely the charm-formula, spoken or written. The question is, does the virtue of this cure reside in the words themselves, or in the *mana* of the original speaker, lingering in them as the scent of rose-leaves lingers in a *pot-pourri* jar?

First, we will note what seems to be an instance of the original speaker of the charm. The power is spoken of as having been inherited, but it is the power of narrating a story, not the secret of a word-formula.

"A Julâha (weaver) of Jullundur city can cure 'splitting of one side of the head' by reciting a story in the patient's ear. The patient cannot hear the story distinctly, but the headache disappears. The Julâha claims to have inherited this power."

[15] The parallel with the Celtic local saints will strike everyone.

The power of the spoken word occurs again in the following singularly close parallel to a well-known English cure, which is, by the way, the only mention of whooping-cough in the notes:—

"Whooping-cough can be cured by asking a man who is riding on a black mare for a remedy, and whatever he may prescribe will be efficacious." (Siâlkot.)

Next, some cases may be noted in which the repetition of a charm-formula is associated with *breathing* on the patient:—

"The Râjputs of Khandhâla, a village in Jullundur Tahsîl, have the inherited power of curing snakebite by blowing on the place and reciting *mantras* 'in a peculiar language' over it."

"The Jâts of Nangal Shâyân in this Tahsîl can cure wind or phlegm by blowing on the part affected with charms on three successive Sundays. The patient must not eat, drink, or smoke, or even remain, in the village, but he may return after the blowing." (Jullundur.)

"In Jullundur city a Sayyid family cures hydrophobia by blowing on the bite a secret charm, and making the patient pass under his (the healer's) legs."

These rather suggest that the charm derives its virtue from the breath or voice of the speaker, an idea which is borne out by the following case, in which the charm and the breathing are treated as alternatives to each other:—

"The Kangâ[16] sept of Kekri Sher Shâh village possess the power of curing hydrophobia, either with a charm or by blowing on a piece of bread by way of incantation and giving it to the dog to eat. Sometimes they give a purgative (also)." (Montgomery District.)

On the other hand, it is sometimes expressly stated that a charm has been communicated and is not hereditary, clearly implying that the *mana* resides in the words and not in the speaker. The following are cases in which the charm stands alone and unassisted:—

[16] Probably Khagga is meant.

"In Rasûlpur, Tahsîl Ambâla, certain Arains (a caste of petty cultivators) profess to have the power of curing swelling in the stomach by *jhârnâ*,[17] or the recitation of a charm. A family of Râjputs in Barâra, Tahsîl Ambâla, claims the power of curing pain in the knees by a charm."

"In several other places individuals claim to cure snakebite by means of charms, but have not hereditary powers." (Ambâla.)

"At Berî in Tahsîl Rohtak, a *kumhar* (potter) cures pain in the abdomen, however violent, by reciting a secret charm. At Shamspur Mâjra in Tahsîl Jhajjar, a Mahâjan (Bânia) family, which has been blessed by a *Fakîr*, can cure ulcers of any kind in three days by the recitation of a secret charm. At Talâo in Tahsîl Jhajjar a Mohammedan Râjput can cure any disease of the spleen by secret charms. A Brahman of Badlî in the same Tahsîl can cure headache by similar means. At Dighal in Rohtak Tahsîl is a Jât who can cure worms in the head by secret charms which cause the worms to come out through the patient's nose. Several men at Rohtak cure worms in the wounds of animals by charms which compel the worms to come out of the wound. A schoolmaster at Rohtak cures ague by giving the patient a secret charm written on a piece of wood; and at Jhajjar another schoolmaster cures intermittent fever by reciting some secret charms over two pieces of cotton, which are placed in the patient's ears."[18]

"These secret charms are only communicated to sons or regular disciples, after long trial and constant attendance on those who possess them." (Rohtak.)

We may now examine some cases in which the charm is not spoken directly over the patient, but over some article given to him by the healer, either as a cure or to be carried as a protection. In the latter case the given article becomes an amulet.

"The Sayyids of Sâhû Lakhû in Khâriân Tahsîl cure hydrophobia, or the bite of a mad dog, by reciting the verse *Allâhu-samad* over some salt, which the patient has to taste twice or thrice every morning and evening for four days. He is also

[17] Literally "to sweep," (cf. *jhârâ*, sweeping), and so "exorcism."

[18] So that the disease may hear them?

prohibited from eating certain things, and given a purgative." (Gujrât.)[19]

"The Bukhârî Sayyids of a village near Jalâlpur Bharwâla, in Tahsîl Shujâ'âbâd, claim to cure hydrophobia if the patient presents himself within three days of being bitten. They make small balls of flour and place them in his hands, reciting charms meanwhile. As the charms are read, hairs come out of the pills of flour. These are believed to be the hairs of the mad dog, and in a few days the patient recovers."[20] (Mûltan.)

"Bakshan Shâh Sayyid of Dera Ghâzî Khân city is said to cure hydrophobia by sprinkling charmed water over a patient's body, and making him pass under his legs without looking backwards."[21] (Apparently country salt, over which the Mohammedan *kalima* has been recited, is also used. H. A. R.)

"Abdul Hakîm Shâh Sayyid of Jâmpur gives water, (over which a verse from the Korân may have been read, though this is not essential), to a patient suffering from hydrophobia to drink, and makes him pass under his leg. This is said to cure the hydrophobia. He is also said to cure *geṅṛ* (indigestion) by laying his sword on the patient's belly and placing his hands on the sword." (Dera Ghâzî Khân.)

(In the last case, the personality of the healer is evidently the source of the *mana*, and the charm is only used to reinforce it.)

"In the Jhelum District, where guinea-worm is rife, it is cured by certain men who repeat a charm and blow on the leaf of a *dharêk*[22] tree, with which the wound is then gently wiped. This is done several times. Another method is to tie knots in a woollen thread between each repetition of a charm, and then tie the thread above the wound. Or the sore is simply touched after repeating a charm." (Jhelum.)

[19] Cf. *ante*, p. 86.

[20] Cf. *ante*, p. 83, (Gurgaon).

[21] Cf. *ante*, p. 86. This curious ceremony reminds us of the "creeping cures" of Europe,—the briar rooted at both ends, the holed stone, the cleft ash, and so forth. All are probably a symbolic "re-birth," completing the cure.

[22] *Melia Azadarachta.* Its leaves and fruit are officinal, and its seeds, which are considered hot, are given in rheumatism.

"In the village of Mâmâ Khaira, Tahsîl Shakargarh, is a Khaira Jât named Labhû, who takes a woollen thread and ties five or seven knots upon it, repeating the name of God, and gives it to anyone afflicted with *chandrî* (boils). The patient wears it on his neck, and the *chandrî* is healed. It is said that this power is inherited by the family from generation to generation. Labhû cannot say how the power came into his family. The thread is prepared on any day of the week, and nothing is taken as compensation." (Gurdâspur.)

"The Miânas (a Gûjar clan) of Mangat, who are descended from one Chandhar, can cure scrofula by reciting a secret charm over a thread of cotton in which several knots are tied meanwhile. The patient wears this thread round his neck for forty days." (Gujrât.)

"Khilanda Mal Naring of Râjanpur says that a *Saniâsî Fakîr*[23] taught him a charm for curing rheumatism, and that he used to cure the disease by giving his patients a string made of black wool, but for the last year all his teeth have been broken and no patient has come to him." (Dera Ghâzî Khân.)

"Members of the family of one Ghulâm Bhîk, headman of Shâhâbâd in Tahsîl Thanesar, can avert an attack of tertian fever by the following charm. The operator takes a piece of fibre and ties in it seven knots, reciting the Mohammedan *kalima* as he ties each knot. This charm is called *gandî* (knot), or *tâgâ* (thread), and it should be prepared two hours before the attack is expected. A man should tie the fibre round his right arm, a woman round her left, and before doing this a *pice*-worth of sweetmeats should be given to the children who are present. When taken off, the charm should be thrown into the well (*sic*), as a mark of respect." (Karnâl.)

Here we have the combined virtues of the healer and the words, giving power to the sympathetic magic of the

[23] *Saniâsîs*, a sect, or rather order, of Hindu ascetics, who, having died to the world in initiation, are, on physical death, buried and not burnt. Strictly speaking, a *Saniâsî* is any Hindu who, having passed through the three stages of life, enters on the fourth or last, which is termed *sanyâs* or abandonment of the world. The change in the meaning of the term is curious.

knots to "bind" disease. The amulet so endowed is put on with almsgiving and sympathetic ceremony, and is disposed of, when disused, by adding it to a storehouse of mysterious *mana*, (*i.e.* a well of water). But on the other hand there are cases in which the favourite cord-amulet is powerful without knots or charms, simply from contact with the healer:—

"All the people of Lallu Lâliân in Tahsîl Zafarwal have the inherited power of curing scrofula by placing round the patient's neck a hempen cord made with their own hands." (Siâlkot.)

"The Lohârs (ironsmiths) of Takapur in Tahsîl Garhshankar have the power of curing a wasting disease by giving the sufferer a thread." (Hoshiârpur.)

Perhaps the relations of the charm and the charmer are best brought out in the following account of snake-charming from Jhelum, in which the holiness of the original charmers enables them to "discover" the healing charm:—

"One of the priestly families of the Sikhs, the Sodhîs, descendants of the *Gurûs* Râm Dâs and Gobind Singh, discovered, in the course of their devotions, certain healing *mantras*, and those in whom the power of healing by means of these resides are called *mantrîs*. *E.g.* a *mantra* for the cure of snakebite is transmitted, and the power is now vested in Sodhî Naranjan Singh *mantrî* (charmer) of Haranpur in Jhelum. The patient, if unable to attend in person, sends a messenger, who must not tell any one on the road of his mission. The *mantrî* gives him mesmerised water for the patient to drink. If the latter attend in person, the *mantrî* calls the snake to the spot where he and his patient are, however far away the snake may be. When the patient arrives, the Sodhî recites a *mantra* and he recovers his senses. Asked how he does, he replies—"There is a snake," but no one else can see it. Then the Sodhî tells him to look carefully where it goes, and repeats the *mantras* over and over again until the snake comes and lies on a line marked by the Sodhî on the ground near his feet. But only the patient can see the snake,—not the spectators or the *mantrî*; and he shrinks from it, telling the Sodhî of its position and movements. He then tells the patient to offer the snake a (real) cup of

milk. This the snake eventually accepts, delaying the more to do so, the higher his status and descent in the snake-world. All that passes between the Sodhî and the snake is conducted through the patient, but the spectator can hear every word of the dialogue. The snake is finally asked to take back his poison, and eventually it does so, in such a way that any one may see it come out. Lastly, the Sodhî recites a *mantra* to release the snake,—otherwise it could not recover.

"Another Sodhî, Sampûran Singh, grandfather of my informant Sodhî Parshotam Singh, possessed such sanctity that water which he had touched with his right toe would, if drunk before confinement, facilitate delivery. (This power is not, however, inherited, but is bestowed on one who is *nârâ kâ suchchâ*, *i.e.* pure in heart.) Further, the snakebite *mantra* is a secret one, and is only communicated by its holder when *in extremis* to one whom he deems most fitted to succeed him as *mantrî*." (Jhelum.)

The following describes a rather similar but more simple rite:—

"At Kasûr there is one Rahmat Khân, a police constable, who has received from some *Fakîr* the power of stopping a snake from running away by putting a bit of *kankar* on it. He can thus catch the snake and cure the patient by reciting some *kalâm* over the place where he was bitten." (Lahore.)

In several cases the secret of the charm-formula has been disclosed to Mr. Rose or his informants. The following comes from Siâlkot:—

"The following incantation will cure snakebite and pain from a scorpion sting:—

Innâ mukhâdiso Gurû ke bahân dûre nur-ul-bahân dure samjhak. Panjwân kaṛâ Sayyid Sultân Sâ'id Ahmad Kabîr, sattar sau, âfat kul awe zanjîrr, yâ Pîr Dastgîr tawakkul Khudâ sidq tusaḍe te zahr band karnî, hukm merâ nahîṅ, hukm Khudâ dâ te Khudâ de Rasûl dâ. Kaṛâ Sayyid Sultân Sâ'id Ahmad Kabîr. Kîṛâ laṛe, bis jhaṛe, bis chale nâl nâl, bis chale dâl dâl, bîs ko gaṛh diyâl, gahṛe mârî hak, chhoṛ de bisse châre chak. Dhart badhâ shinh garje jangal badhâ wâs; sâp kâ khadâ kadî na mare hukm Allâh te Muhammad-ur-Rasûl-Allâh de nâl. Awwal hudâ Khudâ dâ, dusrâ hudâ Khudâ de Rasûl dâ, tîsrâ hudâ zanbîl-i-qurân dâ,

chauthâ huddâ chauṅh Yârân dâ, Dâdhâ Khudâ Hazrat Pîr Dastgîr dâ, huddâ Hazrat Habîb Mîchan Khel dâ, huddâ Bâghdâd Sharîf dâ, huddâ kohân de sâhib-zâdiân dâ, huddâ Wattî kol sâhib dâ, huddâ Budhâî sâhib dâ, huddâ Shaikh Lamkâr sâhib dâ, huddâ Kalîân dâ, nâgân kâ, dabbiân kâ, telarian kâ, sangchûr kâ, kamchûr kâ, gurhâ kâ, khachchar kâ, bhîsi kâ, athârâ zât athuâṅ kâ, dâdhâ huddâ Hazrat Pîr Dastgîr kâ. Sâp khâye athuâṅ khâye jo koi marjâye uske zâmin tusîṅ. Nagâh mâr bastam Jaṅghâ mâr bastam, Karûṅdû mâr bastam, Nîlak mâr bastam, sufed mâr bastam, sîâh mâr bastam. Hukm-i-Khudâ mâr bastam, Hukm-i-Rasûl mâr bastam. Rakh, Rakh, Rakh, Allâh kî rakh; jis paidâ kîtâ sab khalaq. Lâilâha-il-Allâh-i-Muhammad-ur-Rasûl-Allâh-i-Dam Khudâ, dam Pîr Ustâd, mâî chit kâlû terâ bis jhâṛûṅ, bis kâl mukâlî. Sâthî châwal bûṅd bharan pahnaeo gar motîoṅ kâ hâr, tan tan âge âpe huî jawâr. Samundar kî khâî, uttar bisse tainûṅ kalme Muhammad-ur-Rasûl-Allâh dî duhâî. Ba-haqq-i-Lâilâha-il-Allâh-i-Muhammad-ur-Rasûl-Allâh.

"This charm can only be chanted by permission of one already practising it. The person who desires to obtain such permission must bow down and eat a piece of salt, which the initiate has kept in his mouth, while reciting the whole incantation. To cure the injury, [take] a piece of a bitter plant, (*e.g.* tobacco, *dharek*, or *nîm*); [24] a stick or a green branch of it should be waved continuously from the bite to the nearest extremity of the patient's body, and meanwhile the incantation should be chanted within the lips. If the pain seems stubborn, a few repetitions of the incantation are sure to bring about the desired effect. When the patient feels complete relief from the pain, except at the place bitten or stung, the practitioner should make seven circles with spittle applied to his finger-tip. Care should be taken not to let the finger-tip touch the lips or tongue, for it might transmit poison to them from the poisoned place in making the circles."

The next note seems to be from Jhelum:—

"Charms are used to stop toothache, heal bites, 'bind' a needle, an oven, or a fire, or stop a dust storm.

[24] These two, and the *âk*, are the only magic plants mentioned in the Notes. There must be many more in use.

"The following are two charms for binding scorpion-bite:

1.—*Lakan kâ kot, samundar kî khâî, Nikal be chhachhuâ, Shaikh Nizâm kî duhâî.*

2.—*Gorî gân goringe singiâ tere bachchoṅ lakhon Pinie Nân kar bichhu bânân terí zât jûrum sohânâ ghar ghar mittî uṛde wich tera pîth main tere bândh ditte peṛ khaddoṅ phat.*

"These charms must be repeated seven times. In the same way a fire or an oven (*chûlhâ*) can be 'bound' by the following charm:—

Âg ko bândhûṅ, nâr ko bândhûṅ, sûraj bândhûṅ, jot Nastar (?) *deotâ. Bândhûṅ nâr ko nâr se Shams Tabrîz kî duhâî hai, Mangal bândhûṅ, Saṅîchar bândhûṅ, Shams Tabrîz kî duhâî hai.*

"This *mantra* must be repeated eleven times. The result is that, though the fire burns, its heat is controlled by the charm, so that it will not burn anything, nor cook food; and an oven can be bewitched in the same way," (so that this charm may be used for evil as well as good).

"The *mantra* or charm for binding a needle is as follows:—

Sûtî baunâṅ, Sâr baunâṅ, Pîr de Pahâr baunâṅ, lohe de Lohâr baunâṅ, Satte Aitwâr baunâṅ.

"This charm must be repeated seven times, and the needle blown on with the mouth. If the body be then pricked with the needle, it will not bleed nor even feel any pain."

"The charm for 'binding' a dust storm has not been obtained. By it the dust storm can be kept suspended in the air, but the wind ceases to blow." (Jhelum.)

"The Chishti tribe and the Bodlâs, in the Fâzilkâ Tahsîl of Ferozepur, have also the *bakhsh* (gift) or inherited power of curing hydrophobia by charms, which are kept secret."

"The Râwals of Siâlkot District perform two special functions:—(1) They expel plagues of mice which occasionally occur, the tract being completely overrun by this pest. To do this they read incantations for a fixed fee, and sometimes bury charms at the four corners of a square in the centre of the village lands, so that the mice may be driven out. (2) A class of Râwals, called *rath bahnas* (from *rath*, hail, and *bâhnâ*, one who checks or imprisons), can avert hailstorms, either by dispersing the clouds

or by diverting the hail into a pond or on to waste land. This is done by incantations.

"On the other hand, oil which has been bewitched by incantations on the *Dâwâlî* night (or feast of lamps) will, if rubbed on the pegs to which an enemy's cattle are tethered, cause them to pine away and die." (Siâlkot.)

We have wandered here from curative to destructive formulas, from charms to spells. The barrier between them is of the slightest; both are the expression of *power*, for good or for evil. We may return to our proper subject with the following charm for headache:—

"Hâfiz Muhammad, a Kachhela Jât, and Mullah Ramzân, an Unar Jât, of Jâmpur, are said to cure headache of a particular kind, which begins at sunrise and lasts for about two hours every morning, by placing a sieve on the patient's head, sprinkling water and reciting the following *darûd* or benediction, and a *kalâm* or prayer:

Alla hum-ma sulle ata Muhammadin wa ata âle Muhammad bârik wa sallam, i.e. "Oh, Allah, give benediction to Ali Mohammed (or Ali and others) descendants of Mohammed: make them blessed and safe."

"This is a quotation from the Hadîs. The *kalâm* is as follows: *Dam Dam Khudâ, Dam Dam Pîr Ustâd, Alt-hayât hillah, i.e.* Breath of God and Breath of my *Pîr Ustâd* (spiritual adviser and teacher), I am devoted (to them)." (Jâmpur.)

The water dropping through the sieve is no doubt imitative rain, and a touch of sympathetic magic seems also to occur in the next example, in which the nail perhaps represents the tooth. A similar cure is well known in Europe:—

"Haidar Shâh Sayyid of Jâmpur is said to cure toothache by repeating the words *samâ lûtî*, and making the patient thrust a nail into a tree, fixing the period by which the toothache is to disappear, but it is said to reappear after the period fixed by him." (Dera Ghâzi Khân.)

"The following is the charm against toothache (customary in this District): The words *yâ shama'oṅ* are written on a bit of

paper, and an iron nail twisted into the form of the Arabic letter *'ain* (ع) which occurs in the word *shama'on*, is driven through the piece of paper, and the formula written on it is repeated seven times. This cures the toothache. The rite is called *dânt kâdard bândhnâ*, *i.e.* binding the pain of tooth." (Jhelum.)

Written charms are of course a development from the spoken formula, combining in themselves the virtue of a charm and the convenience of an amulet. Here is another:—

"At Pâkpattan in the Montgomery District is the *kânkâh* of Bâbâ Farîd where the *mujâwirs* have the power of facilitating childbirth in cases of *arra*, or lingering labour. The following *tâwîz* is written, and the patient is ordered to tie it on her right thigh with a thin thread:—

Marra jâ shud kharam ra wiz jâ shud Zane Dehkan zâyad ya na zâyad.

"She gives birth to the child at once." (Lahore.)

Another shows belief in the mystic power of numbers. The figures are so arranged that, whichever way they may be added together, the total is fifteen,—a not uncommon form of charm:[25]—

"Fazal Dîn Shâh Sayyid of the Hazârî well in the village of Bastî Arain, Dera Ghâzî Khân Tahsîl, is said to cure epilepsy by the following charm:"

8	1	6
3	5	7
4	9	2

In the following case the charm seems to be used for the protection of the operator,—(for once there is some rationality in the remedy),—not for the benefit of the patient:—

"At Godhrî in Tahsîl Jhajjar is a sweeper who cures snakebite by drinking oil and then sucking the wound and throwing the poison out of his mouth, reciting a charm at the same time. A sweeper at Birohar has the same power." (Rohtak.)

[25] Cf. vol. xiii., p. 190.

The only other case noted that may be called one of treatment rather than of occult healing is the well-known bit of savage magic that follows:—

"A Jât of Silâna in Tahsîl Jhajjar cures all diseases by sucking the chest of the patient and by spitting blood." (Rohtak.)

There is little admixture of common-sense in any of these remedies; singularly little, in fact, of anything that can be considered as the rudiments of rational medical practice. We find wounds treated by local applications, necklaces worn for swollen glands in the neck, bathing resorted to for boils and swellings, and salt and water used (evidently) to compel the sufferer from hydrophobia to drink; but little more. That these notes form a complete account of the folk-medicine practised in the Panjâb is not to be supposed; but they do at any rate contribute some valuable evidence on the much-discussed subject of the origin of magic. This evidence, I suggest, so far as it goes,—but it does not touch on magic feats performed on things or persons *at a distance*,—supports the view that the essential element of magic is the occult power,—the "virtue," the *mana*,—of the wonder-worker, or of the words or materials (plants, waters, and so on) used by the "cunning man." The sympathetic or symbolic rite is here secondary; the *mana* of the performer or his material is what makes it effective for its purpose among the population of the Panjab. And this principle appears irrespective of race, creed, or caste, for, as we have seen, the evidence is gathered from Mohammedans and Hindus, Brahmans, peasants, and vagrant tribes alike.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

IN MEMORIAM: ALFRED NUTT (1856-1910).

BY EDWARD CLODD.

"The free man," says Spinoza, "thinks of nothing less than of death, and his wisdom is meditation not of death but of life." When the thoughts of such an one dwell on the inevitable, his desire is that it should be without warning; nevertheless, the sudden death of a friend comes as a shock, the greater when memory recalls regrets,—neglect of chances of more frequent intercourse where interest in things that endure is common,—and all else that is unavailing.

So, when the news from Melun reached London that in striving to rescue an invalid son, who, through the shying of his horse, had been thrown into the Seine, Alfred Nutt had been swept away by the current, his friends were stunned as with a blow dealt by an unseen hand. Only six days before his tragic end our President received a letter from him in which, after touching in bright vein on topics of the day, he spoke cheerfully about his health, which, for some months past, had not been good, compelling him to take a holiday. "I am feeling better," he said, "and hope that a quiet summer in the open air will give me back my full working powers. I am still unequal to any serious or prolonged effort. I am amusing myself at present with annotating Arnold's *Study of Celtic Literature*. Whether anything will come of it I don't know."

My friendship with Alfred Nutt dates from the formation of the Folk-Lore Society in 1878, and, although our opportunities of intercourse were rare and fitful, I saw enough of him to warrant a hearty tribute to his genial nature, and to an enthusiasm about everything connected with folklore, which, with equipment of learning that few among us possess, made his services to our Society of special and abiding value. He was not only of the rare species of author-publisher; he was of the yet more rare species of scholar-publisher. In many ways, notably in the *format* of the series of the very scarce *Tudor Translations*, the fortunate owners of which treasure them for their beauty,

he revived the well-nigh vanished traditions of Aldus, Elzevir, Stephens, and Plantin. And, because his heart often got the better of his head, there was, not infrequently, a debit balance against books on folklore, for which, as for most serious literature nowadays (perhaps it has been so always), the demand is small. So, like the showman who lost on the roundabouts, but more than made it up on the swings, it was only in other branches of his business which his skill and energy developed, that he could recoup the losses that the publication of his own works and those of fellow folklorists involved.

As the great-grandson of one publisher,—William Miller, whose business John Murray acquired,—and the son of another, there were inherited bookish traditions whose influence shaped his career. It was his misfortune to lose his father, David Nutt (whose name the firm retains), in 1863, when he was but seven, but this did not disturb the plans for his education, which was carried on in England and France, and followed by three years' business training in Leipzig, Berlin, and Paris. At the age of twenty-two he became the head of his late father's firm, remaining so till his death, and leaving to his widow and their eldest son the conduct of a business which plays a leading part in the distribution of high-class continental literature in this country.

The last words of the letter to Miss Burne, which are quoted above, give the key to his favourite pursuit, the study of Celtic mythology. He was happy in his choice, because, save in Germany, whence largely came his impulse thereto, that branch of mythology had received but scant attention. So far as mythology entered into the education of those of us who are well-on in life, it was restricted to that of Rome and Greece, chiefly as given in the arid pages of Lemprière and Dr. William Smith. As late as 1867, Matthew Arnold, in his *Study of Celtic Literature*, "labouring to show that in the spiritual frame of us English ourselves, a Celtic fibre, little as we may have ever thought of tracing it, lives and works," added, "and yet in the great and rich universities of this great and rich country there is no chair of Celtic; there is no study or teaching of Celtic matters, those who want them must go abroad for them. So I am inclined to beseech Oxford, instead of expiating her over-addiction to the Ilissus by

Plate XIII.



ALFRED NUTT.

To face p. 336.

lectures on Chicago, to give us an expounder for a still more remote-looking object than the Ilissus—Celtic languages and literature" (pp. 148-9, 1891 ed.).

Ten years passed before Oxford founded a Celtic professorship, her choice of an "expounder" falling on Sir John Rhŷs, the one man most competent to fill the chair, and, happily, still its occupant. That the book giving the impetus to this tardy recognition of the importance of studies which, for us British, should take precedence of classical mythology, has been annotated by Alfred Nutt, and, as we are glad to know, left by him in so forward a state as to warrant its issue, thus enriched, is perhaps the happiest legacy that so eminent a Celtic scholar and apostle of the Celtic revival could have bequeathed.

Here there is no need to set down the titles of the eleven books which stand against his name in the British Museum Catalogue, the more so as they indicate only a portion of his ceaseless activity in separate papers contributed by him not only to our Society's Journal,—these including his Presidential Addresses delivered in 1897-8,—but to those of the Irish Texts and Cymmrodorion Societies, in the foundation of both of which he took a prominent part. Added to these are his pamphlets in the series of *Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance and Folklore*, which are designed to make clear to the "man in the street" the significance of folklore as embodying, in far greater degree than that simple term implies, the serious beliefs of the past, and the rites and customs which are their outward and visible signs.

If, as Montaigne says,—and who can question it?—"the profit of life consists not in the space, but in the use," then in the career of Alfred Nutt there has been to his fellows gain "more precious than rubies" to the world's intellectual wealth; a "profit of life" with which no length of listless days can compare. If, in the unfulfilled promise of addition thereto from his well-stored mind and active pen, they mourn his premature death, there will for him be echo of the lines in *Adonais*:

> "Awake him not! surely he takes his fill
> Of deep and liquid rest, forgetful of all ill."

EDWARD CLODD.

COLLECTANEA.

A Folklore Survey of County Clare (*continued*).

In a preceding article I have dealt with place names and legends of names, banshees, the death coach, and fairies, and in the present one I propose to deal mainly with other appearances of a spectral or spiritual character. In doing this it is necessary carefully to avoid attributing to older writers beliefs which they never held. It is more than probable that the writer of the *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, and Seean MacCraith, the author of the *Triumphs of Torlough*, were no more under a delusion when they personified the spirits of Valour, Bloodshed, Terror, and Sovereignty than the modern journalist who writes of "Public Opinion sitting in judgment," or the "Spirit of Loyalty attending King George." The first ancient writer, describing the terrors of the deadly combat of the Irish and the Norse in 1014, tells us that there was "a bird of valour and championship fluttering over Murchad's head and flying on his breath." He also tells how there flew a dark, merciless, (and many more adjective-endowed) *bodbh*, screaming and fluttering over the combatants, while "the satyrs (*bannanaig*), the idiots, the maniacs of the glens, the witches, the goblins, the ancient birds, the destroying demons of the air and sky, and the feeble demonic phantom host" arose to accompany the warriors in the combat. He probably meant little more than "Amazement in the van and Flight combined with Sorrow's faded form and Solitude behind," though possibly the various uncanny "creatures of the wild" were real to him in their proper places in the hills and glens, but not in daylight on the fields beside Dublin. The second writer (*circa*

1350) describes King Torlough, about 1286, returning from a successful raid, which has left its mark very clearly on the legal rolls of the day, ravaging the English lands round the mountains of eastern County Limerick and northern Tipperary, and marching up the western (Clare) shore of Lough Derg. A lovely maiden appeared, "modest, strange in aspect, glorious in form, rosy-lipped, soft-taper-handed, pliant-wavy-haired, white-bosomed." She was the "Sovereignty of Erin" come to rebuke the chief for letting De Burgh dissuade him from attempting the reconquest of all Ireland, and vanished in a lustrous cloud. The author's intent here is unmistakable. MacCraith has one other passage, so suggestive and remarkable that it can only be regarded as a literal statement of the beliefs of the warriors at the burial of some of whom his father, Ruadri, presided, a few years later, in 1317. Donchad, a prince of the Clan Torlough line, aided by William de Burgh, gave his deadly enemy, Richard de Clare, a severe defeat near Bunratty in 1311. At the moment of victory De Burgh was captured by the foe, and the victors fled in indescribable confusion,—the English to their nearest castles, and the Irish to their stone strongholds, the great terraced mountains of Burren. De Clare and his protegé, Prince Dermot, camped on two ridges at Cruchwill and Tullycommaun, a long ridge capped with tumuli, dolmens, and "forts." Donchad lay across the valley and lake on the spurs of Slieve Carran opposite. The soldiers of Donchad, we are told, "were disturbed by phantoms and delusive dreams, lights shone on the fairy forts," the waves of Erin[1] groaned, "the deep plaint resounded from the woods and streams," shades were seen, and hollow groans were heard. This is evidently a true tale of the reminiscences of the depressed and anxious men who lay looking at the foes' camp fires opposite. I have often heard with wonder on these lonely hills

> "undescribed sounds
> That come a swooning over hollow grounds
> And wither drearily on barren moors,"

the noise of the winds in the rocks and bushes, the strange prattle of streams in crannies deep down in the rocks, the cry of night

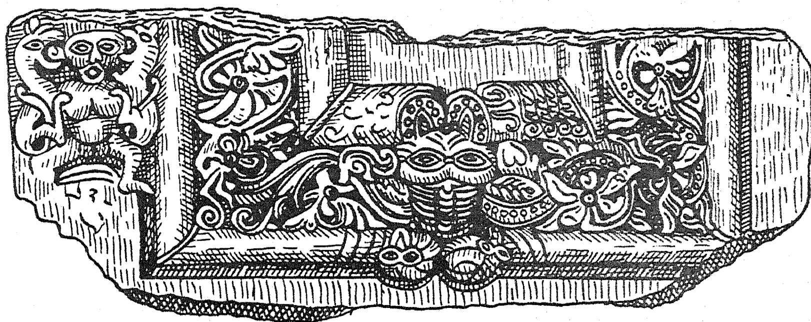
[1] Misfortune was foretold by great waves at four spots on the Irish coast, to which later belief added a fifth at Malbay in Clare.

birds, the whisper and rustle of the wind on the grass and heather, and those weird sounds, booming and sobbing out of nowhere, which are supposed to arise from underground streams and caverns.

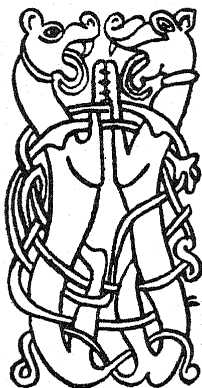
V. *Will-o-the-wisps and Corpse-lights.*

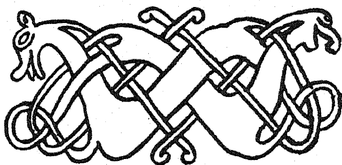
The will-o-the-wisp, if not unknown, is at least extremely rare. The name Loughaunaguinnell, or Loughaguinnell, of a pool in Doora refers, I was told, to a "candle" floating over its surface. In the name Doora itself we find the ancient word for water, which occurs as the river Dour in Kerry in Ptolemy's Atlas in the first century. Mr. and Mrs. Hall, in *Ireland: its Scenery, Character, etc.* (1841), note that one of their guides told them of "corpse candles" seen on the banks of the Shannon, and voices of the "good people" heard with them. Crofton Croker, in "Florry Cantillon's Funeral,"[2] alludes to the "Blue Man's Lake at midnight," a lonely place in the bog at Shragh, near Kilrush, where "a spectral figure enveloped in a bluish flame" haunted the melancholy waters. Some of the "corpse lights" shining in graveyards, "forts," and deserted buildings I have myself seen. In one case, I traced the light to the stagnant water, full of rotten leaves, in the fosse of a "fort," which, when stirred by waving branches, gave out phosphorescent light. In another case a church gable was observed for many nights lit up with blue flame, after three victims of a railway accident had been laid in their family vault below it. The windows of Inchiquin Castle are seen across the lake, lit up by pale blue fire, which vanishes from the sight of anyone approaching the ruined building though still visible at a distance. A deserted cottage on a ridge not far from Tulla, as I have seen, used to be lit up with pale light, and was reputed haunted. Several graveyards have displayed "corpse lights," and particularly those at Killone Convent (a picturesque twelfth-century ruin on a wooded slope over a beautiful lake near Ennis), and, I hear, Killeemur and Kilmaleery on the Shannon and Fergus, and Clooney in Bunratty Barony.

[2] *Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland*, Part II. (1828), p. 24.



Rath-Blathmaic. "Broc-sidh" and "Sheelah".







"Peists"
Dysert-O'Dea



1910 "Ghost Stone". Clonlara. T.J.W

To face p. 340.

VI. *Underground Folk.*

To underground folk, other than fairies, I have only found few and uninteresting references, such as,—"an old woman looked out of the side of the fort, and the man ran away"; "he heard *them* talking inside the hill"; and "the little old man came out of the fort, and shut it behind him."

VII. *Water Spirits and Mer-folk.*

The Shannon, according to the *Dindsenchas*, derived its name from a sea-lady, but evidently not a "water-breather." Sinenn, daughter of Lodan, came from *Tir-tairngire*, the Land of Youth, under the sea, to visit the well of Connla, under the river now called Shannon. She came to Linn na feile, but was drowned at Tarrchinn "on this side Shannon," and gave her name to the great river.[3] A water spirit, or mermaid, is remembered at Killone Lake and Newhall. The legend is preserved in several variants. In 1839 it was told how O'Brien of Killone saw a lovely girl in the lake, and caught her. Bringing her home, he found to his great disgust and disappointment that she had a fish's tail. He ordered her to be kept in a "crib," and fed and well-treated. As she never spoke, a local fool threw scalding water on her to make her say something. He was only too successful, for, after a wild, blood-curdling shriek, she cried:

> "As the return of the salmon from the stream,
> A return without blood or flesh,
> May such be the departure of the O'Briens
> Like ears of wild corn from Killone."[4]

The legend recorded, almost at the same time (1840), by Crofton Croker was told to me by the old peasantry, about 1876, as follows:—A mermaid used to swim up a stream that flowed under the cellars of Newhall, in order to steal wine. The "master" (an O'Brien), or the butler, hid and stabbed her, (or threw her into a tub of scalding water where she became a big lump of jelly), and her blood ran down the stream and

[3] "The Dind Senchas," *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv. (1894), p. 456.

[4] *Ordnance Survey Letters*, (Co. Clare), vol. ii., p. 111.

reddened all the lake. As the wounded being floated away she wailed :—

"As the water maid floats weak and bloodless down the stream
So the O'Briens shall go from Killone."

Prof. Brian O'Looney heard in his youth, and told me, a tale nearly identical :—

"As the mermaid goes on the sea,
A wretched victim devoid of flesh and blood,
So shall the race of O'Brien pass away
Till they leave Killone in wild weeds."

The lake, like the stream already noted at Caherminaun, turns red at times from iron scum and red clay after a dry summer. This is supposed to be caused by the local Undine's blood, and to foretell a change of occupants in Newhall. Strange to say, I saw it happen last when the place was let by the MacDonnells to the O'Briens. The cellar at Newhall has its outer section roofed with large slabs, and the inner consists of long, low, cross vaults. In the end of the innermost recess is a built-up square patch, which sounds hollow, and is said to show the opening closed to keep out the thievish mermaid. There seems no evidence of any stream running underneath the cellar, but local tradition tells of a vaulted passage down to the lake.

Sruhaunaglora (prattling brook), in Kilseily on the flank of the eastern hills, probably owes its name, as many brooks their legend, to the supposed talking of water-folk. There was some belief in mer-folk at Kilkee before 1879, but it has nowadays got touched-up for tourists. Such touching-up, however, cannot have affected the ugly, drunken, stupid *merrow* Coomara (sea-dog), who kept the souls of drowned sailors in magic lobster-pots in his house under the sea, off Killard, as related by Crofton Croker.[5] The *merrow's* power of passing through the waves depended on a magic cap, and a duplicate of it enabled his human guest to visit him.

The last reported appearance of a mermaid is so recent as the end of April, 1910. Several people, including Martin Griffin, my informant, saw what they are firmly convinced was a mer-woman in a cove a little to the north of Spanish Point, near Miltown,

[5] *Op. cit.*, Part II. (1828), pp. 30-58 ("The Soul Cages").

Malbay. She was white-skinned and had well-shaped white hands. The party tried to make friends with her, giving her bread, which she ate. Then a Quilty fisherman got frightened, said she was "something bad," and threw a pebble at her, on which she plunged into the sea and disappeared. Soon afterwards King Edward died. An old man at Spanish Point said the last mermaid was seen the year of the Great Famine (1846), and that such an appearance foretells a public disaster.

VIII. *Ghosts and Haunted Houses.*

Here, "where'er we tread is haunted," and libellous, ground, so that in the majority of cases the names and definite addresses must be withheld, although in every case I am acquainted with them.

Taking first the ancient buildings, I am unable to state the nature of the haunter of Lisananima (ghost fort) in Kilcorney, or of the other places of like name, although, as regards the former, Dr. George MacNamara and I did our best, about 1897, to find out, for the ghost was said to have been seen recently; so also at Toberatasha (spectre well). At Lisfuadnaheirka, near Kilkee, we were told in 1896 of a "horned ghost," but "Fuadnaheirka" was a local "terror by night" who slew people, as Eugene O'Curry says his bare legs knew when, (as a boy in 1816), he lived close to Dunaheirka (or Liscroneen), a large fort, which was the chief seat of this being, and was evidently a place to be run past on dark winter evenings.[6] It is not wonderful that stories should be so vague. A form "that shape has none" terrifies some nervous or drunken person, who afterwards speaks often of the ghost, but can give no details. The subject is usually regarded too seriously for verbal embroidery.

A fisherman, being detained on Scattery Island by a storm early last century, and hence unable to attend mass at Kilrush, went up into the "cathedral"[7] to pray. After a time he looked up and saw a crowd of monks and laity with priests at the altar in

[6] *Ordnance Survey Letters*, (Co. Clare), vol i., pp. 370 *et seq.*

[7] This is the Church of St. Mary near the Round Tower.

gorgeous vestments. He shut his eyes in terror and prayed, and when he ventured to look again he saw only "the clouds flitting over the roofless church and the old ravens croaking and wheeling over their nests on the tower top."[8] At Stamer Park I was told, in 1873, that "a string of monks" used formerly to pass up the garden to the Abbey of Ennis, but, even then, it was only a vague tradition. A 'she-ghost' haunted the canal bridge of Clonlara, while it was being built in 1769, and was at last exorcised by a slab, still remaining, with her figure cut on it in low relief and the date (Plate XIV.). This figure closely resembles the grotesque (and usually indecent) carvings of prophylactic female figures called "hags of the castle," and now *sheelanagigs* from a well-known carving in County Cork. Two undoubted examples of these figures remain in Clare, a much-defaced one above the door of Kilnaboy church, and a perfect one, struggling with two dragons, on the ornate, and possibly eleventh-century, sill at Rath-Blathmaic church.[9] The Clonlara figure, if older than 1769, may have been brought from one of the ruined towers of Rinroe, Newtown, and Aharinagh, not far away.

The back avenue near the castle of Teermicbrain or Adelphi was haunted, until 1885 at least, by a dark shadowy figure. A "grey man" haunted the lonely storm-beaten shell of Dunlicka Castle, on the cliffs near Kilkee, one of the wildest and most beautiful parts of that glorious coast. He tried to point out hidden treasure, but failed owing to the fears of the man who saw him, and who, when at last venturing back, could not remember the exact hiding-place. The disgusted treasure guardian has made no later attempt.[10] Doonmore, a shore castle farther north, was notorious for the ghastly sounds heard in its vaults, probably caused by waves lapping into rock crannies,

[8] Told by an old peasant of his grandfather, *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. viii. (1841), p. 548. The same person one moonlight night saw a dim figure making signs, and, following it, found his cow with her legs firmly fixed in a hole and in great danger.

[9] See Plate XIV. and the figures in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxiv., pp. 27, 33.

[10] From two residents at Moveen in 1908.

but imputed to the perturbed spirits of those who had perished miserably in the dungeons.[11] At Clare Castle, there used to be seen a ghost, said to be the wife of the first Colonel George Stamer of Carnelly (1680), who held the place under Lord Clare. Legend said that her infant had sprung from her arms through an open window into the river Fergus beneath. The mother went mad and died, and her ghost could be seen vainly searching for her lost child along the bank.[12] But in the records her place is occupied by a business-like lady who brought much land and money to her husband, survived him, and died, (evidently in full possession of her senses to the last), at a ripe old age with her children around her. At Carrigaholt Castle, on the Shannon, the ghosts of Lord Clare and his "yellow dragoons" could, I was told in 1875, be seen at military exercises in the castle field.[13] This seems now to be forgotten. Fortanne, or Rosslara Castle, near Tulla, and the old roadway south from it, were reputed to be "airy" (eery); the haunting beings whispered, laughed, and rustled in the hedges, and "things flew out." (I have often been there in the dusk, and, as in most lonely lanes on a hill-slope facing "the wild west wind," found the noises very weird and curious).

While, as we know, the country in darkness abounds with uncanny sounds, this is still more the case with old mansions. Such houses, with disused chimney flues and attics, ill-fitting casements, ivy and snails to tap on the windows, owls to flap and moan overhead, rats, shaking doors, and warped stairs to imitate footsteps, only need a legend and a few nervous inmates to become treasure-houses of ghost-lore.

One house on the verge of the Atlantic was haunted by a "breathing ghost," and had also a footstep passing with a faintly-clanking chain up and down a lobby. Our servant, after a couple of weeks in 1887, heard the first, and we heard the footsteps

[11] Alluded to by Crofton Croker in "Florry Cantillon's Funeral," *op. cit.*, Part II. (1828), p. 23. I heard it locally in 1892.

[12] So Mrs. Stamer in 1881.

[13] Their ghostly appearances riding through Moyarta, and their plunging into the Shannon, are alluded to in 1816. Cf. Mason, *Parochial Survey*, vol. ii., p. 430.

frequently. I finally located the latter in a dully-jarring sash which resounded in the flooring, the "chain" was a loose pump-handle, and both were actuated by the fairly regular recurrence of a prevailing sea-breeze in the stillest part of the night. A little inland, and not many miles from Lisdoonvarna, two rooms in an old family house are reputed haunted. The ghost of a faithless wife used to be seen getting out of the study window, just before dawn on the anniversary of her elopement. Loud noises, shaking the floor, were heard in the room overhead. The ghost of a legendary "Countess of Antrim," whose portrait was preserved there, haunted the hall and passages, and it was told that she had made away with her stepson in order that her own child might succeed. She was not visible, but revealed herself in a rustling of garments and turning of handles. A fragment of a poem on her crime is remembered :—

"The blood on the cradle's the worst blood of all,
For the young Lord of Antrim lies dead in the hall." [14]

Corofin has several haunted houses, both new and old, in and about it. One ghost haunted a house in the village for half a year, putting out candles and throwing sods of turf about at night. Near Moyhill, in the same district, a ghost was seen by a Mr. O'Neill coming through a ceiling; it used to put its hands on sleeping people, causing much alarm, but, like the preceding spectre, it lapsed into the Silence after a few months.[15] In a house near Ennis, a soft footstep hurried on some nights through several rooms, in one of which a cupboard used to open after the noise; this was not only seen and heard by the family and accustomed guests (like myself), but by new visitors unacquainted with the story.

It is not clear whether the beings that haunted two farmers' houses between Kilkee and Liscrona were ghosts or elves. The families began to "see things," and notably a little old man who used to sit on a sod of turf. This inoffensive haunting was more than the occupants could bear. One of them fitted up a cow-house as his dwelling-place, and the other actually built a new

[14] So Mrs. Twigge. [15] So Dr. G. U. MacNamara.

house. The old residences are in ruins, and their desertion took place over sixteen years ago.[16]

It is to the credit of the people of Eastern Clare that it possesses hardly any haunted houses, but there are two of transcending interest.

The first lay near the Fergus. A footstep followed one at night on the upper stairs, and curtains were drawn round the old-fashioned beds,—if not by "a hand of bone," at least by a "thing that no man sees." On more than one occasion all the bed-clothes were lifted, "as if by four people," off a sleeper. Even the late Mr. Richard Stacpoole, a man of iron nerve, told how once on a visit this happened to him; indignant at what he supposed to be a foolish joke, he got up, locked the door, searched the room, and kept awake, only to find the action repeated twice; he struck a light at once, but no one was visible. Hands were laid on the doors and their handles. Anyone who "married into" the family or its connections was liable to have their hands kissed in the dark on their first visit. An invisible dog used to howl before deaths, being only heard from the room of the relation of the foredoomed person. A ghost, (said to be of no less a person than Maureen Rhue, the famous Amazonian O'Brien of 1640-50), used to pass up and down the long, straight avenue. Legend said that, after the murder of her twenty-fifth husband,—(only three husbands are known to history, which is also ignorant of their murders),—she was fastened into a hollow tree and starved to death. There were also the ghosts of two nuns,—for the place was said to have been a convent, without a particle of evidence,[17]—and, in 1838, a lady on horseback at a "Druid's Altar." (The last-named was probably a pure invention of the then owner.) There was, however, another ghostly object of which I heard from an eye-witness still living. A dark spot used to break out in the wall of a quaint old brick-floored room, with an inside window looking down into the kitchen. The legend was that an old nurse, a pensioner of the family about 1750, used to live in this room, and died, aged over 90, suddenly

[16] So Mrs. MacDonnell.

[17] Except that skeletons, and, it is said, crucifixes, were found in the garden just beside the house.

and mysteriously. One evening the kitchen-maid brought up some beer, and fancied she saw "a black shadow hanging over" the nurse. The latter was much alarmed at hearing this, and took her chair over to the inner window, where she could see into the kitchen. Next morning, when the girl brought up the breakfast, the beer stood untouched, and the old woman sat leaning back with a look of appalling horror on her face and with her hands resting on the table. The other servants ran up at the maid's shrieks and lifted the nurse, who was stone-dead, with a deep cut on the back of her head. There was a small patch of blood on the wall, and ever since it comes out as a dark spot on the wall about the anniversary of the nurse's mysterious death.[18]

The second house, now a dismantled ruin in a lonely valley in the eastern hills, had a far worse reputation. It brought misfortune on anyone who rented it, and a heavy doom lay on its actual owners; certainly, when my family rented it for the shooting, its reputation was maintained by the falling on us of a subsequent heavy trouble. Its most ghastly legend will be told later, and relates to a skeleton found buried under a peat rick in the yard, when the rick was removed owing to scarcity of peat; according to another version, told at Tulla, the rick was set on fire, and, when the white ashes blew away, the unconsumed skull of a murdered man remained.[19] One room was fastened up with iron clamps, tradition said, because its floor was soaked in ineffaceable blood. Another legend, (which I never heard locally or, indeed, in Eastern Clare at all), told how long ago a detachment of a Scottish regiment, quartered there, was poisoned by the owner. The drummer boy escaped the poison, but only to be brutally murdered as he tried to escape from the window. My informant (in the far west of the county), says that "the boy's ghost has been seen by many credible witnesses." There was some vague tale of a light on the lake, where dredging yielded a vast quantity of bones, said to be human and mainly of children, but I distrust profoundly the *dicta* of Clare people on comparative anatomy. The stories I give next were told me by

[18] So Mrs. O'Callaghan of Maryfort.

[19] So the late Mrs. Spaight of Affock.

at least six of my relatives, including my mother and two of my brothers. Those who stayed in the house rarely rested undisturbed, for whisperings and mutterings, footsteps down the passages, low sobbing, and strange shrieks and laughter were usual. Sometimes grimmer visitors came. My mother told how she and my father were awakened by the clang of a door and heavy footsteps. Someone then entered their room, though the door was afterwards found locked, and they both felt a horrible sense of some fearful presence in the darkness, seeing,—but unseen. After a few long minutes of suspense "It" passed back through the door and up the corridor, another door crashed to, and nothing more was heard. The clanging door was believed to be the one clamped up. My sisters also had a tale to tell. The curtains of their great bed had been carefully drawn and tucked in all round, but in the night my eldest sister awoke, and, feeling a gust of air and hearing a rustle, called to the others. She found the curtains drawn back, and all heard a horrible mocking laugh, but nothing was found in the room when the candle was lit. Noises and rustlings, with groans, sobs, and hurrying feet in the corridor, were heard for four nights. My brothers attested most of the noises, and I believe that most occupants of the place told similar tales.

THOS. J. WESTROPP.

(To be continued.)

THE DRAGON OF LA TRINITÀ: AN ITALIAN FOLK-TALE.

The following tale was taken down almost word for word from the lips of a charcoal-burner in a Tuscan roadside inn at Le Bagnore on the edge of the great forest on the slopes of Monte Amiata, which raises its cone-shaped summit 5500 feet above the plains and swamps of Maremma. This district formed the border-land between Tuscany and the old Papal States, and has retained a distinctive character of its own. The teller was a tall lean fellow with glittering eyes and high cheekbones, and with the wild and uncivilised aspect common to the men who live an

isolated life in the depths of the forest as their forefathers have done before them. The tale was told by him to a group of his companions about the log fire of the inn kitchen, on a wild wet night in late autumn, while I sat back in the shadows.

"I will tell you the story of the dragon of La Trinità. Once long ago, before any of us were born, a monster, a dragon they called him, lived in a cavern high on the mountain among the pines, up where you now see the convent of La Trinità. He used to come out and devour whatever he could find. The peasants could no longer send their sheep and goats out to pasture on the mountain side, and cows and oxen he did not fear to attack. Not only so, but human beings he killed and devoured,—and even *friars* were not safe. Yes, two or three friars he also ate. Then the great Duke Sforza, who lived in the castle over yonder at Santafiora, said,—"I will deliver the land from this fierce beast." So he put on his armour, and took a long lance, and mounted his horse, and rode up the valley. But, when the dragon saw him, it withdrew into its den as was its way when people came out armed against it. But what did Duke Sforza do? He fastened a red flag to the end of the lance, and thrust it into the entrance of the cavern. The dragon thought it was a piece of meat, and rushed at it, and the Duke drew it back so that the dragon came rushing out of the cavern with his great mouth wide open. And the Duke grasped his lance, and waited there, erect on his horse, for the onslaught of the monster. It came on, always with its great mouth open, and, as it rushed at him, the Duke received it on his lance, and the lance went right down its throat—down,—down,—and it died. And the Duke cut off its head, and brought it to show to the people. And its great jawbone is kept in the sacristy of the convent of La Trinità, where the sacristan keeps it in a box. You may see it there still. I have seen it myself, and that is how I know that the story is true."

I may add that I also have seen an enormous upper jawbone, something like that of an alligator, which is kept, as he described it, in the lonely little Franciscan Friary of La Trinità up miles of stony mule track on the slopes of Amiata.

Mary Lovett Cameron.

Fifty Hausa Folk-Tales (*continued*).

10. *The Jackal's Revenge on the Spider.* (B. G.)

This is about the Spider. He was friends with the Jackal. Then the Jackal said,—"Look here, Spider, I am going away, and (but) the seed-time[1] has come." He brought seeds of the millet, and said,—"When the rain comes (and) you go to your farm and sow, will you sow mine for me?" Then the Spider said,—"Very well." When the rain had come, then the Spider sowed millet on his (own) farm. When he had finished, then he came to the Jackal's farm. Although he hoed (cut), he did not sow the seed. He merely trod (the ground). When the Spider's millet had sprung up, it looked very well. On the Jackal's farm only grass came up. The Jackal did not start on his return (returning) until the millet had begun to ripen (was in ear). At this time there was no more sowing. Anything which might be sown would not come up. On his arrival the Spider went to him and said,—"Look here, I sowed your farm, but the Francolin came and picked (up) the seed from your farm." The Jackal said,—"Oh, did she not ruin yours, (since) she ruined mine?" Then he (Spider) said,—"Oh, it was at night. She was pecking in the ground. She did not do it up above. There was no one to see." Then the Jackal said,—"Very well. Thank God, but I shall be revenged." Then the Jackal left (the matter) until harvest came, until the Spider had put guinea-corn in his store, and millet, and *dauro*,[2] and beans. Then the Jackal procured a small calabash, and poured some honey in it and brought it to the Spider. Then the Spider put in his hand and tasted (it), and said,—"Ah, what is (this) so sweet?" Then he (Jackal) said,—"Ah, that is guinea-corn which I left in my store. (When) I came back from my journey I burnt (it), and filtered (water through) the ashes." Then the Spider went and set fire to his store and burnt (it), and filtered the ashes of his guinea-corn. He tasted (it). The water was not sweet like the honey, so he returned to the Jackal and said,—"Really I did not find it

[1] Rains commence about April, and after the ground has become well soaked the sowing is done.

[2] A high plant, something like a bulrush, which gives a species of millet grain.

sweet." The Jackal said,—"What did you burn?" He said,—"Guinea-corn." He (Jackal) said,—"Oh no, I did not say you were to burn the guinea-corn, I said you should burn the millet." Then he said,—"Very well." So he went and burnt the store of millet, and filtered (it) and tasted (it). It tasted bitter.[3] He did not find (it) sweet like the honey. Then he (Spider) said to the Jackal,—"I did not find it sweet." So the Jackal said,—"What did you burn?" And he said,—"Millet." Then he said,—"Oh no, I did not say you should burn millet, I said *dauro*." So he said,—"Very well." So he went and burnt the store of *dauro*, he filtered (it), he tasted (it), he did not find it sweet. Then he returned and said to the Jackal,—"I did not find it sweet." So the Jackal said,—"What did you burn?" He said,—"*Dauro*." He (Jackal) said,—"Oh no, I did not say you were to burn *dauro*, I said you were to burn the beans." So he said,—"Very well." So he went and burnt the store of beans, he filtered (them), he tasted (them), he felt a bitter (taste), he did not find them sweet like the honey. So he said to the Jackal,—"I did not find them (it) sweet." So the Jackal said,—"What did you burn?" Then he said,—"Beans." He (Jackal) said,—"Thank God, Spider, I have paid back on you the evil turn which you did to me." So the Spider was without food. He had to beg (so he was begging).

11. *The Lion, the Spider, and the Hyæna.* (B. G.)

This is about a Lion, (who) had bought a ram. He tended it. (He kept it?) thus until the ram grew up, and was given the name of Barra randam. A bell was tied on its neck. The ram grew big. One day the Lion was going to look for food at a distance. When the Spider heard the news, he came and asked the Lion to let him look after the ram. The Lion said,—"Oh no." He said,—"Perhaps something might happen to him." Then the Spider said,—"Nothing will happen to him." So the Lion said,—"All right, I will leave it (let me leave it)." When the Lion had gone, the Spider took the ram. He went and killed and ate it. He put the skin and bell by. He put the fat by. Then the Lion came home, (and) the Spider came crying and said,—"Somebody

[3] Or perhaps "he felt a bitter (taste)."

(thing) has stolen the ram." Then the Lion said,—"That is a lie." He said,—"To-morrow I shall summon all the beasts of the forest to come and dance before me." Then the Spider went home. He went and called the Hyæna. He came and said,—"To-morrow there is to be a feast in front (at the door) of the Lion's house. See here a skin (for) you to wear." Then the Hyæna took (it) and put it on. Then the Spider tied the bell on her neck. He brought the fat and anointed the Hyæna's mouth. Then he said,—"Now, do not eat the fat, leave it. It is an ornament." So the Hyæna felt very proud, saying the Spider had given her finery. (When) morning came all the beasts of the forest assembled. When they were assembled, the Spider came with his little drum. He came (he was) drumming, "Who has eaten Babba randam.[4] The Hyæna is the devourer of Babba randam. The skin on her back (is) the skin of Babba randam. The bell on her neck (is) the bell of Babba randam. The fat on her mouth (is) the fat of Babba randam." The Hyæna was dancing and playing, and said,—"That is so (thus the word is), beat your drum, oh Spider, that is so." Then the Lion got angry, and he went and felled the Hyæna and killed (her), and then all the beasts of the forest ran away. "The Lion has revenged (himself)" said the Spider. "Truly the Hyæna ate the ram."

12. *The Cunning Spider and his Bride.* (U. G.)

This is about a certain handsome[5] girl. Each one who came to marry her she told that she was not to be had by the bringing of presents.[6] Then her father made a dung-heap at the door of the house. . . . Everything that was filthy (he put) there. He said,—"There, whoever comes and clears (opens) the place, (and) does not spit (and) does not eat food, he shall be her husband." Now every youth who came said he was not able. Then the Spider

[4] This is a play on the words. "Babba randam" means "large bull," and the Hyæna was proud of having killed one.

[5] Handsome or fine is about the nearest meaning we can give to *da keau* when applied to women, but it must be remembered that the Hausa's idea of beauty is very different from ours.

[6] Marriage is a modified form of purchase. The acceptance of the presents by the girl's parents would signify an engagement.

came and said he could (do it). He said,—"If I come to (do) this digging, shall I be (is it) allowed to sing?" Then the father said,—"What, is the farmer prevented from singing?" Then he (Spider) said "Right. To-morrow morning I shall come," so said the Spider. So he made the female spider, his wife, mix flour and water and put (it) inside his quiver. Then he picked a stalk and put it in the quiver. It was like an arrow. When he had come, the father said,—"Right. Here is the dung-heap which you must clear." He said,—"Right. I have a word (to say)," he said. "While I am digging I shall not take off my quiver. In these times it is not meet that a man[7] should be without his arms (should separate from his quiver)." Then the father said,—"Oh, good, does a man go without his arms?" Then he said,—"There is nothing that will be denied to you except spitting (and) except eating." Then he said,—"Right." He seized his hoe (and began) to dig. He was expectorating spittle on the sly. He was singing,—"I am a spider of spiders." He said,—"Upp tupp tupp, Upp tupp tupp,"—he was expectorating. So, when the sun got (hot), his mouth was dry. He pulled out the stalk from the quiver, and said he was going to dry the poison. Then he put his mouth to the mouth of the quiver, and filled his stomach with *fura*. Then he arose and began digging (again). So he cleared the dung-heap right away. Then the girl came out and said,—"*Arururururuwi*, this is my husband." Then the father said,—"Praise be to God. He is my daughter's husband." So it was presents of good things were prepared (pots of butter, salt, cakes, rice, and beans). So the girl was taken to the Spider's house. Soon the girl conceived and bore a daughter. Now, when she was going to the stream to get water, the Spider would take the child and dance and sing,—"Through (having) *fura* in my quiver I won your mother. I was cunning. I made plans." Once an old woman,—(put down your head, sword[8], "You kill my lice and I'll destroy your marriage"[9])—heard. When she returned from the

[7] *Namijji* is used here to signify a real man, not merely a male. A common title of a good soldier is *Mijjin mazza*, *i.e.* a man of men.

[8] Referring to an old woman's sharp tongue.

[9] When one woman does another's hair, the latter perhaps tells the former little anecdotes of her husband's attentions to others, and so in return for having the live stock cleared out of her head she does her best to clear her

river she told the girl. She said,—"Have you heard what the Spider was saying? He said through (having) *fura* in his quiver he wedded you. He said (it was through) cunning and plans." Then she (girl) said,—"Now, old woman, you have seen that I am living with my husband in dignity and happiness (fortune). Do you want to separate me from my husband?" Then she (old woman) said,—"Very well, since you argue, to-morrow when you have gone to the river come (back) and hide." She (girl) said,—"Agreed." In the morning, when she had gone to the river, she returned and hid. Then the Spider (began) dancing, and saying,—"(Because of) the *fura* in the quiver I won your mother. I was cunning. I made plans." Then she came and put down her pot, and said,—"Is it true, when you came and said you would marry me and you were told that spittle must not be expectorated nor food eaten, that you drank on the sly?" She said,—"Very well, since you drank *fura* I shall not remain in your house. I shall go home." When she had gone, her father said,—"What has brought you?" Then she said,—"Oh, there is a reason why I have come" (lit. there is a thing which has brought me). She said,—"The Spider, when he came to marry me, really drank on the sly. There, I shall not remain with him." Then the father said,—"Very well, the Spider will certainly come to get you back, (and) I shall hear what has caused you to quarrel." So the Spider went to bring about a reconciliation. When he had come, the father said,—"What has come between (joined) you?" Then the Spider said,—"Oh, it was because of a song. The girl went to the stream. I was dancing with the child and singing." Then the father said,—"What kind of a song were you singing?" The Spider said,—"You, child of promise, child of two people." So, when she came, the father said,—"Was it this song which caused you to quarrel?" The Spider said,—"Yes." Then the father said,—"Very well, this quarrel is not bad enough for a separation." Then the daughter got her belongings, and returned to the Spider's house. So the Spider came and did his work (as usual). Even now his deceit has not been discovered. What he did has not been found out.

friend out of her husband's house. *Kasshe* (or *passhe*) *aure* (to kill, or break, the marriage) means to separate, divorce, or perhaps destroy happiness.

13. *How Spiders were reproduced.* (B. G.)

This is about the Spider. It was a time of famine. He had no food, (so) he said he would travel around and teach. The Ewe said,—"Here is my son, take him, and teach him reading." As they were travelling they came to some water, and the Spider told the lamb to mix flour (and water). When he had mixed the flour, he (Spider) said,—"You are not going to have any to drink. I shall drink, but if you beg you will get something." As they travelled, the lamb wasted all away, and became (like a mass of) veins. So it was, when they came to a certain town, the Spider said,—"Now, this evening when food has been brought, if I am not here do not begin to eat, but give it to the dog belonging to the chief of the town." He (the lamb) said,—"Right." Then the Spider turned (himself) into a dog. When he had turned (himself) into a dog, food was brought. So the lamb divided the food, (and) threw (some) to the dog. He ate it. He threw (some more) to him. He ate it. So he threw him the whole. When the food was finished, the Spider changed and became a Spider (again, and) came to the lamb, and said,—"When food was brought, did the chief's dog come, and did you give him (it)?" He (lamb) said—"Yes." Then he (Spider) said,—"Good. To-morrow we shall leave." When dawn came they started, the lamb following him. Then he (Spider) said,—"You see (during) this travelling we have not had any luck. Let us return home," so spoke the Spider. So they went on. When they had come to a certain river, the Spider lighted a large fire. When the fire had been lighted, the Spider said,—"Listen, I am going to fall into the water. You must fall into the fire." Then he (the lamb) said,—"If the Spider were not alive, what use would life be to me?" When he heard the Spider fall into the water, he fell into the fire and died. Then the Spider appeared. In reality he had not thrown himself into the water. He had thrown a stone. So he scraped off the lamb's hair (*i.e.* flayed him), and ate half there. The (other) half he put into his bag. When this was done he left. When he came near the Ewe's house, he (began) crying, he cried, (and) said,—"I was given a young one that I might teach him reading. Lo, he is dead." (He went on) thus until the Ewe said,—"Oh it is nothing, Spider. God has done so." Then a

Nanny-goat (who) was the rival of the Ewe,—both had the same husband,—said,—"I have a (my) son. You go together." So he said,—"Right," so said the Spider. Then the kid had made for him a small ladle and a small calabash. Flour was ground for him. As they were travelling they came to a river, and the Spider said,—"Kid, mix your flour. So I may drink (while) you go and beg." Then he (the Kid) said,—"What if I beg and get nothing?" So they mixed the *gari* and drank (it) together (until) they were satisfied. The kid arose refreshed. The Spider also arose refreshed. So they went on. When they reached a certain town they halted, (and) the Spider said,—"When food has been brought this evening, if I am not here don't you eat (it), but give (it) to the host's dog, (for) he will come." The kid said,—"Very well." So, when evening came, the Spider changed (himself) and became a dog and came. The kid, however, had collected stones in front of him. When food had been brought and the dog had come, he threw stones at the dog. So he finished eating the food, and felt satisfied. Then the Spider changed (himself) and returned (to the form of) a Spider, and said,—"(When) the chief's dog came, did you give him food?" Then the kid said,—"I, what have I got to do with the dog? I only threw stones at him." Then the Spider said,—"Right, that is enough. We shall leave to-morrow. This journey has not been a successful one." He (the kid) said,—"Very well." When they had arrived at the river, the Spider lit a fire, and said he was going to throw himself into the water, (so) the kid should throw himself into the fire. The kid, when he heard the Spider throw himself into the water, took the Spider's boots and put them into the fire, (and then) he got inside the Spider's bag and tied the mouth. When he came out, he, the Spider, he pulled out the boots and (began) eating. He said,—"This one used to eat enough, but has not much fat. The other one was fatter than he." The kid was listening inside the bag. When the Spider came to the Goat's house, he (began) crying, and said,—"I was given the lamb (and) he died. Lo, the kid also is dead." The kid was in the bag, (and) when he heard this he came out (with a) "boop," and said,—"It is a lie you are telling. You ate my brother." Then the Spider bolted. Then the Ewe said,—"Now who will catch the Spider for

me?" Then the She-ass said,—"I will bring (him) to you." She (She-ass) said,—"Now make *nakia*." So she made *nakia*. Those (cakes) worth five cowries each were kneaded separately, those worth ten separately, those worth twenty separately. Then the she-ass swallowed all of them. Then she came near the Spider's fence, and began eating (it). So the Spider said to his wife,—"Go out, you, drive away for me the She-ass. She is eating the fence." When she (Spider) had taken a stalk and had beaten her, she (She-ass) let fall some dung made of cakes of *nakia* worth five cowries each, and the Spider's wife took them. When she had tasted (them), she liked them (tasted sweetness), so she took (them) to the Spider. When he had eaten (them), he said,—"Here, you, where did you get this?" She said,—"(It is) the dung of the She-ass which was eating our fence." Then he said,—"Give me a stick quickly." Then he went and, (as he) followed her, he beat her, so she let fall (a cake) worth ten (cowries), and he took (it) and ate (it). He again followed her, and she let fall one worth twenty. He followed her (and) beat her until they came to the Ewe's house. The Spider did not know. Then a bound was made, (and) the Spider was captured, (and) he was dashed on the ground. He was broken and scattered on the wall of the house, on trees, (and) on everything. That is the reason why he became so numerous. Formerly there was only one.

14. *How the Woman taught the Spider cunning.* (S. D.)

A certain woman called a Spider, and said,—"Come and I will teach you more cunning (increase to you cunning)." He came, (and) she said,—"Go and get some Lion's tears." She said,—"Go and get an Elephant's tusk, and the skin of a Dingo." Then the Spider arose and travelled on the trader's road, and lay down, and pretended that he was (made like) dead. He lay down and was silent. Now, when the traders came and passed, they said,—"Hullo, a Spider has died on the road." The traders all passed (were finished). All passed except one man. He went off again at a run, he, the Spider, and made a detour, and got ahead of them on the road, and he lay down again on the road. Now, when the traders came and passed, they said,—"Hullo, to-day a lot of

Spiders have died. See another here." They all passed, except this one, he came, he was carrying a load of salt. Then he saw the Spider, and said,—"Oh, let me go and get the other one, and come and add it to this one, and eat (them)."[10] When he had put down his load and gone, the Spider got up and took the load. When the trader returned, he did not see his load, and did not see the Spider. Of the two of them he did not see (even) one. He ran away and followed his fellow traders. The Spider got up and broke up the load (of salt) on a rock. Then he called the Elephant, and said,—"O, Elephant, see the food I have brought you." Then the Elephant came and (began to) eat. (While) she was eating the stone broke her tusk. The Spider took the tusk, and hid (it). Then he went and called the Dingo, and said,—"Now, you come in a crowd (assemble), (and) let us make fun of the Elephant (make song of). Her tusk is broken." Then they came altogether, and began singing,—"See the Great One, see the Great One, with no tusk." Then the Spider ran to the Elephant, and said,—Oh, Elephant, have you heard the Dingoes making fun of you?" Then the Elephant (she) came and said,—"Where are they?" He said,—"See them over there." He said,—"Now, if you kill (beat) them, flay them and throw (the skins) behind." Then the Elephant (began to) kill them, she killed them with her trunk (hand-of-nose), and she flayed them. The Spider took up the skins, and went and hid (them) with the Elephant's tusk. Then he returned and ground some pepper in a gourd, and went and found the Lion lying down. He said,—"I have come to make some medicine for you for soreness of the eyes. I see your eyes are sore." The Lion said,—"Very well." The Spider put some pepper in his eyes. Then the Lion felt (them) stinging and shut his eyes, and the tears ran out, and the Spider collected them in the gourd. He said,—"Now I am going home, but to-morrow, (when) I come, the pain will have gone." He took the gourd, and went off on the road to go to his house. Then he took the gourd of tears, the skin of the Dingo, and the tusk of the Elephant, and came to the old woman. He said,—"Old Woman." She said,—"Oh, Spider, have you returned?" He said,—"Yes." Then she

[10] If the man had not passed the spider at the first place where he lay down he could not have seen him, so the narrator is at fault here.

said,—"Very well. Where are the things that you have got? Bring and let us see (them)." So he brought the skin, the tusk, and the Lion's tears. Then she said to him,—"Very good. Come in, that I may teach you cunning." She took a big calabash and said,—"Now, Spider, lie down inside, and I will shut you in, so that I may come and teach you more cunning." She shut him up. Then she went outside. She took a stone, and brought it back. When she had gone out, he, the Spider, opened the calabash and got outside, and came (to) the door of the house and hid. She brought the stone and came to throw it in the calabash, saying she would kill the Spider. When she had thrown (it), and had smashed the calabash, the Spider said,—"What about your calabash?" She said,—"If I taught you more cunning, you would destroy everybody (finish the world)." She drove him out. He ran away, and left all his booty with her, except the cone (of salt) which he had hidden in the bush.

15. *The Hyæna, the Scorpion, and the Ram.* (S. D.)

A certain man started off to take his ram to a certain town. A Scorpion said,—"Let me come and escort you." Then the Scorpion held the ram. They went out and met with a Hyæna. The Hyæna said,—"Let me come and escort you." Then, when they had gone to their lodging (place of sleeping), they tied the ram to the trunk of a tree. The Hyæna said she would lie a little way off. The owner of the ram (goat)[11] lay down in a different place from his ram. The Scorpion lay down very near the ram. When midnight had come (night had made middle), (and) they were sleeping, the Scorpion got up and lay down on the (their) ram's neck. In a little while the Hyæna called out,—"O owner of the ram! O owner of the ram!" Silence. Then she said (again),—"O owner of the ram!" She called even thrice. He did not (refused to) answer. Then the Hyæna got up, and walked (was walking) carefully, and came to seize the ram. When she was just about (had put her mouth) to seize the ram (goat), the Scorpion stung her on the nose. She returned to her resting

[11] This is an instance of Hausa carelessness, the animal being called a ram or a goat indifferently.

place (over there), she, the Hyæna. The Scorpion also returned to hers. Then she said,—"Scorpion, Scorpion." She (Scorpion) said,—"Um." She (Hyæna) said,—"Are you asleep?" She (Scorpion) said,—"Oh no, I have not been asleep." She (Hyæna) said,—"I am going home." She (Scorpion) said,—"Be patient. To-morrow morning we shall go and kill (the ram) and give alms, and we shall give you your (portion)." She (Hyæna) said,—"I shall not stop. I am going off" (on my business). She (Hyæna) went off. She was feeling the pain. She started running, and crying out "Oo, Oo." She was crying. She was hot (with pain).

16. *The Ungrateful Hyæna.* (B. G.)

This is about a certain Filani. He had a son. The name of the son (was) Dan Makubibi.[12] He went to look after his cattle. His cattle (numbered) 100. When night came, he was singing, and said,—"I, Dan Makubibi, I tend (the herd) at night." Then he (they) met with a Hyæna.[13] The Hyæna said,—"Dan Makubibi, will you not give me one bull that I may appease my hunger?" So he said,—"Oh no, I will not give you (one) from these. They are not fat." He said,—"But to-morrow, when evening comes, I will come and tie (one) up for you here, at the mouth of the well." He said he would tie up a bull for her. The well was in the middle of the road, the road to the market. Then he brought gourds, of the kind of which the inside is scraped out to make calabashes.[14] Then he came and placed them around the mouth of the well. When the Hyæna came she saw the gourds very white, (so) she thought (said) (they were) cattle. So she came with a run, and fell into the well. Now this was the road to the market. The Oribi came on her way (she was going) to the market. The Oribi came and looked into the well. She wanted to drink. But she saw the Hyæna's eyes. Then she said,—"Oh dear!" She said,—"The water is too much for me to-day." Then the Hyæna said,—"Come now, Oribi, do me a good turn." The

[12] *Makubibi* means "an injured one," or something of that kind.

[13] The use of the plural form of the pronoun where we should use the singular is common, and *vice versâ*.

[14] Lit. "a gourd (but pl. intended), the kind which is scraped out its inside is made a calabash with it."

Oribi said,—"Oh no, it is no business of mine, I (who am) a short-tailed one." Then the Gazelle came. When she had looked as she was going to drink, she said,—"Oh dear, I cannot drink to-day." Then the Hyæna said,—"Come now, Gazelle, do me a good turn." But she said,—"Oh no, it is no business of mine, I (who am) a short-tailed one." Then the Monkey came. He looked in, and saw the Hyæna, and he said,—"Oh dear, the water is too much for me to-day." Then the Hyæna said,—"Come now, Monkey, do me a good turn." Then he said,—"I don't want (lest) to do you a good turn and you to return me evil." Then the Hyæna said,—"I shall not do so to you." So he stretched out his tail to her in the well. The Hyæna seized it, and came out. When he had pulled her out, he said,—"Now, Hyæna, I am going to market." Then she said,—"Will you not let me dry?"[15] Then he said,—"Ah, that is what I was trying to avoid (run from)." When she was dry, she said,—"Come, Monkey, will you not give me a little bit of your tail that I may appease my hunger?" So he said,—"All right." So she bit off (a piece) about the length of a finger. Then the Monkey said,—"That's enough, I'm off." But she said,—"Will you not let me rest?" Then the Monkey said,—"That is what I was trying to avoid." Then the Jerboa came, and said,—"Come here, and I will decide between you at the foot of the tree." So he said,—"My judgment is, the Jerboa inside quickly, the Monkey above, the Hyæna between (*i.e.* left alone). When she looked, she saw the Monkey above; the Jerboa had entered his hole. As for her, she went off.

17. *The Girl who prevented the Beasts from drinking.* (B. G.)

This is a short one. It is about a certain person, a girl. Now, a younger sister had been born to her, and all used to go to the farm,—the mother, the father, and she the elder sister. They used to leave the younger sister in a pot of grease. It happened that (really) a Hyæna came to the house, and she saw the pot of grease, so she took (it) and swallowed (it). When they returned (it was come), neither the girl nor the pot was to be seen. Then the elder sister began to cry, but she said she would see who had

[15] The Hyæna had not let the Monkey's tail go.

taken from her (to her) the younger sister in the pot. Now there was a certain water, at which all the beasts of the forest used to drink, called "Let (me) run." So the elder sister scooped out all the water, and climbed a baobab tree with it, and left (nothing but) mud. Now all the beasts of the forest used to drink water at the place. Now the Lion came first, and she (began) singing, she the elder sister, and said,—"Hullo, Lion, where are you going?" Then the Lion said,—"I am going to 'Let (me) run' to drink water." So she said,—"If you give me my younger sister, I shall give you water to drink." Then he went,—"Hakk" (a cough), and said,—"What I have eaten you see, Hakk, (and) only grass it is." Then the elder sister said,—"Very well. Baobab, grow up higher." So the baobab grew higher. Then the Buffalo came, and she (elder sister) said,—"Hullo, Buffalo, where are you going?" Then the Buffalo said,—"I am going to 'Let (me) run' to drink water." So she said,—"If you give me my younger sister, I shall give you water to drink." Then she went,—"Hakk," and said,—"What I have eaten you see, Hakk, (and) only grass it is." Then the elder sister said,—"Very well, Baobab, grow up higher." So the baobab grew higher. All the animals came, and she questioned them all thus. So all were lying down. Thirst was almost (wanting to) killing them. Then the Hyæna came last of all. So she (elder sister) said,—"Hullo, Hyæna, where are you going?" Then the Hyæna said,—"I am going to 'Let (me) run' to drink water." So she said,—"If you give me my younger sister, I shall give you water to drink." Then the Hyæna went,—"Hakk." The pot came out, with the younger sister inside. Then the elder sister said,—"I knew that it was you, you (or who was the) glutton, that it was you who had taken my younger sister." Then she (elder sister) said,—"Very well, Baobab, put me down (return with me) on the ground." So she came and gave them water, (and) they drank. Then she lifted up her younger sister, and brought (her) home. That is the end of this.

18. *The Cunning He-goat, the Hyæna, and the Lion.* (B. G.)

A certain He-goat said he knew (how to) sew calabashes.[16] He was always passing the door of the Hyæna's house. The

[16] Lit. "Knew the sewing of calabashes." They are mended thus.

Hyæna wanted to ask him,[17] but felt afraid. She went to the Lion's house, and said,—"The He-goat is always passing my house." She said,—"I should like to ask him what work he does, (but) I am afraid of him." Then the Lion said,—"Very well, if he comes again, call him and come to me." She said,—"Agreed. If he comes you must break a pot,[18] and say he is to sew (it). If he does not sew it, say I am to seize him." So he (Lion) said,—"Very well." Then the Hyæna returned home. (When) the He-goat came, she said,—"Here, the great one, the big brother of the forest, is calling you." So he said,—"Very well, let us go." On their arrival, the Lion broke a pot, and said,—"What work (do you do)?" The He-goat said,—"I am a sewer of calabashes." Then the Lion said,—"Very well. Here is a pot of mine (which) is broken. If you do not sew it, I shall make the Hyæna seize you." Then the Hyæna said,—"Can you sew?" Then the He-goat said,—"Come, Hyæna, is it to be a quarrel? Really I shall do it." Well, as for him, he had a small flask-shaped gourd, and he had poured some honey in it, he the He goat. So he said to the Lion,—"Now, the only thing to sew with (thing of sewing) is Hyæna sinew. Where can it be got?" Then the Lion said,—"Oh, here is a Hyæna." So the Lion said,—"You, Hyæna, bring a little of your sinew." So the Hyæna caught hold (put hand) and plucked out a piece of sinew from her leg, and brought (it) to the Lion. And the Lion gave (it to) the He-goat. The He-goat took the piece of sinew, and put it in the honey. Then he took it out of the honey, and handed (stretched) (it) to the Lion, and said,—"Here (see it), smear spittle on it, and give me (it) so that I may commence sewing." Then the Lion, when he put it (in his) mouth, tasted the sweetness of the honey. So he swallowed it. Then the He-goat, when he (Lion) had swallowed (it), said,—"Ah, where shall I obtain a piece of sinew?" Then the Lion said,—"Oh, here is a Hyæna." So the Lion said to the Hyæna,—"Here, pick out a small piece of your sinew." So she gave the Lion (it), and he gave the He-goat (it). Then the He-goat put (it) in the honey, and gave the Lion (it), and told him to smear spittle on it and give him. He said,—

[17] "What he did" is understood.

[18] Calabashes (gourds) can be sewn, but the pots are made of earth.

"Really, you must not (don't) swallow that." When the Lion had taken (it), he swallowed (it). Then the He-goat said,—"Ah, where shall I obtain a piece of sinew?" Then the Lion said,—"Ah, here is a Hyæna." Then the Hyæna went off at a run, and the Lion followed her. The Hyæna only just escaped. The He-goat also ran away. He had outwitted (made cunning to) the Hyæna.

A. J. N. TREMEARNE.

(To be continued.)

ARMENIAN FOLK-TALES (*continued*).

Of the two following tales, "Brother Lambkin" is the first story in *Manana*, and "The Magpie and His Tail" is from *Hamov Hodov*, but does not appear in M. Macler's *Contes Arméniens*.

2. *Brother Lambkin.*

There was once a widow who had a daughter. This woman married a man who had a son and a daughter by his first wife. The woman worked and schemed until she drove her husband distracted, urging him to take his children and lose them on the mountains. Finally, one day he stuffs a few flat cakes into his pouch and goes with his little ones up the mountain. He goes, and goes, until he reaches a lonely spot, and there he says to his children,—"Let us sit here and rest awhile." They do so; but their father turns his head away from them and weeps bitterly. Afterwards he turns towards them once more, saying,—"Eat a bit of bread, my little ones." When they had eaten, the son said,—"Papa, I am thirsty." Then the father takes the staff which was in his hand, plants it in the ground, and, taking off his cloak, spreads it over the staff, and says,—"Come, my son, come sit under the shade of my cloak, and I will go and see where I can find a spring of water." The brother and sister seat themselves there, while the father goes off and leaves them. There the poor little ones remain. They watch and wait, but no father returns. They rise and search on all sides, but find no man nor living being.

They come back and begin to weep and cry, saying—"Alas! alas! The staff is here, the cloak is here, but no Papa is here!"

Again they watch and wait, and at last they rise to search once more. One takes the cloak, and the other the staff, and they wander about lost in the woods. They go, and they go, until they reach a spot where they see a hollow made by the print of a horse's hoof, and it is full of rain water. The boy cries,—"Sister, I am thirsty." His sister replies,—"Do not drink, or you will turn into a horse."

They go, and they go, until they reach a spot where there is the print of the foot of an ox. The brother cries,—"Sister, I am thirsty." His sister says,—"Do not drink; you will turn into an ox."

They go, and they go, and they reach the print of a buffalo's foot. The brother cries,—"Sister, I am thirsty." The sister says,—"Do not drink; you will turn into a buffalo-calf."

They go, and go, and reach the print of a bear's foot. The brother cries,—"Sister, I am thirsty." The sister says,—"Do not drink; you will turn into a bear's cub."

They go, and go, and reach the print of a hog's foot. The brother says,—"Sister, I am thirsty." The sister says,—"Do not drink; you will turn into a hog."

They go, and go, and reach the print of a wolf's foot. The brother says,—"Sister, I am thirsty." The sister says,—"Do not drink; you will turn into a wolf."

They go, and go, and reach the print of a lamb's foot. The brother says,—"Sister, I am thirsty." The sister says,—"Do not drink; you will turn into a lamb." The brother cries,—"Sister, have mercy; I am dying for a drink." The sister says,—"What shall I do? I give it up. Drink, if you wish; but you will turn into a lamb." Then the brother drinks and turns into a lamb, and follows his sister, bleating as he goes. They walk on, and on, and finally reach home.

One day the mother, being with child,[1] says to her husband,—"Bring your lamb and kill it, that I may eat." The sister tried every means to save her brother, and at last escaped with him to

[1] Every wish expressed by an expectant mother must be gratified, lest her child be marked with the object refused.

the mountains. There she would lead him to pasture every day, while she would spin. Then, one day, the distaff fell from the girl's hand into the mouth of a cave. The lamb went on grazing above, while the girl went down to find her distaff. She enters, and what does she see but a witch a thousand years old lying there! The moment she sets her eyes on the girl, the witch says,—"Maiden, the bird on its wing, the serpent on its belly, can not come here; how did you come?" In her fright, the girl replied,—"Your love drew me here, mother mine."

The witch has her sit down, and asks her about every thing under the sun. This girl takes the fancy of the witch. "I will go and fetch you some fish to eat," says the witch. "You must be hungry now." The fish she brings are dragons and snakes! The girl is terrified. She is nearly frightened to death, and she begins to weep. The witch says,—"Why do you weep, maiden?" The girl replies,—"I was thinking of my mother; therefore I wept." Then she tells the witch all that has happened to her. "Since that is the case," says the witch, "you sit here, and I will lay my head in your lap and go to sleep." First she lights a fire and puts the iron cross-pieces[2] in the fire, and says to the girl,—"If the Black-One comes by, don't waken me; but, when the Green-and-Red-One comes, touch the red-hot iron cross-pieces to my feet that I may awake." The girl's soul shrivelled to the size of a pea. Oh, what shall she do?

She sat down. The witch laid her head on the girl's knees, and went to sleep. Soon she saw a terrible Beast, the Black Goblin, pass by; but she made never a sound. She waited a little longer, and she saw the Green-and-Red Goblin coming. Then she seized the red-hot iron cross-pieces and struck them against the witch's feet. The witch cries,—"Oh, the fleas are biting me," and wakes up. The girl calls out; the witch rises, and the girl stands up. The Green-and-Red Goblin strokes the girl's hair, and all her garments turn to gold.

Then the girl kisses the hand of the witch, receives permission

[2] Two iron bars held together by a pivot through the middle of each. When opened in the form of a cross, they are laid across the top of the opening in the earthen oven, called a *tandour*. The pots and kettle are set upon this, as on andirons.

to go, and, finding her brother, Lambkin, goes home. She secretly digs a hole beside the fireplace,[3] where she hides her golden garments away from her mother; she puts on her old clothes and sits down. The mother comes home, and sees that the girl's tresses are of gold. She says,—"Girl, what have you done, that your tresses have turned to gold?" Then the girl tells her all about it. When the stepmother hears this, she sends her own daughter the very next day to that mountain. The girl drops the distaff from her hand, and enters the cave. The witch turns her into a hideous, horrible creature, and sends her away. They repent of it, but what can they do about it?

One day there is to be a wedding at the palace of the King of that country. The Prince is to be married. The whole country goes to see the wedding. This woman puts on her white sheet,[4] throws a veil[5] over her daughter's head, decks her out as fine as you please, and goes to look on. Then the orphan girl rises and puts on her golden garments, and from head to foot she is transformed into a fairy princess.[6] She goes to look on at the wedding also.

On her return the fairy princess runs to reach home before her mother, and to take off her garments and hide them. Because she runs so fast, one of her golden slippers[7] falls into a fountain. The King's horses are brought there to drink. The horses catch sight of the golden slipper, and they start back in affright, and will not drink. The King has a workman[8] called to clean out the fountain. He finds the golden slipper, and fetches it out. The King sends a crier through the city to call,—"Whoever is the owner of this slipper shall marry my son." They begin to measure the

[3] The fireplace, or *tandour*, called also *tonir*, is built of clay either on the level of the floor or sunk below it. The fuel is put in at the top, and there is an opening at the bottom for the draught. Flat cakes are often plastered on the inside to bake. The thick edges of the fireplace may be hollowed out and used as hiding-places for valuables.

[4] The *shabig mukhmel*, or *charshaf*, is the usual outside wrap worn by the women of the East.

[5] The *medad*, or *yazma*, is a large square of coloured cotton gauze.

[6] A *houri* or shining being; any very beautiful girl.

[7] The Armenian word used here is *sol*. Is it not related to "sole"?

[8] A *kankan*, or workman whose trade it is to build watercourses.

feet of every one in the city. They reach the house of the Lambkin. The stepmother thrusts the orphan girl into the fireplace and hides her. She shows her own daughter. Then the cock flies from its perch, and, standing on the door-sill, calls thrice,—"Googloo-goo-goo! the lady is in the fireplace!" The men push the mother aside, bring the girl out of the fireplace, and measure her feet. "Come now, let us go," they say, "You are the bride of the King." The girl opens the spot where her golden garments are hidden, puts them on, leads away her brother, Lambkin, and goes. The wedding lasts for seven days and seven nights, and so the girl marries the Prince.

One day the stepmother takes her own daughter and goes to the palace to see her other daughter, and her daughter treats her as though she were her own mother, and takes her to the Park, and from there they go to the sea-shore. The stepmother says,—"See here, daughters, let us go in and take a swim." So they go into the water. Then the stepmother pushes the Princess into the middle of the sea, and a great fish comes and swallows her. The mother gathers up the golden garments, and dresses her own daughter in them. She returns to the palace, and sets her daughter in the bride's place. The girl's face is veiled (nose and mouth, eyes and face are covered); no one knows her, and the mother does not tell.

The other poor girl remains in the belly of the fish for some days. One night she hears the night watchman, and she cries from inside the fish:—

"Watchman, watchman, when you call the hour,
And cross your breast seven times each hour:
As you love God who gives you the day,
Go take this word to the Prince, and say,
"Do not harm my brother, Lambkin!""

The watchman heard this repeated once or twice; then he went and told the King's son. One night the King's son arises, and goes with the watchman to the seashore and listens. He recognises the voice of his fairy Princess. He bares his sword, and leaps into the sea. He cuts open the fish with his sword, takes his bride in his arms, brings her to land, and they go home. Then he calls the stepmother before

him, and says,—"Lady Mother-in-law, what gift shall I give you,—a horse that eats barley, or a black-handled knife?" The mother-in-law replies,—"Let the black-handled knife be for him who wishes you ill; give me the horse which eats barley." Then he has the mother and daughter tied to the tail of a horse, and he says to the hostler,—"See that you drag them from mount to mount, and rock to rock, till not a bit of them is left larger than an ear, or a wisp of hair. Bring it and come." They met with their deserts.

The bride and bridegroom lived together, and brother Lambkin with them. They attained to their desires. Three apples fell from heaven.[9]

3. *The Magpie and his Tail.*

An old woman had milked her cow, set her milk-pail down on the ground, and gone to find some twigs and litter with which to light a fire and boil the milk. A magpie came along and dipped his bill into the milk-pail to get a drink of milk. The milk-pail was upset, and the milk was spilled upon the ground. Just then the old woman returns, and seizes the magpie by the tail. The magpie tries to fly, and his tail is left in the old woman's hand. The magpie goes and flies up on to the wall, looks down at the old woman, and caws and begs, saying,—"Old woman, old woman, give me my tail. Let me take it and fasten it on, and go and join my companions." The old woman says,—"Go, and bring me my milk."

Then the magpie goes near the cow, and begs and says,—"Cow, cow, give me some milk! I will take it to the old woman. The old woman will give me my tail. I will take it and fasten it on, and go and join my companions."

And the cow says,—"Go, bring me some grass." The magpie goes to the field near by, and begs and says,—"Field, field, give me some grass! I will take it to the cow. The cow will give me some milk. I will take that to the old woman. The old woman will give me my tail. I will take it and fasten it on, and go and join my companions."

[9] The stereotyped ending for all stories is,—"Three apples fell from heaven: one for the one who told it; one for the one who asked for it; and one for the one who gave ear to it."

And the field says,—"Go, bring me some water." Then the magpie goes to a water-carrier,[10] and begs and says,—"Water-carrier, water-carrier, give me some water! I will take it to the field. The field will give me some grass. I will take it to the cow. The cow will give me some milk. I will take that to the old woman. The old woman will give me my tail. I will take it and fasten it on, and go and join my companions."

And the water-carrier says,—"Go, bring me an egg." So the magpie goes to the hen, and begs and says,—"Hen, hen, give me an egg! I will take it to the water-carrier. The water-carrier will give me some water. I will take it to the field. The field will give me some grass. I will take it to the cow. The cow will give me some milk. I will take that to the old woman. The old woman will give me my tail. I will take it and fasten it on, and go and join my companions."

The hen's heart is moved with pity for the magpie. She sits down and lays two eggs. The magpie takes them to the water-carrier. The water-carrier gives him some water. He takes it to the field. The field gives him some grass. He takes it to the cow. The cow gives him some milk. He takes it to the old woman. The old woman gives him his tail. He takes it and fastens it on, and flies away and joins his companions.

Talas (Cesarea). J. S. WINGATE.

(To be continued.)

[10] Literally, the man who apportions the water to each field.

PLAYING THE WER-BEAST: A MALAY GAME.

IN Europe the werwolf and other wer-beasts were looked on as exceptional phenomena produced only by the reincarnation of wicked souls or by the changing of the shape of men and women by witchcraft. But in Burmah and Sumatra a quite ordinary man may turn into a tiger in the evening without any fuss. It is simply a gift. In the Malay Peninsula also the wer-tiger is regarded as a fact as real as the natural beast. As a by-product of this belief, and all over the country Malay boys have a

favourite game, played on moonlight nights, based on this power of transformation. The game is called *Hantu musang*, —*hantu* meaning a spirit or demon, and *musang* the common civet-cat which plunders the orchards and fowl-houses of the villagers. The game, (of which variants have been described by Mr. Skeat for Selangor,[1] and by Mr. D. F. A. Hervey for Malacca,[2]) consists in nothing less than turning a boy temporarily into such a beast by possessing him with the "*hantu* of the *musangs*." His outward appearance, of course, is unchanged, but one must be careful, I am told, to bring him back to the normal state within an hour or so, or he will turn into a real *musang* for good. The boy is first hypnotised,—though of course there is no such word or idea among Malays. A dull, stupid lad, the nearer half-witted the better, is invariably chosen. The experience of Malay boys does not at all agree with Moll's statement[3] that "intellectual people and those who have strong wills are more easily hypnotisable than the dull, stupid or weak-willed."

The subject sits down cross-legged, and his head, at least, is wrapped in a cloth, preferably a white one. (White cloth figures very frequently in Malay magic and divination.) His ears are closed by the thumbs of one of the others, and he is told to remain motionless, not even swallowing a drop of saliva. Then he is monotonously patted on the back, or, more usually, swung backwards and forward by his arms or the ends of the enfolding cloth, while the others sing over and over again an appropriate

[1] *Malay Magic*, pp. 498-9. [For a very similar specimen of the 'Monkey Dance' (*Main Bro*), see *ibid.*, p. 465, *App.* p. 647; and for similar facts as to (presumably) hypnotic personation of animals, see *ibid.*, pp. 160-3, 436-44; *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. ii., pp. 227-9, all describing impersonations of the tiger spirit. Mr. Skeat writes to me: "Mr. O'May's description of the civet-cat game is cordially to be welcomed, because no one has yet made a speciality of studying hypnotism as practised by the Malays, a subject which much requires attention. Mr. O'May would be doing yeoman's service if he could send for publication in *Folk-Lore* at some future period a detailed statement as to any instances of actual hypnotism, (not solely cases of beast-personation), that he has himself witnessed, and tested by any of the usually approved methods, amongst the Malays of the Peninsula." Ed.]

[2] *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute etc.*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 299-300.

[3] Myers, *Human Personality*, vol. i., p. 438.

spell-like verse. These verses vary considerably; the following are examples:—

> "Sang Gali, Sang Bertali, akar lada.
> Datang sa-ekor Musang, sa-ekor ayam pun tiada."

and

> "Chok Pa Lechok, Gali-gali ubi
> Di-mana kayu bongkok, Di-situ musang men-jadi."

The boy becomes giddy, tired, and finally,—it may be after a considerable time,—appears to sleep.

The song must have a lulling effect. I have not heard of shaking or swinging being employed elsewhere by hypnotists, but the effect of a strain on the neck in producing an abnormal mental state has been widely made use of; for example, by the Mænads, (who are figured in Bacchic ecstasy with heads flung back), by the dancing Dervishes, by Malay wizards seeking to be possessed,[4] by the "Pentecostal dancers," and by those Greek monks who formerly attained ecstatic illumination by sitting with their eyes steadfastly fixed upon their abdomens. The chant is considered absolutely necessary, and such formulae are used in most Malay wizardry.

When the subject's feet feel cold, or he is no longer ticklish, the process is complete, and the rest of the band run off, sometimes imitating the cries of fowls, creatures beloved of all *musangs*. The newly-admitted member of that race starts up and pursues, and it goes ill with anyone he catches, for he bites and scratches like the beast he is imitating. I am told that he not only eats eagerly all the fruits which *musangs* are fond of, but also kills and devours fowls. He never uses his fists, and a blow does not stop him. If his prey escapes, as usually happens, he takes to climbing trees, in accordance with his acquired character, and is said to show marvellous agility and skill in reaching the topmost branches and jumping from tree to tree. There is nothing in this which goes beyond the ordinary feats of somnambulism, mania, and drunkenness. In all this there is clearly a good deal of danger both to the *musang* and his companions, but, though the latter do get bitten at times, no damage is done as a rule.

[4] W. E. Maxwell, *In Malay Forests*, p. 20.

When any one is at the mercy of the possessed lad, he breaks the spell by calling out his real name. This offends the *hantu* of the *musangs*, by whose assistance his climbing feats have been performed, and who is responsible for his acts as a whole. The spirit therefore leaves him at once, and it is therefore important not to call the boy's name while he is up a tree, lest, being deserted, he should fall and be hurt.

The return to normal consciousness is sometimes preceded by insensibility. The subject remembers nothing afterwards of what has been happening. He is more or less insensible to pain, too, during the trance, as might be expected, though, when it is over, he is much exhausted and often aching and miserable.

Why should the sound of his own name thus strip off the boy's assumed personality? Doubtless we can call it pre-suggestion. He knows all about the game beforehand, and so practically receives a suggestion that the sound of his name is to awake him; and the awakening follows the signal, as usual.

One might ask, too, why any boy should willingly fill a rôle which seems so unattractive, but there is usually no difficulty on that score. Lads of the type required seem often to like it.

This game is the commonest of a group which includes *hantu-kambing* (goat), *hantu kra* (monkey), and *hantu kuching* (cat). All are played in the same manner, except that different rhymes are used, and the behaviour of the corresponding animal is imitated. A human goat does not climb trees, but he will charge the wall of a house so violently as to break a plank, apparently without feeling pain.

Naturally, these games are often imitated. A boy will pretend to be *berhantu* in this way when he is quite self-possessed and conscious, and then the amusement is merely a variety of "I spy." But the descriptions given me by many boys who have played it, and in particular such details as the tests used to decide when the possession is complete, make it unmistakably clear that the game as I have described it is a favourite amusement among boys all over the Federated Malay States. It is also sometimes played by men.

Kuala Kangsar. J. O'May.

English Charms of the Seventeenth Century.

In a Ms. (Cod. Gaster, No. 1562), written mostly by a certain Thomas Parker in the years 1693-5 and containing astrological horoscopes and nativities, there are towards the end also a few charms, written by the same hand. The Ms. has evidently passed from the first writer into the hands of others addicted like him to the study of astrology, and they have added between the two original sections a number of other nativities and sundry notes of a mixed character, among which is, for example, Lord Wharton's *Satyr on ye Judge*, 1726, which is the latest date mentioned in the Ms. But that part of it which is written by Parker is the most interesting. It includes a manual of leechcraft, or, better, of "astronomicall elections for physick and chyrurgery depending upon the place and course of the moone." He has compiled also a perpetual calendar for Easter and an "Almanack for 34 yeares," from 1696 to 1731; short chronologies and descriptions of natural phenomena, the number of parish churches in every shire and the number of shires in England and Wales; "Of the cause of severall things" in a poem, and 15 *distiches* on vapour, rain, hail, earthquakes; etc. He knows Latin and Greek, and writes the Greek words in Greek letters. He also gives us the names and the Seals of the seven Archangels, viz. Michael, Gabriel, Samael, Raphael, Sachiel, Anael, Asael, and Gapriel (?) and "five infernal kings":—Sitrael, Malanta, Thamaor, Falaur, and Sitrami; and on the last page but two (f. 157*b*) we find the following stanza:—

"Excess of wealth great pourful God,
I do not wish to see;
Extreame of want and poverty
Aflict not Lord on mee.
For since the one exalts too high,
The other brings too low;
A mean therefore for natures need,
Great God on me bestow."

Sufficient has now been said to characterise the writer of this Ms., who must have found the charms in the original from which he took most of the materials of his book.

I am reproducing them here exactly as they are in the Ms.

from fol. 143*b*–145*b*, preserving the spelling and imitating the mystical signs as found in the original, but prefixing numerals to facilitate reference. They are love charms &c., one against thieves, and two amulets with celestial Seals, or those of the spirits who were to protect the wearer of the amulets. They resemble the metal amulets of the time of Charles II., when mystical literature flourished extensively in England.

Bound up with this Ms., which is in my possession, is part of Coley's Almanack for the year 1691 with "The first Rudiments of Astrology in Memorial Verses."

These are the charms :—

(1) How to make a woman follow thee.

Write your name and the name of the maide in anny leafe with the Blood of a white henn and touch her with it and shee will follow thee.

(2) Annother way.

Take the Blood of a bat and write in thy hand with it g:h:b:m: 2:b:d: And thou touch her therwith.

---

(3) Write In an apple these three names

Aatnell: Loliell: Clotiell:

And after say I Conjure thee apple by these three names that what woman so ever eats of thee shee may soe Remaine In my Love that she take no rest

Donec uoluntatem mea afervile.

---

(4) How for to know a womans Councill.

Take virgine wax and write theron these words + lacus + stratus + Dromedus + Frigius. And when shee sleppeth put it betweene her breasts and shee will shew thee all her meaneing

---

(5) Write these words in uirgins wax and aske what thou wilt of anny one and it shalbee giuen thee

[illegible]

---

(6) Uerum: Iff it bee put into watter all the fish will com to it: Iff a man Bear yt about him hee shall not bee hurt of hys Enemy: Iff anny thing bee stolen let him that is suspected bee touched with it and Iff hee bee guilty he will say hould I haue it.

It must bee gatherd in may may (*sic*) on munday befor the feast of holly Cross.

---

(7) The holly ghost Bless us now and ever mor amen.

I Bequeath thys place all about and all my goods within and without to the Blessed trinity that one god and three persons to all Christs Apostles to all Angells Archangells Chirubims and Seraphimes: I Bequeath this place all about and my goods to Jesus Christ and to saint John the Euangelist that was that true deciple that noe theeues away take But keepe holy for our Blessed Ladyes St: maryes Sake that not from hence no theeues feet goe but keepe them hear still O Blessed trinity through the uertue of thy godhead that Created heaven and earth And all things Contained therin: and By the uertue of hys powerfull passion that hee suffered in his manhood for our Redeeption: and by his holly name Jesus and by all the holly names of god that are to be spoken and that are not to be spoken: and by the name that is aboue all names wherwith god Created all things: And by the uertue of his Body in forme of bread: And by uertue of euery mass that hath beene saide both more and less: And by the uertuouse worlds stones and grass: By all the names aboue rehersed: I charg youe euery one and the four Euangelists Mathew: mark: Luke: and John: By all the mightye powers of god by the gloryouse Ascention of our Lord Jesus Christ By all the names and miracles of the apostles martyrs

Confessours uirgins I Charge youe for to keepe him or them hear still: I Charge youe seaven plannets

: ♄ : ♃ : ♂ : ☉ : ♀ : ☿ : ☽

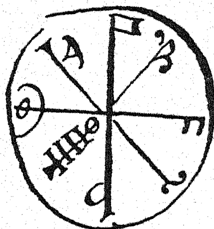
I Charg the the twelfe Signes:

: ♈ : ♉ : ♊ : ♋ : ♌ : ♍ ♎ : ♏ : ♐ :

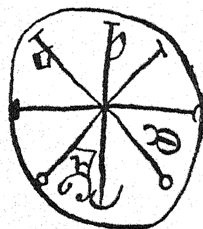
♑ : ♒ : ♓

I Charg you all hear to keepe (him) or them still By the miracles of god and of hys apostles and of all holly martyres: by the uirginitie of our blessed Lady and uirginities of all other uirgins that they pass no foot untill they haue told euery stone in the way and euery watter drop that drops in the sea. I pray youe all that It bee soe and that you binde them hear asdid St. Barthallamew the deuill with an haire of hys beard theeues. theeues. theeues. theeues.

Stand by the uertue of the blessed trinity and by all the uertues before Rehersed: And by the uertue of the passion of Christ by his death and buryall and his upriseinge and Ascention and by his Comming at the dreadfull day of Judgement to Judge both the Quicke and the dead allso I bind youe by the dreadfull name of god tetra gramation untill to morrow that I Com to speake with him or them hear or ther untill I Liscence them to goe their way: I Charg youe all aforesaid that it bee soe by the uertue of the Blessed trinity the Lord of might: Amen.



(8) Whoso hath this figure about him let him fear no foe but fear God.



(9) Whoso hath this about him all spirits shall do him homage.

M. Gaster.

CORRESPONDENCE.

How Far is the Lore of the Folk Racial?

How far can we use the lore of the folk for ethnological and racial analysis?

It is only in comparatively recent times that the question has arisen explicitly. Effective folklore studies started from the survey of local, regional, or, at widest, assumed racial groupings of mankind. The first glimmerings of folklore as a separate field of study go back to the sixteenth century, to the period when, as a result of the long and complex processes styled Renaissance and Reform, the lore of the folk really became differentiated from that of the cultured classes, a differentiation which has increased ever more and more until the present day, when in so many countries the folk has largely lost its old traditional lore without acquiring the culture of advanced civilisation. The definite organisation of folklore study is due to the Grimms in the early years of the nineteenth century. During the first portion of the intervening period, the most important and valuable collection of folklore material was made by the Danish antiquaries of the 16th-17th centuries, who published the ballads, *i.e.* the narrative poetry, partly dramatic and partly lyrical in form and spirit, still current in the Danish area; this popular poetry was regarded as being essentially a product of the Danish people, the exponent of its emotions and feelings, a reflex of the historic conditions through which it had passed. Toward the close of the period, the alleged Celtic traditional poetry made known by Macpherson was universally hailed as a genuine revelation of the Celtic race, as an interpretation of its inmost individuality. But a short while later

Herder essayed in his *Stimmen der Völker* to elaborate a racial psychology on the basis of material for the most part of a popular nature. The essay was brilliant but premature, as the material at Herder's disposal was both fragmentary and insufficiently analysed. None the less his influence was wide and stimulating, and he may truly be regarded as one of the founders of our study. After a few more years the brothers Jacob and William Grimm,—but especially Jacob,—by their labours constituted folklore an independent branch of study with aims and methods of its own. Now Jacob Grimm was essentially a historian; he always sought to replace every fact he studied in its historic setting, to determine its historic relations, and to utilise it for a constructive view of historical development. A right and sound decision led him to work thoroughly a definite linguistic or racial area. Inevitably, however, the view of folklore which resulted and which prevailed among his followers was that of something distinctive, specifically characteristic of particular linguistic or racial groups. Inevitably also the significance of the lore of the folk as indicative of racial psychology was enhanced; its essentially archaic, primitive nature invested it with weightier import than those other elements of the more advanced culture, the alien, borrowed nature of which was so evident. Teutondom,—for it was in connection with the Teutonic group that the implications of folklore study first became manifest,—might have taken its religious organisation wholly, its political and juridical organisation largely, and its higher artistic culture to a great extent, from Rome; the lore of its folk was a thing of its very self, blood of its blood and soul of its soul.

This conception must undoubtedly have been speedily modified by the rapid advance of knowledge, and the consequent appreciation of the marked kinship of the lore of the folk throughout the European area, but for the fact that this advance coincided with the development of the studies of comparative philology and mythology, and with the consequent recognition of Aryan or Indo-Germanic unity. The results of the humbler study fell into line with those of the more influential academic sisters; *they* demonstrated the unity of Aryan speech and myth, and *she* that of popular fancy and belief. The tendency was fortified by the fact that up to then it was the artistic aspect of the lore

of the folk, its output in story, legend, song, and saying, that had attracted most attention. Of the basic works of the new science, the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, the *Deutsche Mythologie* on its literary side, and the *Deutsche Sagen* had hundreds of readers and disciples to every one of the *Deutsche Weisthümer*. But the lore of the folk, from this point of view, has close connection with the subject-matter of philology and mythology; little wonder if the students of all three were guided by the same dominating conceptions.

Again advancing knowledge broke down the conception and shifted the point of view. The Aryan unity was transcended, yet still the kinship of the lore of the folk manifested itself. German and English scholars alike brought in a rich garner of facts from outside the Aryan area; English scholars first sought to determine the import of these facts, and first essayed, in recent times, to treat the lore of the folk from a cultural rather than from a historico-racial standpoint. The significance of a similar attempt made in the previous century became then apparent. This attempt had been made, as was natural, in France, for the French intelligence may be defined as algebraic in essence,—it perceives facts stripped of their contingent and accidental properties, and conceives of them schematically. By nature the French mind is synthetic, and was thus well fitted to consider the elements of the lore of the folk apart from their local manifestations, and to work them into a philosophical scheme. It was the cultural psychology of the lore of the folk that Fontenelle and De Brosses had in view, and not, like Herder, a racial psychology. Their syntheses failed, like his, because, like his, they were premature and were based upon fragmentary and imperfectly analysed material. Whereas Herder inspired and strengthened his own and the succeeding generation of folklorists, the work of the French scholars lay infertile for over a century. It was necessary that the science of folklore should first constitute itself upon a local, a racial basis, before its universally human elements could be appreciated at their true value.

The new tendency in folklore study which began to manifest itself in the sixties of last century was strengthened by the labours of Mannhardt. With him the stress was shifted from the artistic

to the ritual side of the study; not what the folk feigned in saga and song, but what it wrought in rite and practice, attracted his attention and that of his followers. It was precisely these elements that proved susceptible of fertile comparison with the extra-Aryan material revealed by Waitz, Bastian, Tylor, and McLennan. As far as myth and legend and saying were concerned, the Aryan unity had shown itself, practically speaking, self-sufficient; what savage material was adduced in comparison was possibly derivative and, in any case, brought little fresh light. It was far otherwise with rite and practice, and the animating principles which underlie them; it soon became obvious that here comparison was both illuminating and fertile.

Thus, in the first half century since our study became major and self-conscious, say since 1813, it marched in the wake of Aryan comparative philology and mythology; it isolated and emphasised racial differences. In the second half century,—Dr. Tylor's works marking the dividing stage,—its tendency has been more and more to march in the wake of comparative anthropology, to consider the facts from the standpoint of culture stratification rather than as factors in distinctive historical and racial developments. Whilst the earlier folklorists may be criticised for isolating the lores of the folk, say of England, Germany, and France, as distinct, independent, and self-contained entities, (a tendency which survives in full force among the non-folklorist public!), the very opposite criticism may be passed upon his anthropological successor; *he* may be taxed with considering the facts, in his method of research at all events, "out of space, out of time," and some critics have hinted that the result of the method of "wild" is certainly *not* "sublime"!

The question of racial elements in the lore of the folk attracted me from the earliest stages of my interest in the subject, coæval with the foundation of our Society. From the beginning, too, I felt that this question could nowhere be studied with greater chance of success than in Britain. Thanks to our insular position, the facts of historic superposition and mutual influence of different races are far more clearly established than in other European lands where the shock of races and cultures has been longer, more intense, and more obscure. It early became evident to me that under a common designation were comprehended

elements derived from culture strata differing greatly in origin and date, and that forgetfulness of this fact accounted for much of the controversy between the different schools. Those elements upon which the researches of Mannhardt and his followers had concentrated attention, elements the significance and import of which had received so much illumination from comparison with the beliefs and rites of contemporary savage peoples, seemed to me to stand outside, nay, almost to ante-date, any racial groupings of which we have historic knowledge, to belong to an archaic stratum of thought and practice through which every people that has reached a certain stage of culture has passed almost forcedly, and to constitute the oldest and most widely-spread of religions. We cannot, I think, use elements of this kind for discriminating Celt from Teuton, or either from the pre-Aryan folk they are assumed to have subjugated, for this ancient religion was, I believe, common, in substance, to all alike. But, where the lore of the folk embodies survivals of economic, social, and political practices known to have been current among the organised communities, Celtic or Teutonic, occupying portions of these islands, it may yield useful clues respecting the distribution and development of such communities, clues all the more useful as they are not infrequently our only source of detailed knowledge. Yet we must recognise that here the part of folklore is that of a subordinate auxiliary of historic record; we require the latter to supply a framework into which we can fit the details furnished by the former. In the absence of such a framework, deductions based upon the lore of the folk alone would be insecure. Could we, for instance, safely infer from it the Scandinavian settlements of the 9th–11th centuries in Britain? The answer must be in the negative; none the less is the testimony precious for filling in many gaps where historic record leaves us in the lurch.

So far I have considered the practical elements of the lore of the folk, whether derived from a pre-racial or a racial stratum. The case is different with the artistic elements; these are, as a rule, the outcome or exponent of the fancy, emotion, humour, and philosophy of a *people*, *i.e.* of a grouping constituted, at first at all events, upon a racial basis. The nature of this kind of popular lore is also largely conditioned by language, and language coincides

originally with race. Racial conflict may, it is true, disassociate the two by imposing the speech of the conqueror upon the conquered, but even in this case language furnishes valuable clues to racial grouping, for, where a subject race accepts the speech of its conqueror, it nearly always distorts it. If every historic record in the world were destroyed, a student examining the speech and, let me add, part of the lore of the negro population in America, could reconstruct something not too remote from historic reality. Moreover, these elements of the lore of the folk are, in a very special sense, the products of racial self-consciousness; they cling to, and perpetuate, bodies of belief and legend which require for their formulation and conservation the existence of a definitely-constituted class, priestly or bardic. It is in times of racial stress and shock that these bodies of belief and legend,—the racial mythology, the racial heroic saga,—emerge sharply, and identify themselves most closely with the racial consciousness. It is in the ranks of the class professionally charged with the preservation of myth and saga that the feeling of a distinct national individuality finds its most extreme and durable expression. Where the political chief may consent to temporise and to conciliate, the high priest, the chief bard, the man who has formulated and who embodies the national spirit in its most intense form, is all for a fight to the finish, and for the smiting hip and thigh of the racial foe. These organised classes,—priesthoods, saga-preserving corporations, or what not,—are furthermore gifted with great power of vitality; they survive the social conditions which gave them birth, and they outlive the communities of which they formed a vital organ and drag on their existence, maimed, it is true, and often underground, amid political, economical, and social surroundings which have altered entirely; and to the last gasp they cherish fragments of the lore it was once their glorious function to express and magnify.

Considerations such as these have always led me to seek for the remains of what is racially distinctive among the artistic rather than among the practical elements of the lore of the folk.

Alfred Nutt.

Heredity and Tradition.

The correspondence which recently appeared in *The Times* under this heading deserves the attention of folklorists, and, as the folklore side of the question was not touched upon before the correspondence closed, it will not perhaps be considered out of place if I shortly state what the position of folklore is on this important point. The fact that it has arrived at a stage when it can contribute something to what pure science has said, is not without significance to the progress of our study.

In my book on *Folklore as an Historical Science*, published two years ago, I introduced a chapter on "the psychological conditions," and ventured upon the theory of the continuity of tradition being due to environment. The facts of tradition are sufficiently startling to need some scientific basis to account for them. We have a primitive thought prevalent among savage people side by side with its parallel obtaining amongst the villagers of a civilized country, and it is not enough to say that the latter is a mere survival from a far-off period when these villagers were on a level of culture with the savage. The "amazing toughness of tradition" is of course recognized by all folklorists, but to account for its prolonged persistence requires something more than the mere quality of toughness. This something more is, I venture to think, the important influence of environment. Anthropologists generally have neglected this influence, or at all events have not formulated its position. And yet it is apparent in all recent research. Two notable examples of this are Dr. Frazer's recently published *Totemism and Exogamy* and Mr. Hartland's *Primitive Paternity*. Totemism in its earliest stage is clearly not due to formulated theories of social organization; paternity, as originally conceived, is clearly due to the enormous influence of environment upon the sensitive organs of observation which man has always possessed. But these conceptions, carried through the ages, get repeated at different stages of culture whenever environment operates upon similarly constituted minds. Little groups of isolated members of civilized nations, groups of backward intellect, individuals incapable of receiving the advancing culture of their times, recede from the higher

environment and fall back upon the lower. Their intellects or their limited opportunities are thus operated upon by the same outside influences as operated upon their savage or primitive ancestors, and thus produce the same results or continue the same ideas.

Superstition is not always inherited. It is also created. Thus, as I pointed out in my book, when the Suffolk peasant set himself to work to account for the origin of the so-called "pudding stone" conglomerate, and decided that it was a mother stone and the parent of the pebbles,[1] he was beginning a first treatise on geology in the terms of his environment. A child thinks and acts in terms of his nursery, his school, or his playground, and the grown-ups think in the terms of their family, their farm, or other industry. When this thought is shut out from the influence of science, it harps back to the primitive, reproducing an existing idea with which it can most easily assimilate, or formulating a new idea on precisely the old lines.

I do not know whether I have succeeded in making my meaning clear, but the conclusion I have come to, as a student of folk-lore, is that the impressions of the surrounding life have not been sufficiently regarded in their influence upon primitive thought, and this neglect of a very important factor in anthropological science has prevented us from seeing that tradition is an external product operating on the human mind, instead of an inheritance from folk-memory.

G. Laurence Gomme.

[1] *County Folklore*, vol. i., 2 (*Suffolk*), p. 2.

The Antiquity of Abbot's Bromley.

(*Ante*, p. 27.)

The village of Bromley, Staffordshire, can be traced back into the tenth century, some years earlier than the date given by Miss Burne. In 993 Ethelred II. gave it to one Wulfric, who is no doubt identical with Wulfric "Spot," whose gift of it to Burton

Abbey in 1002 Miss Burne mentions. Ethelred's charter has not been printed, but it is mentioned in the second volume of the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission.

University College, Reading. F. M. Stenton.

Burial of Amputated Limbs.

(*Ante*, p. 105.)

The following extract is from the *Sun* newspaper of March 3rd, 1799:—

"The Sexton of a Parish Church in Shropshire lately established a curious kind of apportionment; he insisted upon a poor man, who had lost its leg by amputation, paying sixteen pence for burying it. The Pauper appealed to the Rector, who said that he could not relieve him in the present case; but he would consider it in his fees when the *remainder of his body* came to be buried."

A. R. Wright.

Crosses Cut in Turf after Fatal Accidents.

Winkworth Hollow near Hascombe (Surrey) is a long steep hill, the scene of many bad accidents. A cross is kept cut in the road-side turf to mark the spot where a carter was killed about eighteen years ago. Another large cross is cut in Hascombe Park, where a man was killed by a tree falling off his timber-cart; this also happened in L. B.'s childhood,—(my informant L. B. is now aged about 25),—and made a deep impression on all the neighbours. Is this a regular custom of the south of England?

At Kennington, near Oxford, in August, 1901, a boy took me to see a cross cut in the roadside turf, half-way between Kennington and Bagley Wood; here a man had been run over by a timber-cart; the boy said that the roadmenders cut the cross afresh every year, and he seemed to regard it as a very impressive memorial. There is a cross cut on the eastern face of Pyrford

Stone in Surrey, and a working-man (not a native of Pyrford), said that he supposed for that reason that the stone must have been set up for some man that had been killed.

Potter's Croft, Woking. BARBARA FREIRE-MARRECO.

A SPITTING CURE.

On Wednesday, June 22nd, 1910, I was travelling in a third-class carriage from Spandau to Berlin in the company of a man, his wife, and their son and little girl. The man was seized with some kind of fit, foamed at the mouth, and made motions towards the door. I helped the wife to hold him, and she asked me if I had ever seen *die Krämpfe* before. On my replying in the negative, she begged me to spit three times in his face. Her hysterical condition finally compelled me, with some natural reluctance, to comply. Though by no means satisfied with my readiness or the vigour of the performance, the good lady was quieted, and the fit passed. She subsequently confided to me that a friend of a friend of hers had been subject to fits, but that someone who had never seen *die Krämpfe* spat three times in his face while the fit was on him, and he was cured for life.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

A SURREY BIRCH-BROOM CUSTOM.

At Great Bookham in Surrey I saw recently an ordinary birch-broom sticking out from the chimney of a cottage, and enquired the reason. I was told that the neighbours had put it there because the man's wife had gone away on a visit, and "he was left on his own." No further explanation could be obtained, except that it was always done in such a case. The broom was placed in the chimney in the night-time, handle downwards.

GEO. THATCHER.

Liverpool Rd., Kingston-on-Thames.

REVIEWS.

TOTEMISM AND EXOGAMY. A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society. By J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., etc. 4 vols. Macmillan, 1910. 8vo, pp. xix + 579, vii + 640, vii + 583, iii + 378. Maps.

IN 1887 appeared a modest little treatise on totemism; the author was J. G. Frazer. It is safe to say that he little imagined that in less than twenty-five years four large volumes, nearly two thousand two hundred pages, would be needed to contain his materials and speculations on the same subject. And even now the materials, as the author himself knows better than anyone, are far from exhausted.

The work falls roughly into three portions: firstly, reprints of the early treatise on totemism, with certain later articles on the Australian facts that have come to light in the last dozen years; secondly, an ethnographical survey of totemism, much of it material hitherto unpublished, occupying two and a half volumes; and, thirdly, a discussion of origins and criticism of previous theories, occupying half the fourth volume, the rest of which is devoted to notes and addenda.

The problems which Dr. Frazer sets himself are two—firstly, to determine the origin of totemism; and, secondly, that of exogamy, for in the present work he recants his first view that exogamy is an essential part of totemism, and does so on the ground of the evidence from Central Australia.

Briefly stated, the two theories put forward by the author are as follows: (1), Totemism was originally a primitive theory of conception; ignorance of the facts of procreation led a pregnant woman to imagine that her condition should be attributed to something

which she saw at the moment when she first became aware that she was to bear a child, and to believe that the object, whatever it was, actually entered her body and then came into the world again, the same but transformed into the semblance of a human being. (2), Exogamy was instituted by the wise men of a tribe to guard against the evils which threatened the community from the practice of intermarriage between near relatives. These evils were not of a kind to appeal to the biologist; a superstition hitherto unrecorded by observers of primitive tribes, but possibly discoverable, caused man to believe that these evils would be caused by marriages between near kin.

It is clear that a good deal turns upon the validity of Dr. Frazer's belief that the Central Australian tribes are more primitive as regards totemism and exogamy than any other. If their totemism was at one time hereditary and has ceased to be so, it is permissible to suppose that their theories of conception, which hang so closely together with their totemism, have also undergone changes, possibly fundamental.

Now it appears to be a well-established fact that, although the totem kins of the Arunta are not at the present day so arranged that each kin lies wholly within one moiety, or class, of the tribe, yet the majority of members of any one kin do actually belong to a single moiety; how Dr. Frazer explains this we cannot tell, if indeed he admits the fact; but it is evident that some explanation is wanted, for the *primâ facie* reason for such a condition is that the totem kins were originally divided between the moieties, as in other tribes, but that these tribes were led to abandon the hereditary principle in totemism, while they retained it in the classes. Much has been written on the subject of Australian totemism and marriage customs, and Dr. Frazer may be well advised to avoid controversies in a work already bulky, but he cannot afford to neglect crucial points of this kind.

It is true that Dr. Frazer cites Dr. Rivers in support of his view that an even more primitive totemism is found in the Banks Islands than in Central Australia, and in the Banks Islands there appears to be no evidence that totems were ever hereditary; our author, therefore, may have felt himself to some extent absolved

from a rigorous examination of the Central Australian evidence. But there is much room for difference of opinion as to the Banks Islands evidence; for Dr. Rivers appears to state explicitly that what is believed to enter the woman is not a real animal or plant but some incorporeal phantasm of one; in fact, we do not know that the belief is not the same as that of the Arunta, and that what is incarnate is not a human spirit.

Although Dr. Frazer does not mention it, there is one point on which the totemism of the Central tribes of Australia differs markedly from that of the other totemic peoples, and it suggests that totemism elsewhere must have originated differently if the totemism of Central Australia has not been modified. Precisely how many totem kins there are among the Arunta is probably unknown; Strehlow gives a list of fifty-nine; Spencer and Gillen enumerate sixty-six. Now, in the south-eastern tribes, so far from finding a large number of totems, we find a very small one; eight or ten is the ordinary number, if we exclude multiplex totems. It is *primâ facie* highly improbable that the number of objects should be so small, if Dr. Frazer's theory of a conceptional origin is the correct one; if conceptional totemism ever existed there, it must have been much modified. But this is not the only difference; plant totems are common in the centre and north, but almost unknown in the south-east. Why is this? If the eating of food or sight of an object was held to produce pregnancy, and from this belief arose totemism, plants, which women rather than men would collect for food, should surely provide as many totems as the animal kingdom!

Admitting, however, Dr. Frazer's premises, is he right in tracing hereditary totemism to this source? The crux of the situation is evidently to explain how the hereditary principle was introduced; and here Dr. Frazer has little guidance to give us.

The American view of the origin of totemism is that it was developed from the personal totem. Dr. Frazer objects to this that (1) personal totems are rare in Australia, (but on this point see Mrs. Langloh Parker), and (2) many totem kins reckon descent in the female line, and that the personal totems of women are unimportant. Admitting the latter fact, the answer is obvious: inheritance from the mother's brother will produce

precisely the same results as inheritance from the mother, and it is by no means a rare type of succession.

Now, when Dr. Frazer comes to explain how totems, caused as he suggests, became hereditary, he has little difficulty in showing that community of interests bind a man and his children, especially his sons, together; but it is by no means apparent why a mother should desire to hand on her totem to her children. Dr. Frazer, in giving this desire of the mother as the only explanation, appears therefore to pass too easily over a crucial point. Holding, as he does, that the classes in some cases preceded hereditary totems, it is perhaps singular that our author has not suggested that the totem became hereditary in matrilineal tribes on the analogy of the classes, for the female descent of which a reason can more readily be given.

As to the origin of exogamy, we have already seen that Dr. Frazer is no more explicit than as to the origin of the hereditary principle of totemism in matrilineal tribes. There are many other debateable points in his discussion of exogamy, but only a few can be selected. On some points the author's views have clearly undergone fluctuations.

In Dr. Frazer's final statement of his theory exogamy originates because the community thinks that sexual unions between near kin are hurtful and injurious to the common weal; on p. 109, however, he speaks of the germ of exogamy as a dread or aversion to sexual unions *with* certain persons,—an entirely different view, which is rejected on p. 155.

Again, it is pointed out repeatedly that exogamy prevents the marriage, not only of consanguineous relatives, but also of tribal kinsmen bearing the same terms of relationship. In the text of volume i. the author makes these classificatory relationships the primary ones; in a note in the last volume, however, he modifies this view, and explains that the simplest consanguineous relationships were known to the authors of exogamy, who extended them into the classificatory system.

Now, in view of the fact that Dr. Frazer maintains, (vol. i., pp. 399 *et seq.*), with some emphasis that the object of exogamy was to prevent the marriage between tribal relatives, this is a rather surprising *volte-face*; for, according to the author's later view,

there were no tribal relatives until the classificatory system was set up by the inventors of exogamy. Clearly, when he propounds his suggestion of the origin of exogamy,—public ills caused by the marriage of near kin,—Dr. Frazer means the marriage of consanguineous people in our sense; for *ex hypothesi* there was nothing to distinguish the tribal relatives-to-be who were later to be forbidden to marry from those who were to be allowed to marry. Why, then, was the cumbrous machinery of exogamous classes introduced?

This raises the questions, what is in fact the effect of exogamy in a two-class tribe, and how far do Dr. Frazer's theories meet the case? The answer to the first question is that all tribes forbid brother and sister marriage; some forbid the union of mother and son, and others that of father and daughter, according to whether they are matrilineal or patrilineal.

Now, if, as Dr. Frazer argues, it was consanguinity which made certain unions objectionable, it is inconceivable that the authors of exogamy should not have everywhere barred unions between mother and son, at a time when, according to Dr. Frazer's view, fatherhood was not recognised (p. 127), and the whole tribe cohabited promiscuously, so that it was impossible to name the father of a child. It is inexplicable that patrilineal descent should have appeared at all.

Clearly, what it was desired to prevent, if the fundamental view was everywhere the same, as Dr. Frazer maintains (p. 43), and if exogamy was due to legislation, was the union of brother and sister. But, even if the forbidden women included a man's mother, it would presumably be far easier to make a man carry his own family tree (cf. p. 113) in his head, than to teach him that the tribe was henceforth divided into exogamous moieties. The number of forbidden women would seldom exceed four, if present-day tribes are any guide; and, as Dr. Frazer accepts the myth that the totem kins were endogamous, the possible field for each individual would be one or two women at a high estimate, perhaps none at all; and it was to forbid these rare and easily preventable marriages that exogamy was called into existence!

Once more, Dr. Frazer argues that the totems were in some

cases hereditary before exogamy arose,—and this is, indeed, the most probable explanation of how totem kins are ranged on one side or the other,—but we may ask why create moieties at all, when in matrilineal tribes all consanguineous marriages would be equally well barred by totemic exogamy? Dr. Frazer speaks of the burdensome rule of the class; and the burden was laid on their shoulders unnecessarily. Is it probable that this should have been done all over the world?

Is it probable that all the world should have agreed to arrange hereditary kins on one side or the other, if, as Dr. Frazer suggests (p. 128), this arrangement is only accidental?

Dr. Frazer has failed to deal with evidence that goes against his views. Firstly, it is recorded that in the Urabunna tribe the exogamous law takes the form of a decree that members of one totem kin shall be restricted in their choice to one single totem kin in the other class. As a tribe which practises what Dr. Frazer regards as group marriage, (though reasons, which he does not combat, have been urged against this view), the Urabunna are, in our author's view, one of the primitive tribes of the centre. How does it come that with them the class counts for nothing and the kin for everything in exogamy? Why was the class called into existence? Secondly, from the time of Ridley onwards so-called irregular marriages have been reported from Australia, *i.e.* marriages in which a man goes outside his proper sub-class or even class. Dr. Frazer absolutely ignores these, except in his account of the tribe, but it is far from being an isolated phenomenon, and must be reckoned with in propounding a theory dealing with Australian matrimonial institutions.

On certain points Dr. Frazer's assertions are too absolute, and a negative can either be proved or made probable.

Dr. Frazer affirms his belief that exogamy everywhere arose in the same way. On this point some Nigerian evidence is of interest. The people of the Wefa country are divided into two great exogamous groups, Ego̩ and Atzikia; traditionally these arose when Sobo immigrants took possession of the country, and they were formed as a result of the ordinary marriage rule that a man may not marry in his father's family. (I hope to set out the matter at length shortly.) Now I have reason to believe that

their traditions as to their migration are historically accurate; *primâ facie*, therefore, so is their account of the origin of their system of exogamy. If that is so, exogamy is of more than one kind, for there is no question here of exogamous classes being evolved by lawgivers as a refuge from promiscuity.

This brings me to another point on which Nigerian facts are against Dr. Frazer. We are told (p. 135) that the system of kinship of totemic peoples is always classificatory; the Edo (Bini) are totemistic; but their kinship system is descriptive; my father's brother is called my father's father's son, and so on.

On certain points Dr. Frazer seems to go astray entirely. There is a strange statement (i. p. 248) that "segregating of the two moieties locally from one another (in Australia) was to secure that the men and women who were forbidden to each other should not normally meet." What the author has in view I cannot conceive; for the fact is that, if men of one moiety marry women of the other, segregation up to the time of the marriage keeps apart those who should marry and keeps together those who should not marry.

A note (p. 244) on the change from the maternal to the paternal line contains another curious statement. Dr. Frazer supposes that wives were purchased in order that their children might be the heirs of the husband; that is correct; but he goes on to say that the rule of inheritance would be changed "by compensating those who under a system of mother kin would have been the rightful heirs." But the bride price is paid to the *woman's* family, and a man's heirs under mother kin are his *sister's* children; are the sister's children compensated if their mother's brother purchases a wife?

A minor slip, which should, however, be noted, is the identification (iii. p. 403) of the Musquakie, who are Algonquins, with the Muscogee or Creek Indians.

It will readily be imagined that this brief review does not exhaust all points of interest in Dr. Frazer's great work; an adequate discussion, even of the problems, would demand a whole number of *Folk-Lore*, and even then the collection of material would remain untouched. One is accustomed to get so much from Dr. Frazer that, when he glides lightly over points of

difficulty, we feel disappointed of our due. However that may be, all will yield their tribute of admiration and thanks for the splendid corpus of material brought together by the author's unwearied industry.

N. W. THOMAS.

IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY. VOL. VII. DUANAIRE FINN. The Book of the Lays of Fionn. Part I. Irish Text, with Translation into English by EOIN MACNEILL. Nutt, 1908. 8vo, pp. lxv + 208.

THIS volume contains part of the oldest extant Ms. written in Ireland, consisting solely of pieces belonging to the Ossianic cycle of which Finn mac Cumhail, his son Oisín, his grandson Oscar, his nephews Diarmaid and Caoilte, and his rival Goll are the chief personages. It dates from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. A certain number of the pieces are known from much earlier Mss., *e.g.* No. XIII (The Headless Phantoms) is found in the twelfth century Book of Leinster, and the chief prose text of the cycle, the *Agallamh na Senorach*, found in the Ms. in an imperfect form, is extant in Mss. older by one hundred and fifty to two hundred years. But Captain Sorley Macdonnell, for whom the collection was transcribed, and his scribes seem to have been the first compilers of a *Corpus Ossianicum.* For the well-known Scotch Gaelic Ms., the Book of the Dean of Lismore, which antedates the Macdonnell collection by about a century, is only partially made up of Ossianic pieces.

The fashion set by the Macdonnell Ms. in bringing together a number of *metrical* pieces,—(it is these alone which Mr. John MacNeill has edited and translated),—representing more or less all the phases of the cycle, was to be eagerly followed. From thence onward the number of Irish Mss. containing narrative Ossianic poetry steadily grows throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But in the majority of these the poems are in the new and freer metrical system which first made its appearance in the Scotch section of Gaeldom in the sixteenth

century, whereas the poems in the Macdonnell Ms. are all in the formal mediæval metres, and thus approve themselves products of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries at latest.

I do not propose to discuss the poems edited and translated by Mr. MacNeill, as the present volume contains only about half of the Macdonnell collection, and discussion is best reserved until all the poems are accessible. I will only re-emphasise the distinction which, over twenty years ago, I drew in vol. 25 of the Folk-Lore Society's publications (*Gaelic Folk-Tales*) between the verse and prose presentments of the Ossianic stories. The difference is not alone one of tone and style,—the content and *personnel* of the stories, the choice of incidents, the importance of themes, and the characterisation of personages vary in a most marked degree. To some, but a far slighter, extent, the Arthurian cycle offers a parallel. The Arthurian matter found in the Middle-English poems which Miss Weston has grouped together under the title "The Gest of Sir Gawayne" differs markedly from that found in Malory.

I would also call the attention of lovers of fine literature to the remarkable quality of many of these poems, which can be fully appreciated in Mr. MacNeill's admirable version. I would especially signal out No. V, Oisin's lament; No. XXXIII, Grainne's Sleep-song for Diarmaid; No. X, Goll's Parting with his Wife. Here is poetry, exalted in sentiment, poignant in expression.

In addition to his work as editor and translator, Mr. MacNeill has in his Introduction propounded a new, ingenious, and interesting theory concerning the origin and nature of the Ossianic literature, which deserves close attention from students of traditional romance, as will, I trust, be apparent from the following outline and comment.

In texts which go back to the eleventh century at the latest, the deeds of Finn and his warrior clan are worked into a traditional account of Irish history in the third century A.D. which assumed substantially its extant form not later than the ninth century. The thread of the cycle is a feud between the kin of Finn and the Milesian High Kings of Tara; Finn weds Grainne, daughter of Cormac of Tara, and Oscar and Cairbre, Cormac's

difficulty, we feel disappointed of our due. However that may be, all will yield their tribute of admiration and thanks for the splendid corpus of material brought together by the author's unwearied industry.

N. W. THOMAS.

IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY. VOL. VII. DUANAIRE FINN. The Book of the Lays of Fionn. Part I. Irish Text, with Translation into English by EOIN MACNEILL. Nutt, 1908. 8vo, pp. lxv + 208.

THIS volume contains part of the oldest extant Ms. written in Ireland, consisting solely of pieces belonging to the Ossianic cycle of which Finn mac Cumhail, his son Oisín, his grandson Oscar, his nephews Diarmaid and Caoilte, and his rival Goll are the chief personages. It dates from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. A certain number of the pieces are known from much earlier Mss., *e.g.* No. XIII (The Headless Phantoms) is found in the twelfth century Book of Leinster, and the chief prose text of the cycle, the *Agallamh na Senorach*, found in the Ms. in an imperfect form, is extant in Mss. older by one hundred and fifty to two hundred years. But Captain Sorley Macdonnell, for whom the collection was transcribed, and his scribes seem to have been the first compilers of a *Corpus Ossianicum.* For the well-known Scotch Gaelic Ms., the Book of the Dean of Lismore, which antedates the Macdonnell collection by about a century, is only partially made up of Ossianic pieces.

The fashion set by the Macdonnell Ms. in bringing together a number of *metrical* pieces,—(it is these alone which Mr. John MacNeill has edited and translated),—representing more or less all the phases of the cycle, was to be eagerly followed. From thence onward the number of Irish Mss. containing narrative Ossianic poetry steadily grows throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But in the majority of these the poems are in the new and freer metrical system which first made its appearance in the Scotch section of Gaeldom in the sixteenth

century, whereas the poems in the Macdonnell Ms. are all in the formal mediæval metres, and thus approve themselves products of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries at latest.

I do not propose to discuss the poems edited and translated by Mr. MacNeill, as the present volume contains only about half of the Macdonnell collection, and discussion is best reserved until all the poems are accessible. I will only re-emphasise the distinction which, over twenty years ago, I drew in vol. 25 of the Folk-Lore Society's publications (*Gaelic Folk-Tales*) between the verse and prose presentments of the Ossianic stories. The difference is not alone one of tone and style,—the content and *personnel* of the stories, the choice of incidents, the importance of themes, and the characterisation of personages vary in a most marked degree. To some, but a far slighter, extent, the Arthurian cycle offers a parallel. The Arthurian matter found in the Middle-English poems which Miss Weston has grouped together under the title "The Gest of Sir Gawayne" differs markedly from that found in Malory.

I would also call the attention of lovers of fine literature to the remarkable quality of many of these poems, which can be fully appreciated in Mr. MacNeill's admirable version. I would especially signal out No. V, Oisin's lament; No. XXXIII, Grainne's Sleep-song for Diarmaid; No. X, Goll's Parting with his Wife. Here is poetry, exalted in sentiment, poignant in expression.

In addition to his work as editor and translator, Mr. MacNeill has in his Introduction propounded a new, ingenious, and interesting theory concerning the origin and nature of the Ossianic literature, which deserves close attention from students of traditional romance, as will, I trust, be apparent from the following outline and comment.

In texts which go back to the eleventh century at the latest, the deeds of Finn and his warrior clan are worked into a traditional account of Irish history in the third century A.D. which assumed substantially its extant form not later than the ninth century. The thread of the cycle is a feud between the kin of Finn and the Milesian High Kings of Tara; Finn weds Grainne, daughter of Cormac of Tara, and Oscar and Cairbre, Cormac's

son, fall at each other's hand in the battle of Gabhra, the Camlan of the Ossianic legend.

This traditional account is open to grave objections. A distinguishing feature of the cycle is the position assigned to the Fenian bands; these have the status of a semi-professional army, and are continually engaged in repelling the attacks of foreign invaders. No such state of things is known to have existed, or indeed, as far as foreign invasions are concerned, could have existed in third-century Ireland. This discrepancy between historic fact and the *données* of the cycle induced Professor Zimmer to assign the latter to the ninth century, the period of the Viking invasions. Mr. MacNeill's theory is different. He accepts as genuine the standing-army character of the Fenian bands; what he rejects as the fiction of a later age is the traditional history of the second-third century kings, Conn, Art, Cormac in the North, Eoghan, Ailill Olum in the South. According to him the saga of these chiefs is not that of settled dynasties with a background of regal status and descent covering centuries, as the chiefs of the seventh and eighth centuries fondly imagined, but of a period of conquest during which the major part of Ireland was subjected to the sway of Milesian kings ruling at Tara in the North and at Cashel in the South. The Milesian tribesmen were free men, and could only be called upon for short spells of military service,—a fortnight and a month, says one text. But amongst the peoples subjugated by the Milesian chiefs were fighting races. Upon these the chiefs laid the burden of permanent liability to military service; thanks to the standing armies thus evolved they were able to dominate all Ireland, and establish the political system known to us from texts of the seventh century onward. Early in the fourth century Milesian supremacy crystallised round the two centres of Tara and Cashel; the institution of *fian*-ship, the standing army organisation of the subject races, died away with the conquest period which had given rise to it; the history of the second-third centuries was transformed in order to warrant the claims of long descent and settled rule put forward for the chiefs of the conquest.

For Mr. MacNeill the Ossianic cycle consists of the hero

legends of one of these subject races, more or less transformed when they were taken up by the Milesian story-tellers in order to fit them into the framework of pseudo-history elaborated by the Milesian bards and *ollamhs* with the object of glorifying the second-third century Milesian chiefs of the conquest. This admission into what may be styled the *official corpus* of story-telling took place, and could only take place, long after the first formation of the legends. So long as any trace of the subject status of the Fenian races subsisted, so long were their legends disdained by the free kinsmen of the Milesian kings. Moreover, the latter had learnt and eagerly appropriated the older heroic legends of Ulidia, the legends which centred round Conchobor and Cuchulainn, and it was a main object of the Milesian bards to forge genealogical links in a serried chain uniting the chiefs of Tara and Cashel with the mighty sons of Rudraighe who had held sway at Emain Macha.

It was not until, in the course of centuries, the distinction between the free and subject races of Ireland had become effaced in practice,—(it survived in theory until the final disappearance of the Irish school of genealogist antiquaries in the eighteenth century),—that Finn and Oscar could take their place by the side of Conchobor and Cuchulainn; and, to do so, their story must suffer a change. Originally the blood-feuds which supply a backbone to the cycle ran their tragic course wholly within the circle of the subject races; this would never do, and so the high-kings of Tara came to figure as protagonists in the story, which thus became worthy the recitation of courtly *ollamhs*.

Another set of historical circumstances helped to determine the final evolution of the cycle. For centuries there was strife between the Milesian chiefs of the North and the South, between the race of Conn and the race of Eoghan. For centuries the North held the advantage, though it was illusory rather than real. At length a time came when the chiefs of the South wrested the high kingship from those of the North. But Finn and his band had always belonged to the South rather than to the North, and the historical exigencies which, in their transformed saga, gave them the high kings of Tara as opponents could

not do away with the psychological exigency of all sagas, namely, that the opponent of the hero must be more or less of a villain. It was no discredit in the eyes of the southern bards that Cormac, the great wise king of northern legend, did not enjoy in the Ossianic tales that *beau rôle* which was his prerogative elsewhere. Rather were those bards minded to brighten the character of the warrior and to darken the character of the king.

Such, briefly sketched, is Mr. MacNeill's theory. It coincides with the views I expressed twenty years ago, in *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, in so far as it emphasises the part played in the final development of the cycle by the transference of the high-kingship from the northern kin of the Ui Neill to the southern kin of Brian of the Dalg Cais. It was, to some extant, anticipated by the late W. Larminie, who held the Fenian tales to be the product of people older than and alien to the Milesian Gael. But in its elaboration, in its founding upon historical, genealogical, and literary considerations, it is as original as it is remarkable. One of the literary considerations adduced by Mr. MacNeill is of special folklore interest. As we have seen, his theory postulates the doctoring of the Fenian legend to make it accord with Milesian pseudo-history. Now there exists a romantic tale, *The Boyish Exploits of Finn*, only preserved in a fifteenth century Ms., the content of which is partly the same as that of a pseudo-historical tract found in the eleventh-century Book of the Dun Cow. Twenty-nine years ago I compared these two texts in these pages (*Folk-Lore Record*, vol. iv.), and showed that the *Boyish Exploits* was essentially more archaic than the eleventh-century tract. Mr. MacNeill now claims the *Boyish Exploits* as the one surviving remnant of the Fenian saga before its contamination by the pseudo-history of the second-third centuries,—a claim which would throw it back to the eighth century at least. He maintains that it knows nothing of an established Milesian order, and that it is wholly concerned with feuds between rival divisions of the subject races. If he is correct, then my former contention is justified, and the *Boyish Exploits* is the oldest full presentment in the Celtic speech-area of the Expulsion and Return Formula, and, as such, a mythico-heroic document of the first importance.

A full criticism of Mr. MacNeill's theory would lead me too far. For one thing, it is presented in a tentative, fragmentary form that makes criticism difficult. Nowhere is there a clear statement respecting the historic movements postulated for the second-third centuries, nowhere a hint of the way in which the ethnological relations between the free and subject races or of both to the earlier Ulidians are conceived. Does Mr. MacNeill regard all three as Gael? But I may say at once that the theory strikes me as involving far too great a break with Irish tradition as extant from the seventh century onwards. Whilst prepared to regard the major part of Irish history prior to the fourth century Niall as being euhemerised and historicised heroic romance, I am not at present prepared to admit such a historico-literary process as Mr. MacNeill postulates. Further, with the best will in the world I cannot detect in the Fenian legends any trace of a "subject" or "servile" origin. On the contrary! The Fenian warriors are all very fine gentlemen,—gentlemen for whom warfare, the chase, and dalliance are the sole objects in life worth consideration.

Alfred Nutt.

Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae. Partim hactenus ineditae ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum recognovit prolegomenis notis indicibus instruxit. Carolus Plummer, A.M. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. 8vo. pp. cxcii + 273, 390.

Nowhere, perhaps, is the line of demarcation between the Pagan and Christian systems of thought reduced to narrower and more shadowy dimensions than in the history of early Celtic Christianity. If the settlement of the Christian faith in Ireland was a peaceful one, inviting few calls to what their early teachers called "red martyrdom," or the suffering of actual death for the faith, it was largely because the teachers of that faith were not missionaries coming from abroad, to whom the native customs and beliefs would at every point present antagonistic elements calling for complete uprooting and reversal, but men born and bred in the

same traditions and system of things, and clinging with all the strength of hereditary custom to the ancient ways in which they had grown up. The native traditions were as intimate a part of the texture of thought of the Celtic "Saints" or teachers as they were of the people whom they sought to instruct. Hence a transition that might, in the hands of foreign missionaries, have been attended with sharp collisions between the outlook of the teachers and that of the taught, went forward in Ireland with as little uprooting of native habits as possible. The liberal incorporation of old beliefs with the new was not a dangerous experiment, doubtfully acquiesced in by the religious leaders; it was an unconscious but universal result of their own native habits of life. The feeling of opposition between the old order and the new, such as we see symbolized in the hostility of the Druids to St. Patrick or in the parable of King Murtough and the Witch-Woman, though it was no doubt aroused occasionally, was rare and unusual. The worship of stream and well and fire and stone continued much as of old, only that it became associated with the name of some local hermit or abbot who had supplanted the original pagan deity of whose special cult it formed a part.

All this is fairly well understood, but the recent edition of the Latin Lives of the Irish Saints, the *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, by the Rev. Charles Plummer, presses the matter a step further. In reading these Lives it is impossible to resist the conclusion that he has himself come to, that several of the individual saints have incorporated into their actual life-story large elements derived from the traditions concerning some earlier pagan god or hero belonging to the district in which they settled. This may have happened frequently, but it is not always possible to trace the direct connection between the Christian saint and his pagan forerunner. This can, however, be done in the case of St. Molling of Ferns in Leinster. He is named Molling of Luachair on account, as his Irish pedigree tells us, of his three swift leaps which he took in clearing Luachair of Dega "when the spectres were after him."[1]

Now we find in two Irish secular tracts,—the "Colloquy of

[1] Irish Life, ed. by Whitley Stokes, pp. 14-16 (1906); *Silva Gadelica*, ed. by Standish H. O'Grady, vol. ii., Extracts III. (viii.).

the Ancients" and the "Borohme,"—that, in the time of Finn MacCumhaill, one of his followers, who hailed from identically the same district, Ross Broc in Leinster, was named Molling *luath* or "the Swift," on account of his athletic powers. It is evident that the Saint's cognomen is a corruption of that of his pagan predecessor, and that the characteristic quality of the one has been transferred to the other. But this is not all. The district of the pagan Molling *luath* was remarkable for a cascade which afforded relief to every disease, while the life of St. Molling specially associates him with the perambulation of this same watercourse, to which in his time and up to the fourteenth century or later the afflicted people of the surrounding country continued to resort for the cure of various ailments. Again, both the pagan and the Christian Molling were closely concerned with the remission of the heavy Leinster tribute known as The Borohme or "The Tribute" *par excellence*, and it is allowable to hope that, if there ever existed an actual St. Molling, (which we are sometimes tempted to doubt), some of the discreditable stories about this incident, as well as other wild tales told of him, have really been derived from the more ancient cycle of legends belonging to the pagan hero of the place. It seems likely that the confusions in St. Molling's genealogies arise out of the same cause. That a connection between the two Mollings was generally recognised is shown in the fact that Finn is said to have prophesied the coming of the saint while he was in the company of Molling *luath*, and on the very spot associated with both the namesakes.[2]

If we possessed a similar connecting link between St. Brigit and her great pagan prototype, the Triune Goddess of Wisdom or Poetry, Medicine, and Smithcraft, from whom she has evidently derived her fire attributes, we should no doubt find that the transition was equally simple; unfortunately, no evidence seems to be forthcoming to show that the cult of this goddess, (which seems to have been one of the most widespread Celtic pagan observances), was especially connected with Kildare, the settlement of the Christian Brigit; that is, if we except the perpetual

[2] Lat. Life, vol. ii., pp. 193-194; Introduction, pp. lxxxi.-lxxxii., and Notes; cf. *Silva Gadelica*, vol. i., pp. 152-3, 364-6; vol. ii., 168-169, 405-406.

fire kept up at Kildare and tended by forty virgins, which was evidently the relic of a local pagan cult. The local connection with Kildare is, however, in the case of this Saint almost a negligible matter; for the "Mary of the Gael," as she is frequently called, held a pre-eminent and universal position in Gaeldom as presiding genius of the hearth and protector of the homestead, and there can be little doubt that she owes this wide distinction to the incorporation of the older cult with her own more local fame.

Mr. Plummer lays special stress upon the similarity between the names of certain Irish saints and words meaning "fire" or "water." He derives the name of St. Aed of Ferns,—with its Latinized forms Aidus, Aedan, or Edanus; or with the prefix *mo* ("my"), and the diminutive *og* or *oc*, becoming Maedoc or Maedhog ("my little Aed"),—from the Irish *aed* ("fire"); or, again, St. Lasrian, better known with the endearing prefix *mo* as St. Molaise, the founder of the wealthy and powerful Abbey of Devenish on Lough Erne, whose name seems to be derived from an Irish word meaning a "little flame"; or St. Abban, whose name may have been confused with the Irish *abann* ("water"). The Editor considers that the fire or water legends ascribed to these saints may have been transferred from those belonging to some local solar or water deity. In the same way he connects the name Molua, ("my Lugh" or "Lugaid"), with the sun-god Lugh, and he sees in his life solar attributions. There is much probability in all this; nevertheless, it is a supposition that may be unduly pressed. No names are more common both in the secular and religious literature of Ireland than Aedh and Lugh, and it is as unnecessary to connect them, simply on that account, with any solar or other deity as it would be to connect every person bearing the name of Smith with one particular industry. In the career of many of these saints we get a curious combination of fire and water incidents. This is notably the case in the Brendan legend, for, though his whole career turns upon his marine exploits, his pre-eminence is symbolized by fire attributes. In truth, such marks of future greatness as can be shown forth by a flame issuing from the mouth or playing about the head of a famous child, or by a star falling into the bosom of its mother or

by globes of fire in her breasts, are too usual and widespread to be taken as anything more than general symbols of the future brilliance of a youth's career. They are poetic formulæ common to all literatures, Eastern as well as Western, and do not necessitate a definitely solar connection, though they generally accompany it.

Mr. Plummer has taken his material chiefly from two manuscripts which probably have a single source,—one in Marsh's Library, and the other in Trinity College, Dublin (marked E. 3. 11),—and from two Rawlinson Mss. in the Bodleian (Rawl. B. 485 and 505), of which one is a copy of the other. Many of these lives have not been published before, though a few of them have appeared among the great collections published by Colgan, Fleming, and the Bollandists. We can fancy with what admiration the devout and indefatigable Colgan would have regarded this work, representing the completion of his labours and the fulfilment of his aspirations; and also with what pain and horror he would have read the Editor's admirable introduction on the "Heathen folklore and mythology in the lives of Celtic Saints," in which over a hundred pages are devoted to the discussion of the solar and water elements in these lives, the cult of trees, stones, and other objects, the association of the saint with the heathen druid, charms, taboos, fairy elements, etc. Full as these biographies are of pagan admixture, they have yet undergone a careful and in many instances all too successful farcing and editing for the purposes of edification and for the due glorification of the Saint; and many of their wildest and most savage elements have been omitted or transformed into some milder and more acceptable mould. This can be clearly seen in comparing the Irish Life of St. Molling, edited by Whitley Stokes, with the Latin Life given in this book. The former is written in the crude folk-tale style, and is full of unpleasant incidents, many of which, such as the Saint's birthstory and the meeting with the leper, have either been greatly modified or omitted altogether in the Latin Life. This Saint seems to have been popularly regarded as a grotesque figure, about whom it was legitimate to create strange stories. His interview with the devil, upon which subject an ancient Irish poem is founded, his wild leaps over hills and into the clouds, the

coarse pleasantry of the leper and spectre incidents, his association with the Gobban *saer* (the typical pagan architect and builder of Irish imagination), who reappears in every successive age with the same joyous vitality, and the evident delight taken in Molling's sharp practice in his efforts to gain the remission of the Leinster tribute, all tend to show that he impersonates some traditional figure of the Til Eulenspiegel type. We note that Adamnan's name is not mentioned in the Latin Life, where the protesting opponent of St. Molling's tricky conduct is simply called *sanctus magus*, just as the Gobban *saer* appears in the same story as an *ingeniosus artifex* unnamed, which shows a creditable caution on the part of the clerical compiler.

A close study of these saints' lives in their various recensions, Latin and Irish, would form an instructive study in the development of the religious biography out of the popular folk-tale.

There is great diversity in the Lives, and a comparison with the corresponding Irish life is often interesting. As a rule the Irish Lives are simpler and more full of local and characteristic touches. They show a less fully developed sense of what is and what is not proper and dignified for a saint to do, and we thus get nearer to the actual daily life of the subjects of the biography. For instance, the Latin Life of Ciaran of Clonmacnois here printed offers suggestive points of comparison with the Irish Life printed by Whitley Stokes from the Book of Lismore. Even where the same incidents are retained, their arrangement is often different, and most of the more precise details are omitted. Such are the friendly participation of the youthful Prince Dermot, the then exiled heir to the throne of Tara, in the founding of Ciaran's monastery of Clonmacnois, or the charming story of the boy Ninnid begging a loan of the copy of St. Matthew's Gospel from which Ciaran was studying when both were students in the monastic school of Clonard. We would note the difficulty experienced by both compilers in fitting in the account of the arrival of merchants with "wine of Gaul," when the Saint stood in need of refreshment for his guests, with the necessity they also felt of obliging him to work a miracle for the purpose. Both had evidently found the realistic explanation in some earlier and more simple copy, and they fit it into different parts of their narrative,

with an evident hesitation both as to its propriety as a too mundane explanation, and as to how the conflicting accounts can be made to tally.

A further point in which the author of the Rawlinson text has "improved" on his predecessors is in his omission of the touching and evidently historic reminiscence of Ciaran's death found both in the Marsh's Library text and in the Irish version. No doubt he considered that the monk's very human shrinking from the "dread upward path" into the unknown was unbecoming in a saint. Probably also the dying man's impatient and contemptuous dismissal of his disciples' proposal to stay by his "relics," *i.e.* his dead bones, was unpleasing to the sentiment of a later age. On the other hand we find an addition made to the mention of the "hallowed fire" kept always burning at the monastery of St. Ciaran of Saighir which is instructive. In the Latin form it is developed into a Pascal fire, "et sanctus senex Kiaranus nolebat ignem alium in suo monasterio, nisi consecratum ignem a pascha usque ad pascha sine extinccione." It is likely that this ever-burning fire had, like St. Brigit's fire at Kildare, a more ancient origin than that of the monks of St. Ciaran's monastery. The transformation into a pascal fire has probably a parallel in the pascal fire at Tara (or Taillte) so confusedly spoken of in the Lives of St. Patrick.

To the general student the most important new matter in these volumes will probably be the two hitherto unpublished Lives of St. Brendan. The second of these lives, taken from a Bodleian Ms. (e. Musaeo iii.), sometime belonging to the Abbey of Valle Crucis in Denbighshire, shows many peculiarities, and is of special interest as being in the Editor's view the original from which was derived the Anglo-Norman poem published by F. Michel in 1878, and by Suchier three years previously. Taken along with the Latin and German texts published by Jubinal, Schröder, and Card. Moran, the Early English versions printed by Thomas Wright, the Irish Life from the Book of Lismore edited by Dr. Stokes, and the Anglo-Norman poems, students have now before them the larger part of the material available for the study of the Brendan legend. To Irish readers its chief interest will always lie in the meeting in it of an Eastern and a Western

element, and the discrimination of the native material from the foreign admixture with which it has undoubtedly become assimilated.

Mr. Plummer's introduction is so detailed and complete that it offers few points for comment. There is an accidental slip on p. clxvii. of "Genesis" for "Exodus," and on p. clxxxi. it may be remarked that the connection between fairies and angels has always retained its hold on the Irish mind, the fairies being popularly supposed to be the angels who fell with Lucifer. The Editor seems to lean to the popular theory that as a rule the chief came over first to Christianity, bringing his tribe or clan along with him. We have never seen sufficient reason for accepting the view that in Ireland the people accepted Christianity in masses,—we do not hear of the baptism of whole tribes together. In many cases, such as that of King Laery or King Murtough macErca, the prince was the most determined opponent to the new doctrine; in others, such as that of King Aedh, who gave a site for a church to St. Columcille within his royal fort of Derry, the church seems to have been admitted as a friendly experiment. In the larger number of cases the desire for learning seems to have been the lure which attracted the young chiefs, as it attracted the people, to the monastic schools, and there they imbibed Christian instruction. We hear of thirty sons of kings and princes studying at one time at the school of St. Brendan (*Life of Molling*, Whitley Stokes, p. 10), and in numerous instances it was the repose and learning of the monastic life or of a hermitage which attracted the close kin of chiefs. Many of the "Saints" were of royal birth, but, though this no doubt facilitated the spread of the new doctrine among their septs, we have never been able to see proof that there were forcible or even voluntary conversions of whole tribes at once in Ireland such as occurred in Normandy under Charlemagne or in Norway under St. Olaf.

ELEANOR HULL.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH AND COMPARATIVE LITERATURE. By former and present students at Radcliffe College. Presented to Agnes Irwin, Dean of Radcliffe College (Cambridge, Mass.). (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 15.) Ginn & Co., 1910. Post 8vo, pp. viii + 170.

THIS work is of the nature of a *Festschrift* dedicated to Miss Agnes Irwin, a former Dean of Radcliffe College, and like most volumes of that description affords a good deal of "fine confused reading." Some of the articles are purely literary. Others deal with matters of interest to folklorists, and of these the two which have most attracted us are those on "The Story of Vortigern's Tower," and the "Island Combat in Tristan," both of which display much research, and are well worth reading. We cannot help also alluding to Miss Allen's study on the "Authorship of the Prick of Conscience," long ascribed to that delightful writer, Richard Rolle of Hampole. Miss Allen more than doubts this assignment, and gives very cogent reasons for the hesitation which she shows in accepting the popular verdict.

The shortest paper in the book,—consisting of but two pages,—is by Miss Blount. It contains the important information that she has collected fairly complete material "for an onomasticon, or name-book of the Arthurian cycle of romances, which, while not likely to be published very soon, is now accessible to scholars in the library of Harvard University." Seeing how very useful such a book would be to hosts of workers, and how absolutely hopeless it is for them to think of visiting the "library of Harvard University," we venture to express the hope that someone will expedite the publication of this work so that it may be accessible to those unhappy enough to live out of reach of the existing manuscript.

B. C. A. WINDLE.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE BALLADS, 1100-1500. By W. P. KER. (From the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. iv.). Frowde, 1910. 8vo, pp. 27.

THE ballad, Professor Ker thinks, is an idea, a poetical form, which can take up any matter, and does not leave the matter as it

was before. The key of the position for the study of the subject is to be found in Denmark, and the author speaks with special praise of the collection made by E. T. Kristensen. Ballads were still alive in Jutland in the nineteenth century, and the ballad-dances of the present-day Faröe Islanders preserve what was not so long ago the favourite amusement of the old Danish country-houses. This being the case, it is very interesting to find that, in spite of the close connection between Denmark and Germany, the ballads of the latter country have had but little influence on those of the former. Nor does there seem to have been any very close connection with those of England; in fact, the author finds that it is with France that the Danish ballads are most closely linked. The connection between the ballad and folklore is dealt with incidentally, the author pointing out that "there is a freedom of communication,—a free passage,—between the popular tales (*märchen*) and the ballads, with this most important condition, that nothing shall be taken up by a ballad except what is fit for the ballad form." The subject must not be too large or too complicated, and for this reason many fairy tales are unfit for ballad treatment on account of the great variety of adventures which they exhibit. Further, the fairy tale generally has a happy ending, which is not beloved of the ballad. This is a very illuminating and interesting study of a most fascinating subject.

B. C. A. Windle.

Certain Quests and Doles. By Charles Peabody. (From the Putnam Anniversary Volume). Cedar Rapids, Iowa; The Torch Press, 1909. 4to, pp. 344-367.

This reprint contains a number of interesting notes on seasonal customs,—Christmas, Easter, and the like,—with questing songs, most of which, we think, have already appeared in the columns of *Folk-Lore*. In places the collection rather suffers from the fact that the information is somewhat "thrown together," if we may use that expression without any offence. For example:—

"HOLY WEEK.—In England on Palm Sunday it was the custom to throw cakes from the church-towers to the children; and in Belgium, dainties (*oublies*)

were carried in procession, and caught by the children. *Sacrea branches are still distributed from all Catholic churches.* The cakes caught from them retained some of the imparted virtues."

The sentence which we have italicised would seem to indicate that in some unexplained way cakes were thrown from the "palm-branches," (which are very commonly twigs of yew or some conifer), for the children to catch. If this be the meaning, we can only say that, with a fairly wide acquaintance with Catholic ritual,—and, of course, the reference is to the distribution of "palms" on Palm-Sunday, a part of the service on that day in every Catholic Church in the world,—we have never seen or heard of cakes in connection with the ceremony. We conclude that this sentence is out of its place, and should have followed that which actually succeeds it. Placed as it is it is very misleading.

B. C. A. Windle.

The Origins of Popular Superstitions and Customs. By T. Sharper Knowlson. T. Werner Laurie, 1910. 8vo, pp. x + 242.

"The following pages," says the author in a brief preface, "are based on Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, the edition published in 1841, supplemented by the results of later investigation. My aim has been to deal only with those superstitions and customs which are operative at the present time; and, so far as is possible, to trace these to their original sources. In some cases the task is fairly easy, in others very difficult; whilst in a few instances the 'prime origin,' to use the words of Brand, is absolutely unattainable."

So far good. The critic's task is clear, viz., to judge how far the author has achieved the object he has had in view. He begins with a sensible little essay on Superstition, its psychological causes and the external occurrences which give it shape and maintain its existence, winding up, however, with a hint that (to use a common phrase) "there may be something in it after all."

Then we enter on his version of Ellis's "Brand," cut down to some 220 pages of large type by the omission of everything which Mr. Knowlson believes to be either obsolete or irrelevant. We thus have 76 pages, or about half the present number of *Folk-lore* (allowing for difference of type), allotted to Days and Seasons, 14 to Marriage, one to Christening, 76 to Divination and Omens, (here Mr. Knowlson practically parts company with Brand), and 42 to Miscellaneous Superstitions and Customs; hardly an adequate presentation of the wealth of existing folklore in Great Britain! A page and a half quoted from Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare* suffices for Morris-dancing; the Mummers' Play and the Wren-Hunt are not so much as mentioned. Hay and corn harvests apparently are never gathered in the British Isles, and no one ever dies or is buried. The fact is that Mr. Knowlson's real object is to discuss and account for, without too rigorously condemning, the fashionable superstitions of a certain section of society in the present day, such as concern May weddings, mascots, palmistry, and the like; together with the common fancies about spilling salt, sitting down thirteen at table, and so on,—(he omits walking under a ladder, saluting the new moon, and many others equally common),—and a few pretty customs like Tissington well-dressing, which may attract the attention of tourists. His explanations, thanks to the authorities he has consulted, are much better than were the speculations of the old-fashioned antiquaries on these subjects. But they are very prolix, and do not rise above the "popular" level, and the book as a whole adds nothing to our knowledge beyond a few fresh instances of well-known superstitions, and two short accounts of those connected with the theatre (p. 225), and with card-playing (p. 233), which do appear to include some items hitherto unrecorded.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

THE RIDDLES OF THE EXETER BOOK. Ed. with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by FREDERICK TUPPER, Jr. Ginn & Co., 1910. 8vo, pp. cxi + 292.

THIS very erudite work contains a print of the Riddles in the celebrated *Exeter Book*, with copious notes and a series of solutions approved by the author. The transcript,—though a glossary is appended,—will only be of service to persons who can read Anglo-Saxon, and the present reviewer, having unfortunately forgotten most of what he once knew of that tongue, after puzzling out one or two riddles has now to content himself with the fervent hope that the learned writer will on some early day give to the world a short translation of these riddles for the use of folklorists. Even the folklorist who is ignorant of Anglo-Saxon will, however, find in the lengthy and admirable introduction a great deal to interest him, and the same may be said of the "Notes," though it is somewhat tantalising to get the answer without being able fully to grasp the meaning of the question.

In the introduction, dealing first of all with the nature of riddles, the author points out their connection with metaphors as originally indicated by Aristotle, and with poetry, which we approach at least when we find the reply to a riddle relating to "the heaven's tooth" to be "the wind." Also it is closely related to the myth, for "the riddle, like the myth, arises out of the desire to invest everyday things and thoughts with the garb of the unusual and the marvellous." The author further devotes some space to the distinction between *kunsträtsel* and *volksrätsel*, or literary and popular problems, and discusses the manner in which the former may be derived from the latter. Two sections are devoted to "The originals and analogues of the Exeter Book riddles" and their authorship respectively. There is a full bibliography, and those who are interested in the study of riddles, now degenerated into one of the worst inflictions which we suffer from the most tiresome of bores, will find indicated for them the directions in which they may most fruitfully pursue their studies.

B. C. A. WINDLE.

THE SIKH RELIGION. Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors. By MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE. 6 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1909. 22 + 13 mm.; lxxxviii + 383, 351, 444, 421, 351, and 453. Ill.

MUCH has been written on the history of the Sikhs and their religious beliefs, but the literature of the sect was practically unknown to the scholars of Europe until 1877, when Dr. Ernest Trumpp published *The Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs.* This edition was in many ways unsatisfactory, partly on account of the author's lack of familiarity with obscure local dialects used by the Gurus, and partly owing to his unsympathetical attitude to the views of the Gyānīs or native interpreters. The task of finally editing the Sikh Scriptures was left to a Panjab civilian, Mr. Macauliffe, who, assisted by the co-operation of the leading scholars of the sect, has produced the present version, which may be regarded as authoritative. This edition, however, due to a reaction against the interpretation ot Dr. Trumpp, is not free from a danger peculiar to itself. The songs of the Gurus are often exceedingly obscure, and the reader will often have occasion to doubt how far the mystical interpretations now adopted were present to the minds of the original singers, and how far they may have been suggested by later scholiasts. The editor, again, has not utilised the stores of new material on the monotheistical developments of later Hinduism which have been collected by Dr. Grierson. Hence there is still room for an examination of Sikh theology and morals from a wider point of view. When this is undertaken, it must be based upon the unselfish life-work of the present editor.

Nānak, the founder of the Sikh sect, was born at Talwandī in the modern Lahore district in A.D. 1469. His teaching involved a protest against the popular Hinduism of his day, and he called his followers Sikhs or "disciples," he being the first of their ten Gurus or spiritual teachers. The Ādi Granth, or standard collection of the Scriptures, known to his followers by the dignified title of the Granth Sāhib, "Master Book," was compiled by the fifth Guru, Arjan (A.D. 1563-1606). His successor, Har Govind, adopted that militant policy which soon brought them into conflict with the Mughal dynasty, and resulted in savage persecution,

Teg Bahādur, the ninth Guru, being tortured and finally beheaded by orders of Aurangzeb. This atrocious act was avenged by Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru, who organised his followers as a fighting power, called them *Singh* or "Lions," instead of Sikhs, and established their organisation under the name of *Khālsa*, "the Elect." To him is due the *Pāhul*, or baptism to the dagger, which is still the rite of initiation. On the collapse of the Mughal power, the invasion of the Panjab by the Afghan Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, by the defeat of the Marāthas on the field of Pānipat in A.D. 1761, destroyed the last hopes of the establishment of an orthodox Hindu empire, and left the Sikhs free to pursue their national destiny. Ranjīt Singh (1780-1839) absorbed the Sikh Misls or confederacies, and established his Court at Lahore as ruler of the nation. This power fell before British attacks in the successive wars of 1845-6 and 1848-9, the latter involving the annexation of the Panjab. Since that date, under the guidance of a succession of able officials and stimulated by a remarkable series of prophecies delivered by their Gurus announcing the coming domination of the white man, the Sikhs have become devoted adherents of the Empire. Their services in the Great Mutiny of 1857-8 have been repeated in many later campaigns, and we possess no Indian troops more conspicuous for loyalty and soldierly qualities. At present the Sikhs number nearly 2¼ millions.

The characteristic teaching of the Gurus is the Unity of God. Their creed is thus given in the Japjī of Nānak, a verse which every Sikh must whisper in the morning:—"There is but one God whose name is True, the Creator, Devoid of fear and envy, Immortal, Unborn, Self-existent, the True, the Great, the Bountiful." To adopt Mr. Macauliffe's summary of their beliefs (vol. i, Preface, p. xxiii), Sikhism "prohibits idolatry, hypocrisy, caste exclusiveness, the concremation of widows, the immurement of women, the use of wine and other intoxicants, tobacco-smoking, infanticide, slander, pilgrimages to the sacred rivers and tanks of the Hindus; and it inculcates loyalty, gratitude for all favours received, philanthropy, justice, impartiality, truth, honesty, and all moral and domestic virtues known to the holiest citizens of any country." Its creed may be summed up in the formula,—

the unity of God, the brotherhood of man, and universal toleration. It doubtless owes much to Buddhism, and it is certainly deeply indebted to the teaching of Kabīr and his school and to the religious movement from Persia, itself probably suggested by Hindu Vedantism, which has resulted in the body of the mystical doctrine known as Sufiism and its development Babiism.

It is difficult to forecast the future of Sikhism. Mr. Macauliffe truly compares Hinduism to a boa-constrictor striving to crush this phase of sectarianism within its folds; and there can be no doubt that in these later days its practices have fallen short of the ideal standard prescribed by the Gurus. The bonds of caste, idolatry, and pilgrimages to Hindu sacred places have been widely adopted. But it still preserves a large measure of vitality, and the efforts of its leaders are now devoted towards the restoration of its primitive beliefs and usages. This revival of the faith will be largely stimulated by the present work, which may encourage official patronage of a sect on which the maintenance of British supremacy so largely depends.

It is impossible within the limits of this review to indicate in detail the many interesting features which render this book valuable to all students of comparative religion. The development of monotheism, the mystical conception of the Godhead, the mass of hagiology and miracles which has grown up round the lives of the Gurus, all deserve attentive study; and the religious and moral insight of the Gurus will probably be a new revelation to those who are unfamiliar with the modern developments of Hinduism. If we could be assured that the revival of Vedantism and other efforts now in progress to purify the dark places of Purānic Hinduism in order to adapt it to the requirements of the present age and the influences of western thought will, like Sikhism, be based upon active loyalty to the Empire, the outlook in India would be much more hopeful than it is at present.

W. Crooke.

Books for Review should be addressed to
The Editor of *Folk-Lore*,
c/o David Nutt,
57-59 Long Acre, London, W.C.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXI.] DECEMBER, 1910. [No. IV.

THE ANCIENT HYMN-CHARMS OF IRELAND.

BY MISS ELEANOR HULL.

(*Read at Meeting, March 16th,* 1910.)

THE native hymns and eulogies of Irish saints are amongst the oldest in western Europe, some of them,—such as Sechnall's poem in praise of St. Patrick, St. Patrick's Lorica, the poem of Ultan to St. Bridget, and the *Altus Prosator* of St. Columba,—belonging, by every test of language and sentiment that can be applied to them, to the period to which tradition has ascribed them (*i.e.* the fifth to the seventh century).[1] Only a few of the Latin Church hymns of western Europe date so early as this, though those of Hilary of Poitiers (d. 368) and St. Ambrose (d. 397), who are reckoned by mediæval writers to be the earliest

[1] The dates of the earliest Irish hymn-writers are,—St. Patrick, † 461; St. Sechnall, contemporary of St. Patrick; St. Columba, † 597; St. Ultan, † 656; St. Broccan, † 650; St. Cummain the Tall, † 661-2; St. Cuchuimne, † 746; St. Colman mac Ui Cluasaigh, † 731; St. Ængus mac Tipraite, † 745.

authors of Latin hymns, date from the middle and close of the fourth century. The use of hymns in the Offices of the Church was not encouraged by Rome; it only began to be admitted reluctantly in the twelfth century, but Hraban Maur (786-856) tells us that in his time the custom of singing hymns was elsewhere universal in the West.[2] In Irish monasteries the use of hymns in liturgical worship must have begun early, as we hear in Adamnan's *Vita S. Columbæ* (Lib. ii. 9) of a *hymnorum liber septimaniorum sancti Columbæ manu descriptus*, or book of hymns for weekly use; and in the same life we are told that, on the morning of St. Columba's death, hymns were sung in the Office at Iona, *hymnis matutinalibus terminatis* (Lib. iii. 23); also a tradition connected with St. Columba's *Altus Prosator* says that, in acknowledgment of the saint's gift to him of this fine hymn, Pope Gregory sent him in return, among other gifts, "a hymn for every night in the week." The story of Gregory's gift may be an invention, but the use of hymns in the daily Offices seems clear, and that it became the general custom of the Irish monastic Church we know from the hymns for the canonical hours in the eighth-century Antiphonary of Bangor and other early Irish service books.

But it is not of the use of hymns in Church worship that we have to speak here, but of hymns composed with quite another purpose and used in another way. Among the early hymns and religious songs that have come down to us are several composed as charms to ward off disease or plague, to protect the author or those who used the hymn from the perils of a journey, or in various ways to bring him good luck and freedom from danger. Among the twenty hymns or songs of Irish composition collected in the book known as the *Liber Hymnorum*,[3] (of which two copies,

[2] In 563 the Council of Braga forbade the use of hymns, but this opposition was broken down at the Council of Toledo in 633, and Spain used them largely.

[3] Edited by Barnard and Atkinson, 2 vols. (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1898).

differing only slightly, exist), ten were written expressly for the protection of the writer from some peril, bodily or spiritual, or are said to confer similar protection on those who recited them. In some cases, no doubt, their use as charms was a later result of the tradition of sacredness attaching to their authorship or age, but in others the authors themselves are believed to have conferred upon them their special charm-power. Just as the small hand-bells of the monks were used not only to call the hours of prayer but to exorcise evil spirits, so the charm-hymn, while nominally it commemorated some dead saint or eulogised a living one, had also the more practical quality of warding off disease or death from those who recited it. These hymns partook of the same character, and in many cases were thrown into the same form, as the pagan charms which they to a certain extent replaced.

The first extant Irish hymn is Sechnall's or Secundinus' Latin hymn in praise of St. Patrick, *Audite omnes*, a long hymn of which, in a fashion very common in early Ireland and not unknown elsewhere, every quatrain began with a successive letter of the alphabet. In order to get Patrick to listen to his poem, Sechnall is said to have suppressed the first stanza, which conveyed the fact that it was a eulogium on himself, and Patrick expressed himself so well pleased with the hymn that, at the close of its recitation, he offered Sechnall a variety of rewards for its composition, such as that as many sinful souls should go to heaven for the sake of this hymn as there were days in the year or threads in the hood of his cowl. Sechnall contemptuously rejected the terms. "What believer," said he, "would not take with him as many as that to heaven without the trouble of eulogising a man like thee at all?" Finally, St. Patrick, who had already promised a full table to everyone who will recite the hymn before dinner and a special protection to every new house in which it is recited on entering, raised his offers to a promise of heaven to everyone who

will recite it at lying down and at rising up. Even with that Sechnall was dissatisfied. "The hymn," he truthfully said, "is long, and not everyone will be able to remember it"; and, finally, St. Patrick compounded for the recitation of the last three stanzas only, which will convey a blessing equal to the whole. "*Deo gratias*," said the eulogist, satisfied at last. It would appear that the Irish mediæval memory was not to be trusted for long efforts, and that the convenient method of making three stanzas serve for the whole poem was one commonly resorted to, and we find indeed that in the Book of Mulling, in which this poem takes its place with other hymns in a special Office to invoke divine protection against that dreadful scourge of Ireland, the Yellow Plague, only three stanzas are used. The same thing occurs in this same service with regard to the hymns *Noli Pater* of St. Columba, that of Cummain Fota, *Celebra Juda*, and that of St. Hilary, *Hymnum dicat*, in all of which cases three stanzas serve for the whole hymn. This convenient plan of claiming the rewards of devotion with a minimum of effort is further shown by an abridgment of the Psalter found in the *Liber Hymnorum*, in which a collection of 365 verses is made to do duty for the whole Psalter, the Preface stating that the selection was made by Pope Gregory and bore his special commendation. That the promise of St. Patrick was fulfilled may be held to be proved by a story in the Life of St. Canice, in which a man is said to have been saved from demons by reciting the last three stanzas, "*nam vir ille tria capitula de hymno S. Patricii ante mortem . . . cantavit et per hoc liberatus est de manibus nostris.*"[4]

[4] Colgan, *Tr. Thaum*, p. 210. In the case of the hymn *Christus in nostra*, only the three last verses are extant, all the remaining stanzas of this alphabetical hymn having apparently been forgotten. In the Basle Psalter (Ms. A. vii. 3) the hymn is described as Xρs *in nostra*.

For other examples of the benefit derived from reciting three stanzas see "The Colloquy," *Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii., p. 202; Mugroin, abbot of Hi, is said to have been "skilled in the three verses."

A similar blessing is ascribed to the recitation of a Latin hymn of St. Ængus mac Tipraite (†745) to St. Martin, which was a "protection or charm against every disease, and secured heaven for reciting it on lying down and rising up," besides ensuring to a person who recited it before visiting a prince or a synod personal reverence and respect.

Two hymns of extraordinary richness and melody,—viz., that ascribed to S. Cuchuimne (†746?), "Hymn to the Virgin," and that of St. Colman Mac Murchon, Abbot of Moville, (†731) in praise of St. Michael,—have also the character of personal charms, here intended solely for the benefit of the composers. The object of the former was, (as we learn from the preface), to free him from the evil life he was leading, or to smooth the difficulties of his studies; while the latter was composed, according to the guess of the writer, for the relief of the three sons of Murchu of Connaught, a bishop and two priests, who were making pilgrimage across the Ictian Sea (*i.e.* the English Channel) and who were overtaken by a tempest and thrown upon an island, where a great famine fell upon them. St. Michael was the special guardian of the Irish against disease, and was, in general, regarded by the Celts as a protector against demons of all kinds. In an Irish tract we read,—"the three hostages that were taken on behalf of the Lord for warding off every disease from the Irish are Peter the Apostle, Mary the Virgin, and Michael the Archangel."[5] The idea that these three august personages were held in hostage by the Deity for the safety of the people is peculiarly Irish. These two hymns, though written in Latin, are specimens of mediæval Irish verse at its best and richest. All the intricate, native-born systems of rhyme, correspondence, assonance, and alliteration are brought to bear to produce poems of that luxurious and gorgeous quality which Ireland alone produced at this period, and which was, in the combination of its features and the care bestowed upon it,

[5] "Second Vision of Adamnan," ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* vol. xii., sec. 19.

peculiar to Irish verse structure of the best period. Dr. Atkinson, in writing of these hymns, draws attention to the rich trisyllabic rhymes occurring throughout, the double consonantal alliterations in each line, and the correspondences between the succeeding lines. "These pieces," he says, "are poems in Latin written in popular metre by Irish poets; the prosody of the classical language is replaced by accent and rhyme, and the rhymes in each case are rich and perfect."[6]

The largest section of the charm-hymns is directed to the attainment of personal benefits, but one or two were apparently used for the purpose of preventing public calamities. Such is the short hymn in abrupt, rough Latin ascribed to St. Columba, beginning *Noli Pater indulgere*, which was primarily intended as a protection against fire and lightning, but which appears to have been used in a penitential office against the Yellow Plague, which decimated Ireland at frequent intervals during the seventh century. According to an ancient prophecy, a visitation of Fire and Plague was to come in connection with St. John's Day, and special Offices were drawn up to stave off the calamity. Professor Lawlor identifies this hymn[7] as one of those occurring in the office of the *Book of Mulling*, and also in the *Second Vision of Adamnan*, both of which were penitential acts in view of the visitation of Plague, and Dr. Bernard

[6] The Hymn of St. Cuchuimne, *In laudem S. Mariæ*, begins :—

Ca'nte | mus in | om'ni | die | Con'ci | nentes | va'ri | e'
Con'cla | man'tes | de'o | dig'num | ym'num | sanc'tæ | Ma'ri | æ'.

As an example of St. Colman's hymn to St. Michael we take the first stanza and the last stanza but one :—

In trinitate spes mea fixa non in omine
et archangelum deprecor Michaelem nomine
. . . .
Æterna possint præstare regis regni aulia
ut possedeam cum Christo paradisi gaudia.

[7] Lawlor, *Book of Mulling*, cap. vii.

is disposed to accept his verdict. Connected also with the visitation of the Plague is St. Colman's curious Irish hymn, with Latin phrases intermixed, *Sen Dê* ("Blessing of God"), which is said to have been composed by St. Colman mac Ui Cluasaigh, a scholar from Cork, and by his fellow-students, to save themselves from that visitation of the Yellow Plague that occurred in the time of King Aedh Slane (c. 600). According to the Preface, which is amply supported by other authorities, the pestilence "ransacked all Ireland, and only one man in three was left alive." Colman and his fellow-students took to flight before it, and sought refuge on an island, according to the universal Irish belief that pestilence could not cross the water, and that at a distance of "nine waves" from the shore they were safe. A most curious story in one of the prefaces to this hymn relates that this visitation of the *Buide Connaill* or Yellow Plague came in consequence of a struggle between the oligarchy and democracy, owing to the great increase in the population, which caused a scarcity of agricultural land. The nobles of Ireland, supported by three well-known abbots, and with their two joint-kings at their head, fearing a famine, assembled together and prayed and "fasted" before God to get the population reduced.[8] The plague came in answer to their prayers, but it is satisfactory to note that, instead of merely cutting off the superfluous common people, as the combined church and state of the day desired, it selected as its first victims every one of the important personages who had demanded its aid.[9] This long hymn, to which there are various

[8] In the Life of St. Gerald of Mayo, he is said to have disapproved of the action of the abbots, and refused to join with them.

[9] The worst outbreaks of the *Buide Connaill* or "Great Death," as the Yellow Plague was variously called, occurred in Ireland in the years 543 and 562, and again during 664-669. During this later outbreak the two joint-kings of Tara died, and the Abbots of Clonard, Fore, Clanmacnois, and other monasteries. Four Abbots of Bangor, Co. Down, succumbed to it in succession.

specially Irish additions, invites the aid of the saints of the Old and New Testaments in turn in a sort of Litany, and relates Biblical instances of deliverances, such as Noah from the flood, Lot from fire, Daniel from the lions, etc., in the regular charm form. The last of these miscellaneous charm-hymns of which I shall make mention is St. Columba's great poem the *Altus Prosator*, which conferred on those who recited it "many graces," freedom from famine and nakedness and strife, the protection of angels, and safety from the attacks alike of earthly foes and of demons, with the certainty that no death should befall the reciter save ordinary death in a bed, or "death on pillow" (*absque pretiosa*) as the writer of the preface puts it. This long alphabetical hymn, well known in the Gallican Church, and long ascribed to Prosper of Aquitaine,[10] may be called the Paradise Lost of mediæval Ireland. It begins by a recitation of the glories of the Trinity, and describes the creation of the Angels, their nine grades and their fall, the creation of the earth and man, the praises of the Hosts of Heaven (meaning here the Angels), the creation of the clouds and sea, rain and rivers, the foundations of the earth, hell, and the worship of the under-world, the Garden of Eden, the thunders of Sinai, future judgment, and the last things.

The cosmogonic speculations in this remarkable hymn are closely akin to those of *The Book of Enoch*, a book which, though lost until quite recent times elsewhere,

It was followed by a great mortality among the cattle, which brought about a famine all over the country. A marginal note states that the man who was allotted to compose lines 41-43, which are in a different metre, died of the plague.

[10] A large portion of the *Altus* was incorporated by Hraban Maur (786-856) into a long poem beginning *Æterne rerum conditor*. It is found in four Mss. among works attributed to St. Prosper of Aquitaine (403-465). In three cases the hymn follows directly on the *De vita contemplatiua*, a work now usually attributed to Julianus Pomerius (c. 500), though formerly believed to be by Prosper. These copies contain no preface, titles to the stanzas, or glosses.

seems to have been well known in the mediæval period in Ireland. The idea still prevalent in Ireland that the meddling and malicious fairies are the angels who fell with Lucifer, and who were on their way down to hell when our Lord held up his hand, which caused them to remain stationary wherever they happened to be at the time, seems to find an echo in this poem, which says that "the spaces of air are closely crowded with a disordered crew of rebel satellites, held invisible lest man should become infected by their evil examples and their crimes, if there were no wall or screen between him and them." The great age of the composition, and its probable Irish origin, are shown by what the Editors, Drs. Bernard and Atkinson, call its "rude and barbarous though vigorous Latinity," by its use of an old Latin Biblical text as its foundation, and by the employment of those strange and bizarre Latin words found in the *Hisperica famina*, and peculiar, if not to Ireland alone, to the Celtic districts of S.W. Britain and Ireland. The title of the first stanza, speaking of Columcille as "the latest and noblest of Ireland's prophets," seems also to suggest a date close to Columba's own time, for these titles were added later than the composition of the poem itself.

None of the poems that we have hitherto passed in review, though composed as charms or believed by later reciters to contain definite charm-power, can be said to show any connection in form or style with the Pagan or native charms which they displaced; they were formed upon another and foreign ecclesiastical model. But we come now to a group which, whether written in Latin or in Irish, show a marked similarity to the native charms common to this day throughout Ireland and the West of Scotland. At the head of this group of native-born charm-poems we may place St. Patrick's *Lorica*. The word *lorica* or *lurica*, the corselet or breastplate, though

a Latin word, no doubt adopted from St. Paul's expression *induti loricam justitiæ* (*Ephesians*, vi., 14), is one found in the body of several of the hymn-charms we have been considering, and it forms the express title of those we are now about to consider. It became the usual word used to express a poem of which the recitation was designed to form a protection against some explicit evil, or to give an indulgence to the reciter. It is quite possible that the poems were originally written in the form of a breastplate, just as charms in the form of crosses, circles, and squares with cross lines, are found in manuscripts and in written charms still in use.[11] Six of these *Loricas*, or "Hymns of the *Lorica*" as they are sometimes more justly styled, have up to the present been printed. They are—

(1) The *Lorica* of St. Patrick.

(2) The *Lorica* of Lodgen, so called in the Book of Carne; called also the Lorica of Laidcend mac Buith bannaig (in *Leabhar Breac*), and of Lathacan Scotigena (in Darmstadt or Köln MS.); usually known as the *Lorica* of Gillas or Gildas.

(3) The *Lorica* of Columcille; edited from Yellow Book of Lecan, by Dr. O'Donovan, for the Misc. of the Celtic Society.

(4) The *Lorica* of Mugron, Abbot of Hi or Iona, †980; edited by Dr. Kuno Meyer from Ms. Rawl. B. 512, (*Hib. Min.*, Anecdota Oxon., 1894).

(5) *Lorica* of Leyden; edited by Dr. V. H. Friedel in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, vol. ii., p. 64.

(6) *Lorica* from MS. $\frac{23}{E\ 16}$, p. 237, Royal Irish Academy; printed in Bernard and Atkinson's edition of the *Liber Hymnorum*, vol. ii., notes, p. 210.

A good deal of attention has been bestowed upon these poems in recent years on account of the similarities which several of them show to the tract known as *Hisperica*

[11] See, for example, "The Circle of St. Columcille" in Ms. Cott. *Vitell*, E, xviii., fol. 13.b, and another charm for discovering a thief quoted by Cockayne, *Saxon Leechdoms*, vol. i., pp. 395-396; Hyde, *Religious Songs of Connacht*, vol. ii., p. 32.

famina,[12] a long piece written in that artificial and pompous style of Latin which seems to have been cultivated in Irish monasteries, or monasteries having in them a strong Irish element, in the seventh and eight centuries. Zimmer places its use even earlier, and this opinion seems to be borne out by the occurrence of similar words in these early *Loricas*.

The question of their archaic and singular linguistics, however, is not one which concerns us here, unless it could be proved that these bizarre forms were of the same kind and had arisen out of the same causes which tend in charms generally to preserve words whose meaning is forgotten, or which have become corrupted through their usage by persons who did not understand their meaning. In any case we know that in Ireland there existed one or more special and artificial kinds of the native tongue called *bearla féini* or *berla na filed* ("poet's speech") employed only by poets and brehons, and it is possible that similar vagaries of language may have been thought by the students of the cloisters to be specially suitable to certain kinds of composition. So far as is at present known, the existing examples of it are confined to one long prose treatise, the *Hisperica famina* itself, chiefly occupied with a description of natural objects, the heavens, fire, the sea, the firmament, the winds, etc., subjects

[12] The *Hisperica famina* was first published by A. Mai in the fifth vol. of *Classici Auctores*, pp. 479-500, from *Cod. Vat.* (*Reg.* lxxxi.); see also Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. xc., pp. 1187-96. The latest edition is that of F. J. Jenkinson (1908). It is of unknown authorship. Mai and Thurneysen consider that the examples all hail from Irish sources. Zimmer believes that they were written in some S.W. British or Armorican monastery that had a strong Irish element in it. For a discussion of the whole subject see Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus* (App., pp. 291-342); Thurneysen, *Revue Celtique*, vol. xi., pp. 89-90, and "Gloses Bretonnes," *ibid.*, p. 86. The St. Omer poem was published by Bethmann in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, vol. v. (1845), p. 206. See also Stowasser's *Wiener Studien*, pp. 9., 309-322, and his "Incerta auctores Hisp. Fam. denuo edidit et explanavit," Vindob. 1887 (*Programm des Franz-Joseph's Gymnasiums*, 1888-1889). Thurneysen's edition (above) gives Stowasser's readings of the poem and the Breton glosses.

which seem to connect it with St. Columba's *Altus Prosator*, where some of the same obscure terms are found; an Alphabetical Poem, (*i.e.* that found in the St. Omer Ms., no. 666); and the *Loricas* of Gildas and St. Patrick.[13] Hence it may be looked upon as being confined in its use to poetic or oratorical flights, a sort of monastic euphuism or *bearla féini*.[14]

To us it is more important to notice that the structure of these poems, (or of most of them), tends to fall into a fixed form. Four out of the six known to us begin in the same way, with an invocation of the Trinity; after this opening, the *Lorica* of Gildas (or *Lodgen*, as it is also called), and the *Lorica* of Leyden proceed to a lengthy and extraordinarily minute enumeration of the parts of the human body, from head to foot, for which protection is invoked, and the pieces wind up by calling on angels, archangels, cherubim and seraphim, thrones, dominions, and powers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, virgins, and confessors to defend the reciter from all ills. The *Lorica* of the Royal Irish Academy replaces the list of the parts of the body by an enumeration of the perils from which the author prays to be preserved, and its list of saints whose aid is appealed to is simpler; it does not take the fixed form of the "9 grades" of heavenly powers,[15]

[13] The *Folium Luxemburgense* fragment is an enlarged repetition of part of the *Hisperica famina* with a glossary of difficult Latin words.

[14] A poet named Teigue O'Rody wrote in the year 1700,—"Irish is the most difficult and copious language in the world, having five dialects, viz., the common Irish, the poetic, the lawyer's dialect, the abstractive and separative dialects: each of these five dialects being as copious as any other language, so that a man may be perfect in one, two, three, or four of these dialects and not understand even a word of the other"; (see O'Reilly, *Dictionary*, Supplement, *s.v. bearla féini*).

[15] Eight of the nine grades are mentioned in each of these *Loricas*, one (different in each) being omitted. They are in the usual order. The idea of the nine orders of angels was adopted in the Western Church from the homilies of Gregory the Great (c. 600); it was originally introduced through the Greek mysticism of the writings of Dionysius in the fifth century.

such as is found in the two *Loricas* of which we have spoken. Instead it calls for protection upon

"Every (blessing) without pain, every pure prayer,
Every ladder that reaches heaven shall be an aid to me,
Every good saint who suffered on the Surface of the Earth,
Every chaste disciple who was tortured for Christ,
Every meek, every gentle, every candid, every pure person,
Every confessor, every soldier who lives under the sun,
Every venerable patron saint who should reach me for luck,
Everyone, gentle or simple, every saint who has suffered the Cross."

The *Lorica* of St. Patrick is more complicated and broken in its structure, and as a devotional poem it is far finer than any of the others. It is divided into seven parts, five of them connected together by the repetition of the word *Atomriug* ("I raise myself" or "I arise"), the final portions being preceded by the solemn invocation of all the forces hitherto appealed to, to come to the aid of the reciter

"Against incantations of false prophets
Against black laws of paganism
Against false laws of heresy
Against deceits of idols
Against spells of women and smiths and druids
Against all knowledge that is forbidden to the human soul."

This piece both begins and closes with an invocation of the Trinity, which is preceded at the end by the well-known passage appealing for the aid and presence of Christ on every hand, and on all with whom the reciter is brought into contact.

In the earlier divisions, instead of a banal list of the members of the body, such as we had in the previous *Loricas*, we get a short litany of the events of our Lord's life, succeeded by a recitation of the grades of angels and confessors. After this we have a short group of phrases appealing for the aid of the elements; for the

"Might of Heaven, brightness of the Sun, whiteness of snow, splendour of fire, speed of light, swiftness of Wind, depth of Ocean, stability of Earth, firmness of Rock," to intervene in his behalf.

The remaining passage is a fine invocation of the power of God to exert itself in different ways against

"Snares of demons, allurements of vices,
Solicitations of nature,
Against every person who wishes me ill,
Far and near, alone and in a crowd. . . ."
"The Might of God for my piloting
The Wisdom of God for my guidance
The Eye of God for my foreseeing
The Ear of God for my hearing
The Word of God for my speech
The Hand of God for my guardianship
The Path of God for my precedence
The Shield of God for my protection
The Host of God for my salvation."[16]

Here we have the complete charm-form carried over into the Christian hymn, with its iteration of the same idea with slight changes of wording. Let me illustrate this by pointing to a charm, Christian also in sentiment but going behind the Christian period in its form, from the Western Isles of Scotland, which is almost identical with parts of this hymn of St. Patrick:—

"*Rune before Prayer.*

I am bending my knee
In the Eye of the Father who created me,
In the Eye of the Son who purchased me,
In the Eye of the Spirit who cleansed me,
In friendship and affection.
Through thine own Anointed One, O God,
Bestow upon us fulness in our need,
Love towards God,

[16] *Liber Hymnorum*, vol. i., pp. 133-135; vol. ii., pp. 49-51.

The Affection of God,
The Smile of God,
The Wisdom of God,
The Grace of God,
The Fear of God,
And the Will of God
To do in the World of the Three,
As angels and saints
Do in heaven;
Each shade and light,
Each day and night,
Each time in kindness,
Give Thou us Thy Spirit."[17]

Here is another beautiful Highland charm called the *Ora nam buadh* or "Invocation of the Graces." It has a strong pagan note:—

"I bathe thy palms
In showers of wine,
In the lustral fire,
In the Seven Elements,
In the juice of the rasps,
In the milk of honey,
And I place the nine pure choice graces
In thy fair fond face.
The grace of form,
The grace of voice,
The grace of fortune,
The grace of goodness,
The grace of wisdom,
The grace of charity,
The grace of choice maidenliness,
The grace of whole-souled loveliness,
The grace of goodly speech. . .
A shade art thou in the heat,
A shelter art thou in the cold,
Eyes art thou to the blind,

[17] *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. i., p. 3.

A staff art thou to the pilgrim,
An isle art thou at sea,
A fortress art thou on land,
A well art thou in the desert,
Health art thou to the ailing. . .
Thou art the joy of all joyous things,
Thou art the light of the beam of the sun,
Thou art the door of the chief of hospitality,
Thou art the surpassing star of guidance,
Thou art the step of the deer of the hill,
Thou art the step of the steed of the plain,
Thou art the grace of the swan of swimming,
Thou art the loveliness of all lovely desires,
The lovely likeness of the Lord
Is in thy pure face,
The loveliest likeness that
Was upon earth."[18]

The Gaelic of part of this last *rann* is :—

Is tu sonas gach ni eibhinn,
Is tu solus gath na greine,
Is tu dorus flath na feile,
Is tu corra reul an iuil,
Is tu ceum feidh nan ardu,
Is tu ceum steud nam blaru,
Is tu seimh eal an t-snamhu
Is tu ailleagan gach run.

This rhythmic iteration of the idea may be found in numberless runes and charms; it is often really beautiful in its effect and in its thought, and no doubt tended to soothe both the reciter and the person to be benefited by the charm. The tendency of all charms everywhere is towards the repetition of phrases, but among the Gaelic-speaking peoples this tendency is specially marked.

Here is a prayer used in the Highlands :—

"O God,
In my deeds,
In my words,

[18] *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. i., pp. 7-11.

In my wishes,
In my reason,
And in the fulfilling of my desires,
In my sleep,
In my dreams,
In my repose,
In my thoughts,
In my heart and soul always,
May the blessed Virgin Mary,
And the promised Branch of Glory dwell,
Oh! in my heart and soul always,
May the blessed Virgin Mary,
And the fragrant Branch of Glory dwell."[19]

Another, an "Exorcism of the Evil Eye," runs:—

"Power of wind I have over it,
Power of wrath I have over it,
Power of fire I have over it,
Power of thunder I have over it,
Power of lightning I have over it,
Power of storms I have over it,
Power of moon I have over it,
Power of sun I have over it,
Power of stars I have over it,
Power of firmament I have over it,
Power of the heavens
And of the worlds I have over it."[20]

Here is a musical little prayer from Connemara, which reminds us of St. Patrick's *Lorica*:—

The Will of God be done by us,
The Law of God be kept by us,
Our Evil Will controlled by us,
Our tongue in check be held by us,
Repentance timely made by us,
Christ's passion understood by us,
Each sinful crime be shunned by us,

[19] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 27.

[20] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 45.

Much on the end be mused by us,
And Death be blessèd found by us,
With angels' music heard by us,
And God's high praises sung to us,
For ever and for aye."[21]

I would now take the passage in St. Patrick's *Lorica* which we have hitherto passed over.

"Christ with me, Christ before me,
Christ behind me, Christ in me,
Christ under me, Christ over me,
Christ to the right of me, Christ to the left of me,
Christ in lying down, Christ in sitting, Christ in rising up,
Christ in the heart of every person who may think of me,
Christ in the mouth of every one who may speak to me
Christ in every eye that may look on me!
Christ in every ear that may hear me!"

and compare it with a similar passage in the *Lorica* ascribed to Mugron, Abbot of Iona, in the tenth century, which shows either that he copied directly from St. Patrick's *Lorica* or, as is more probable, adopted a widely familiar form of phraseology:—

"The Cross of Christ with me in my good luck, in my bad luck;
The Cross of Christ against every strife, abroad and at home;
The Cross of Christ in the East with courage, the Cross of Christ in the West at sunset;
South and North without any stay, the Cross of Christ without any delay;
The Cross of Christ above towards the clear sky, the Cross of Christ below towards earth.
There shall come no evil nor suffering to my body or to my soul,
The Cross of Christ at my sitting, the Cross of Christ at my lying;

[21] Hyde, *Religious Songs of Connacht*, vol. ii., pp. 12-13. For similar Irish charms see Lady Wilde, *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland*, pp. 9-51; for Scottish charms see Wm. Mackenzie's "Gaelic Incantations, Charms, and Blessings of the Hebrides," *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, March 1892.

The Cross of Christ all my strength, till we reach Heaven's King!"[22]

Or we may compare it with St. Columba's hymn *In te Christe:—*

"*Christus redemptor gentium, Christus amator uirginum,*
Christus fons sapientium, Christus fides credentium,
Christus lorica militum, Christus creator omnium,
Christus salus uiuentium, et uita morientium,
Coronauit exercitum nostrum cum turba martirum, etc., etc."

and also with the "Beltine (or May Day) Blessing" in the Hebrides, in which the idea is identical—

". . . The strength of the Triune our shield in distress,
The strength of Christ, His peace and his Pasch,
The strength of the Spirit, Physician of health,
And of the priceless Father, the King of Grace . . .
Be the Cross of Christ to shield us roundward,
Be the Cross of Christ to shield us upward,
Be the Cross of Christ to shield us downward,
Accepting our Beltine blessing from us,
Accepting our Beltine blessing from us."[23]

It may be said that these are all Christian poems, and not in any sense pagan; but in the charm and incantation the world of thought is pagan and Christian at once; there is no possible line of demarcation between them. In the fifth century St. Patrick, or the composer of the ancient *Lorica* ascribed to him, invokes the forces of the elements and the power of God to intervene between him "and every fierce merciless force that may come against body or soul":

"Against incantations of false prophets
"Against black laws of paganism. . . .
"Against spells of women, smiths, and druids,
"Against all knowledge that is forbidden the human soul."

[22] Bernard and Atkinson, *Liber Hymnorum*, vol. ii., p. 212. Translated from two Mss. in Royal Irish Academy $\frac{23}{g.4}$ and $\frac{23}{g.5}$ by Professor E. J. Gwynn.

[23] *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. i., p. 189.

and in a prayer or rune said to this day in the Island of Aran in Galway when going on a journey, the power of Mary and Brigit is sought to be placed—

"Between us and the Fairy Hosts,
"Between us and the Hosts of the Wind,
"Between us and the drowning Water,
"Between us and heavy temptations,
"Between us and the shame of the world,
"Between us and the death of captivity."[24]

A Highland rhyming prayer still in use asks for safeguard

"From every brownie and ban-shee,
From every evil wish and sorrow,
From every nymph and water-wraith,
From every fairy-mouse and grass-mouse,
From every fairy-mouse and grass-mouse.
From every troll among the hills,
From every siren hard pressing me,
From every ghoul within the glens,
Oh! save me till the end of my day,
Oh! save me till the end of my day."[25]

Perhaps the most curious, as it is certainly one of the rudest and most pagan in tone of all the ancient hymn-charms of Ireland, is the *Lorica* ascribed to Columcille from *Leabhar Buidhe* or the Yellow Book of Lecan, a fourteenth-century Ms. It is said to have been composed by him as a "Path Protection" when, after his condemnation at Tara, he fled alone into Donegal to seek the protection of his own powerful clan of the O'Donnells against King Dermuid of Tara. It is promised "to give protection to any person who will repeat it going on a journey." It breathes that extraordinarily fatalistic spirit which permeates Irish pagan literature and which probably the introduction of Christianity accentuated rather than dispelled. In it we

[24] *Religious Songs of Connacht*, vol. ii., p. 53.
[25] *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. i., p. 31.

have an enumeration of various methods of foretelling or divination against which the author prays to be protected. The meaning of some of the special terms is doubtful.

"Our destiny is not with the *sreod*,
Nor with the bird on the top of the twig,
Nor in the trunk of the gnarled tree,
Nor with a *sordan* hand in hand,
Better is He in whom we trust,
The Father, the One, and the Son. . . .
I adore not the voice of birds
Nor the *sreod* nor a *sén* in this life,
Nor a son, nor chance, nor woman;
My Druid is Christ, the Son of God,
Christ, Son of Mary, the Great Abbot,
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
My lands are with the King of Kings,
My order is with Kells and Moen" (Moone in Co. Kildare.) [26]

Though in most extant and living charms Christ and Christian Saints have replaced the older pagan allusions and names, it is undoubted that many of the charms themselves have come down from a period earlier than Christianity. In some cases this can be traced directly. For instance, the charm for cure of a sprain of a horse or the human foot, still familiar in the Highlands,—

"Christ went out
In the morning early,
He found the legs of the horses
In fragments soft;
He put marrow to marrow,
He put pith to pith,
He put bone to bone,
He put membrane to membrane," etc., [27]

[26] Ed. J. O'Donovan, *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society.*

[27] *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. ii., pp. 21, 14, 19, etc.; William Mackenzie, "Gaelic Incantations, Charms, and Blessings of the Hebrides"; and cf. Lady Wilde, *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland*, p. 11, where it is St. Agnes who falls.

is the famous Merseburg charm for a lamed horse. But in the tenth-century German charm it is Balder's horse that falls, and it is Odin who effects the cure. The incantation is said on a black woollen thread with nine knots upon it, bound over the sprained limb. In a true Gaelic charm we never find such special introductions as that with which this cure begins.[28] In some very ancient charms, such as those found in the Irish manuscripts at St. Gall monastery, Switzerland, we find the names occurring of the great Irish pagan deities Goibniu, the smith or Vulcan of Celtic mythology, and Diancecht, the physician or healer, who was fabled to dip dead men in his Cauldron of Renovation and restore them to life and health again. "Very sharp is Goibniu's science; let Goibniu's goad go out before Goibniu's goad," says the incantation to extract a thorn; and in a charm against various ailments the afflicted patient says,—"May that be made whole whereon the salve of Diancecht goes. I put my trust in the salve which Diancecht left with his people."

In a charm against wounds and poisons recorded by Lady Wilde, we find "The blood of one dog, the blood of many dogs, the blood of the hound of Fliethas—these I invoke. . . . I invoke the three daughters of Fliethas against the serpent," etc.[29] But this kind of direct allusion or appeal to pagan deities seems to be rare. They have been ousted, and their place and duties are amply filled by certain all-powerful saints,—St. Michael, St. Columba, and St. Brigit. It is singular how frequently the names of these last two saints, the male and female agencies, occur in Gaelic charms, Irish and Scottish. They are the great necromancers of the Gael, gifted with all powers of poetry, of prophecy, and of healing. In St. Bride's or Brigit's case the matter seems fairly well explained by remembering

[28] Cf. K. Meyer in *Quarterly Review*, July, 1903, p. 27; George Henderson, *Norse Influences on Celtic Scotland*, p. 72.

[29] *Ancient Legends etc. of Ireland*, 1887, vol. ii., p. 85.

that, behind the Christian Brigit of Kildare, there lay another Brigit, more powerful and awful, the great triune goddess of Wisdom of pagan Gaeldom, presiding alike over poetry, medicine, and the arts.[30] She it is who seems to have given her name to the Brigantes, the tribe of Brigit; she whose connection with light and fire and healing powers were transferred over to her Christian successor "Brigit the ever-good woman, the golden flame, sparkling, the radiant fiery sun," the maiden who, on a wet day when she had been herding her sheep on the Curragh of Kildare, dried her cloak by hanging it "indoors across a sunbeam";[31] she whose sacred fire, perpetually watched by forty virgins, might never be extinguished. Both in the ancient hymns and the later runes and charms, she has become everywhere confused with the Virgin Mary, and is represented as the Mother, or more generally the Foster-Mother, of our Lord; in Ireland she is commonly called "The Mary of the Gael."

She becomes thus naturally the guardian of the household and the hearth, associated with the fireside, and all this idea conveys of health and home. Many runes assign to Brigit and to the Virgin Mary a distinct share and place in the watching of the home. In the special prayers for "covering" the fire or "sparing it" as it is called (*i.e.* the nightly making up of the turf so that a seed of flame might be preserved until morning), that prevail everywhere in Ireland and in the Hebrides, Brigit or Bride

[30] In *Cormac's Glossary*, (ed. Stokes, p. 23, art. "Brigit"), she is described as Brigit, a poetess, the female sage or mistress of wisdom, the goddess whom poets adored on account of the greatness of her protecting care, whence she is called the goddess of poets. She is daughter of the Dagda, and her two sisters are Brigit the woman-leech or physician, and Brigit mistress of smith-craft or metal work. This is an interesting example of the breaking up of a triad of qualities into three personalities. So great and all-pervading was she that "with all Irishmen every goddess was called Brigit."

[31] Hymn "Brigit be bithmaith," *Liber Hymnorum*, vol. ii., pp. 39, 42.

is represented as guarding the centre of the house, (*i.e.* the place of the hearth), and the Blessed Virgin the top or ends of it.

"As I save this fire to-night
Even so may Christ save me.
On the top of the house let Mary,
Let Bride in its middle be.
Let eight of the mightiest angels
Round the throne of the Trinity
Protect this house and its people
Till the dawn of the day shall be." [32]

This is the Innismaan version from the Aran Isles, Co. Galway. The Cork version is practically identical.

"I save this fire
As kind Christ saves.
Mary at the two ends of the house,
And Brigit in the middle,
All that there are of angels
And of saints in the city of graces
Protecting and keeping
The folk of the house till day." [33]

In the Highlands and Western Isles the idea is almost the same, whether for kindling or for "smooring" the fire, as the "covering" is here called (*beannchadh smalgidh*).

"*Kindling the Fire.*

I will raise the hearth-fire
As Mary would.
The encirclement of Brigit and of Mary
On the fire and on the floor,
And on the household all.
Who are they on the bare floor?
John and Peter and Paul.
Who are they by my bed?

[32] Hyde, *Religious Songs of Connacht*, vol. ii., p. 47.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

The lovely Brigit and her Fosterling.
Who are those watching over my sleep?
The fair loving Mary and her Lamb.
Who is that anear me?
The King of the sun, He himself it is.
Who is that at the back of my head?
The Son of Life without beginning, without time."[34]

So, in the Evening Prayer beginning with the familiar phrase—

"I lie down with God, and may God lie down with me,
That I may not lie down with evil
And that the evil may not lie with me,"

we get the same idea of Brigit being in the centre and the Virgin at the head of the sleeper.

"The girdle of Brigit round my middle,
And the mantle of Mary round my head.
Come, O young Michael, and take my hand
And make my peace with the Son of the Graces.
If there be any evil thing at all in wait for me
I put the Son of God between myself and itself.
From tonight until a year from tonight
And tonight itself,
And for ever!
And for aye!"[35]

In connection with these Sleeping or Night Prayers and runes it may not be out of place to point out that the quatrain known as the White Paternoster, familiar all over Europe, is used also in Ireland. Dr. Hyde gives two examples of it,—

"Four corners to my bed,
Four angels round it spread.
If I die within the night,
God receive me into light."[36]

[34] *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. i., p. 235.

[35] (From Innismaan, Co. Galway), *Religious Songs of Connacht*, vol. ii., pp. 28-36; cf. *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. i., pp. 81-89, 95.

[36] *Religious Songs of Connacht*, vol. ii., p. 217.

This is a Mayo version. Another from Aran is more familiar,—

> "Four posts around my bed,
> Four angels have it spread,
> Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
> Keep me, O God, till day shall dawn"

which is very nearly the common English version.[37]

The immense number of native words in Irish and Scotch Gaelic relating to spells, charms, and divination show the prevalence of these ideas and the care with which one charm was distinguished from another. The most interesting to us is the spell called *faeth-fiadha*, (modern Irish, *feth-fia*, Scotch Gaelic, *fath-fidhe* or *fá' fithe*), the name given to St. Patrick's *Lorica* and usually translated "The Deer's Cry," in allusion to the tradition that, when St. Patrick and his followers were escaping from King Laery, they were changed into a herd of deer and so rendered invisible to him and to his hosts. It was a charm rendering the user of it invisible, but its original meaning has become confused with the Gaelic word for a deer (*fiadh*), with which it has nothing to do, and this story, combining the two ideas of invisibility and of the deer, has evidently been invented by mediæval writers to support this explanation. The learned guesses of modern philologists have not tended to make the matter clearer. But the *fath-fidhe* is still well-known in Scotland, and has been applied in quite recent times to decidedly practical purposes. A hunter poaching in his landlord's ground could, under the protection of this charm, come from the forest laden with the spoils of the chase, without any danger of being seen, or a smuggler could carry on his trade under the very eyes of the excise officer, safe from all chance of detection. Thus the composition of this Hymn was a *faeth-fiadha* or protective charm or word-

[37] Cf. article on "The White Paternoster" in the Countess Martinengo-Cesaresco's *Essays in the Study of Folksongs*, pp. 203-213.

spell,[38] rendering Patrick and his companions invisible. It was only a later reflection on the matter that suggested that they were turned into deer.[39] Here is the Charm called *fath-fidhe*, as given by Dr. Alexander Macbain in vol. xvii. of the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, (April, 1891), and later, in March, 1892, by Mr. William Mackenzie in the same journal.

Fá' fithe cuiream ort,	I put on thee *fá' fithe,*
Bho chu, bho chat,	From dog, from cat,
Bho bhô, bho each	From cow, from steed,
Bho dhuine, bho bhean	From man, from woman,
Bho ghille, bho nighean	From lad, from maid,
'S bho leanabh beag,	And from little child,
Gus an tig mise rithisd.	Till I come again.
An ainm an Athar, á Mhic,	In the name of the Father and
'S ar Spioraid Naoimh.	of the Son and Holy Ghost.

In a spell in *Carmina Gadelica*,[40] we find the same word used :—

"*Fath fith*
Will I make on thee,
By Mary of the augury,
By Bride of the corslet,
From sheep, from ram,
From goat," etc., etc.

At p. 158, vol ii., we find a *Frith Mhoire* or augury of Mary made to discover where Jesus was when he stayed behind in the Temple. In making the Frith the recitation of the following formula is enjoined in Benbecula—" I go out in thy path, O God; God be before me, God be behind me,

[38] Hence *ferba-fath*, 'words of magic,' *Revue Celtique*, vol. xx., p. 146.

[39] " Thus the Holy Man composed that Hymn in his native speech, which is commonly called *feth fiadhe* and by others the breast-plate or Lorica of Patrick, and it is held among the Irish in the highest regard because it is believed—and proved by much experience—to preserve those who piously recite it from dangers which threaten them in soul and body." Colgan's *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 126, quoted in *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, Ed. Stokes, p. 48.

[40] Vol. ii., p. 25.

God be in my track: the knowledge (or spell?) which Mary made for her Son (*i.e.* in seeking Christ). Brigit breathed through her palms, knowledge of truth, without knowledge of falsehood: as she obtained (her quest), so may I too see the semblance of that which I am myself in quest of."[41]

In olden times the study of divination, the casting of horoscopes, and the elaborate rites for gaining illumination or knowledge of the future through an ecstatic trance formed one of the regular subjects of study in the advanced grades of the Bardic schools; and the 'knowledge that enlightens' was put into practice on every important occasion, such as the choice of a chief, the undertaking of a battle, or the going forth on a cattle-raid. In the tract dealing with the courses of instruction and the laws of Irish metric in the *Book of Ballymote* are allusions to various other charms to be studied during the ninth year of the course, charms for an alehouse, charms to track a thief or cow-stealer, charms to prevent a horse from stumbling, and charms for luck on entering a new house, or for guidance during a journey made on horse-back, and also one for long life in which, among other things, "The Seven Daughters of the Sea who weave the threads of the Sons of Long Life" are invoked, evidently a Norse charm.[42]

The directions for exercising the *teinn-laeghdha* and *imbas-forosnai*, (*i.e.* the rites for securing a "trance of fore-knowledge"), are preserved. We meet also with other lesser rites, such as blowing through the palms of the hands, watching the wind blowing the twigs of a tree,[43] etc. Fionn macCumhail gained his magical powers by biting his thumb.

[41] E. Henderson, *loc. cit.*, p. 73.

[42] *Irische Texte*, vol. iii., Pt. i., 2nd Text, Secs. 95, 96, 97, pp. 51-53.

[43] Cf. an old Welsh poem given by Stephen, *Literature of the Cymry*, pp. 331-2, where a similar method of augury seems to be referred to,—

"If I had known as now I do
How clearly the wind blows on the sprigs of the waving wood,
I should not have done what I did."

Among the St. Gall manuscripts are charms in Old Irish for extracting a thorn and against various diseases such as headache and sudden tumours, etc. The same charm given in the St. Gall fragments against headache is given in the *Book of Nunna Minster* against sore eyes. In the *Stowe Missal* are found charms for healing the eye and another for a thorn, the latter being curiously like a modern charm given by Lady Wilde in her *Ancient Legends etc. of Ireland.*[44]

In Gaeldom, each act, both public and private, had its own charm or incantation or blessing. In olden days the king or chief was chosen and the clan undertook its public duties after the performance of magic rites and under the direction of a soothsayer ; today, in the Western Isles of Ireland and Scotland, the huntsman going to hunt, the fisherman to fish or lay his nets, the agriculturalist to sow or reap his harvest, and the weaver or spinner to wind his yarn, go forth to their work with some familiar charm-prayer or charm-hymn, (or, as they are often beautifully called, "The Blessings"), in their mouths. The milkmaid calling her cows or churning her butter, the young girl fearful of some neighbour's evil eye, and the cottager sweeping up her hearth in the evening, laying herself down to rest for the night, or rising up in the morning, soothes her fears or smoothes her way by some whispered *paider* or *ortha*, a prayer or a verse-charm. The whole of life is encompassed by invisible dangers, which it is the business of the charm to turn aside.

Nor, where all the ills of life are conceived of as being wrought by the malignant action of evil powers and removable by incantations, can any actual dividing line be drawn between the magic charm and the religious prayer. In the charm, the power of the Being to whom prayer is offered may be conceived of as more entirely transferred to the words of the spell itself, but in the larger number of cases I imagine that the belief is still in some Higher Power,

[44] Vol. ii., p. 82.

personal or impersonal, *mana* or deity, outside the actual recitation of the words. In any case, the closeness of the resemblance was so universally recognised in the Middle Ages that we find in ancient service books, such as the *Leofric Missal* and the *Stowe Missal*, the *Book of Nunna Minster*, and *The Book of Carne*,—books which bear the marks of strong Celtic influence,—not only the *Lorica* of Gildas or Lodgen frequently taking its place among the hymns and collects, but charms for sore eyes, charms against the evil eye, charms to extract a thorn, and the enumeration of diseases and of parts of the body afflicted with them such as we find in the *Loricas*, with prayers for deliverance alike from the attacks of monsters and of powers of necromancy. Hence, to return to the original subject, we find hymns for charming away plague or peril among the canticles and hymns of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*. The step "from Charm to Prayer," as Mr. Marett might call it, is a short and easy one.

ELEANOR HULL.

THE CONGO MEDICINE-MAN AND HIS BLACK AND WHITE MAGIC.

BY JOHN H. WEEKS.

(*Read at Meeting, February 16th,* 1910.)

In this paper I desire to supplement information already given in *Folk-Lore*[1] concerning the Lower Congo *nganga* or medicine-man by a fairly complete list of the many varieties of *nganga*. After careful enquiry I have arrived at the conclusion that nearly all *ngangas* practise both black and white magic, by the use of the same fetish in different ways.

The term *nganga* covers the meanings sorcerer, exorcist, witch-finder, fetish-priest, healer of diseases, diviner, conjuror, etc.,[2] but no one *nganga* exercises all these functions. Each is expert in his particular line, rarely working outside it, and it will be seen from the names of the various *ngangas* that their functions are usually well-defined. Men and women on becoming *ngangas* do not take new personal names (except that the *ndembo ngangas* are always called Nkau), and can become *ngangas* in several different ways, viz.:—

1. Initiation.[3]

2. Payment to a *ngang' a mbambi* of 1000 strings of blue

[1] Vol. xx., pp. 182-8.

[2] The term *nganga* is also applied to initiates of the *ndembo* and *nkimba* secret societies, but such persons rarely act as *ngangas* in the ordinary sense, and a *nganga* need not be a member of either society.

[3] Vol. xx., p. 183.

pipe beads and a fowl, after recovery from an infectious disease by means of the *mbambi* fetish. In return for the fee instruction is given in the "medicines" used and method of procedure. (If the patient is clever enough to recognise the herbs etc. given to him, and to imitate the ceremonies, he may set up as a *nganga* without paying any fee.)

3. Being imbued with fetish power in the *ekinu* dance.[4]
4. Passing the ordeal for witches successfully.[5]

The profession was therefore open to any shrewd, artful, and energetic person, either rich or poor, bond or free, and was not confined to one sex. As a rule, the *nganga* was a lithe and active person, for it was often necessary to dance for hours to excite the crowd to the necessary pitch; he had restless, sharp eyes that jumped from face to face of the spectators; he had an acute knowledge of human nature, and knew almost instinctively what would please the surrounding throng; but his face became after a time ugly, repulsive, and the canvas upon which cruelty, chicanery, hate, murder, and all devilish passions were portrayed with repellent accuracy. When performing, blue, red, white, yellow, and any other colours he could obtain were plastered in patches, lines, and circles upon the face and exposed parts of his body; thick circles of white surrounded the eyes, a patch of red crossed the fore-

[4] Vol. xx., pp. 464-5.

[5] Vol. xix., p. 417. In March, 1909, I met a man who had formerly been a *ngang' a ngombo* (witch-finder). He had been accused four times of being a witch, and each time had vomited after drinking the *nkasa* infusion, and so proved his innocence. After the fourth ordeal he informed his friends that he would begin business himself as a *ngang' a ngombo*. He was in much request as a witch-finder, and was never again himself accused. On one occasion he was chased by the person accused, who threatened to shoot him, but his principal professional difficulty was to find unerringly the grave of the person killed by the witch. If death was believed to be due to witchcraft, no trace was left of the grave, and the pointing out of the place of interment was regarded as the crucial test of the occult powers of the *nganga*.

head, broad stripes of yellow were drawn down the cheeks, bands of red or yellow ran down the arms and across the chest, and spots of blue and other colours were put on promiscuously to fill up, according to no rule other than his own crude taste and the colours available. His dress consisted of the softened skins of wild animals, either whole or in strips, feathers of birds, dried fibres and leaves, ornaments of leopard, crocodile, or rat's teeth, small, tinkling bells, rattling seed pods, and anything else that was unusual and wearable. The effect attained was extremely grotesque, but was to the native the sign of the witch-doctor's power. To inspire the natives with awe and fear this get-up was absolutely necessary, for, if a *nganga* arrived at the scene of his operations in the ordinary garb of a native, he would be scouted and turned out of the town.

The *nganga* was the arbiter of life and death, for not only was his selected victim led away to drink the ordeal, but so implicitly did the people believe in him that, when he said that his patient would die, this invariably happened, as the friends began at once to prepare for the burial, and, instead of feeding the patient, they would dig his grave and send to call his relatives to the funeral. The *nganga* had said he would die, so what was the use of wasting time and good food on him?

The *nganga* was consulted about a child before birth, at birth, and throughout its childhood and youth, during illness to drive away the evil spirits causing the sickness, after the death of a first wife to cleanse a widower, after death to discover the witch who caused it, and at burial to ensure that the deceased would not return to trouble the family. Even after death and burial the spirit of the deceased can be controlled by the *nganga*, and destroyed by him if it does not behave itself decently.

The *nganga* put the native under tabu, and removed it; he made the hunting, trading, and war "medicine"

to ensure good luck; he brought the rain when there was a drought, or stopped it when the fields were being inundated with abnormal storms; he made the fetish for the caravan to carry on the road, which would soften the heart of the white trader so that he would give a good price for the produce offered for sale; he made the charms that would protect a whole town, or an individual, or an animal. There was no condition of life which he was unable to affect either for good or evil, and his services must not be despised, or some catastrophe would follow. Such were the pretensions of the Congo *nganga*, and over the natives he wielded tyrannical and empirical power.

There are two phrases that contain the whole theory and practice of the Congo medicine-man's black and white magic.

When a man has been injured by a known or unknown enemy and wishes to inflict on him disease, misfortune, or death, he selects a *nganga* who possesses a fetish that has control over certain diseases, and pays him a fee to *loka e nkisi*, *i.e.* curse by the aid of a charm or fetish. The fetish is beaten with a stick, informed what it is to do, and then hung up outside the invoker's house, and the spirit of the fetish flies off to obey its orders. This is the simple *modus operandi* followed by all *ngangas*, who invoke their fetishes to use their various powers against the enemies of their clients. Any ordinary man who owns a fetish can curse an enemy with it by performing the same ceremony. If a man has not a fetish of his own powerful enough to satisfy his hatred, and does not want to go to the expense of engaging a *nganga* to *loka e nkisi*, he can, for a smaller sum, borrow for a limited time a strong fetish, and can himself *loka e nkisi*. When this ceremony is performed, it is not necessary to mention a name, but only "the thief who stole my goods," or "my enemy who sent me bad luck," or "the one who

bewitches me with this bad disease," as the case may be. This is the whole science of the Congo medicine-man's "black art."

Now all diseases, bad luck, misfortune, sorrow, and death are caused by witchcraft, *i.e.* by some one *lokanga e nkisi* against a person or a member of his family. For example, if a piece of cloth is stolen, the owner pays a *nganga* to *loka e nkisi* against the unknown thief. If the thief hears of it, and through fear returns the cloth, he will pay compensation and ask the *nganga* to *lembola e nkisi*, *i.e.* to soothe, appease the fetish, and thus remove its curse from working against him. Supposing the thief does not hear that the robbed man has called in the *nganga* to *loka e nkisi*, or feels so secure either in his disbelief in fetishes or in the protective power of his own charm that he retains the cloth, then the spell will work either on him or on one of his family. Hence, when a man is suffering from a disease, no one knows whether that disease is the result of a curse invoked on his own evil doings or on a member of his family who has injured some one so badly that they have paid a *nganga* to *loka e nkisi*. A robbed man will call upon the *ngang' a nkosi* (p. 462 *infra*) to curse the unknown thief with some severe lung trouble, and for this he is paid a fee by his client; by and by a man in the neighbourhood is troubled with a chest complaint, and, all other remedies failing, he asks and pays the *ngang' a nkosi* to use his good offices with his *nkosi* fetish to *lembola* it, to appease it so that the curse may be removed, and he may be cured. It is evident that either the man or one of his family is the thief, or why does the man suffer from such a disease? The same *nganga* practises his black magic to *loka* his fetish to curse a man with a disease, and uses his white magic to *lembola* his fetish to remove the curse, *i.e.* cure a man of a disease. He draws pay from both parties. Hence *loka e nkisi* is to invoke malignant spells

against an enemy, and *lembola e nkisi* is to invoke beneficent power on behalf of a friend by removing the curse by various rites and ceremonies. The same fetish is used for both purposes.

Some of the *ngangas* in the following list are common to the whole of the Lower Congo, others are known only in certain localities, and others are known by one name in one district and another name in another district. It will be observed that some are more beneficent than malignant in their operations, but it may be stated as an axiom that, the more malignant a *nganga* can be for evil, the more beneficent he can also be in removing curses and curing diseases. The powerful fetishes that give malignant diseases are also supposed to be able to cure them when properly appeased by the *nganga's* ceremonies.

1. *Ngang' a wuka,*—(*wuka,* to cure or heal),—is a general practitioner who deals in simples and charms for curing diseases.[6]

2. *Ngang' a moko,*—(*moko,* arms). Whatever this may have meant originally, it has no intelligible meaning now. The *moko* is sometimes a bundle of charms, and sometimes a small box of charms, and the *moko* doctor is more frequently a woman than a man. A red bead is taken to her from the patient, and she puts this bead under her pillow and dreams about the complaint of the patient who has sent it. In the morning she tells the messenger the cause of the illness and the treatment to be followed. This *nganga* only goes to the patient in a very bad case. The fee is 1 fowl and 500 strings of blue pipe beads; should she go to the town of the patient, she receives another fowl before she begins her ceremonies. The special function of this *nganga* is to state whether the patient is bewitched or not. Should the *ngang' a wuka* fail to cure his client, he lays his failure at the door of witchcraft, and

[6] Vol. xx., pp. 183-4.

the *ngang' a moko* is called in.[7] Should she say there is no special witchcraft in the matter, another *ngang' a wuka* is called; should she say, however, that witchcraft is at work, some one goes through the village night after night calling on the witch to desist from his evil practices or he will be surely punished. (The *ngang' a moko* is also often required to discover a thief.) Should the patient still not regain his health, another *nganga* is called, viz.:—

3. *Ngang' a bitodi.* This *nganga* calls on the spirits, and, having the trick of throwing his voice in different directions, answers himself in assumed tones, and will keep up a conversation with the evil spirits, exhorting them to leave the sick man alone. Sometimes he will chase the said spirits out of the town, and, getting them near the bush, will fire his gun repeatedly at them to drive them away. (Cf. No. 9 below.) The following is another method of this *nganga*:—In 1909 a man named Kiala of Wombe was ill with a cough and bad chest, and on the complaint growing worse the *ngang' a bitodi* was called to discover what retarded the patient's recovery. On arrival in the town the *nganga* took his fetish and locked himself in a house. He told the people that they would see the house shake as they heard the voices of the spirits (*nkwiya*) talking to him. The fetish *bitodi* spoke and the spirits answered, and the voices of young men, old men, young women, and old women were heard in conversation. After a long consultation between the *bitodi* and the spirits, the *nganga* came out and said,—"When the brother of the sick man married, he did not give any palm wine to his wife's family, and consequently this sickness has come as a punishment for breaking a country custom." The *nkwiya* also said through the *nganga*,—"One or two of the three sisters of the sick man had an evil spirit (*ndoki*), and they all three must bless the patient so as to remove the evil influence." The three sisters one by one took their sick

[7] Vol. xx., p. 185.

brother's right hand, and, having pretended to spit on it, said,—"*Ovw' e nsambu yo malawu*" (May you have blessings and good fortune). This particular blessing is called *taulwila*, from *taula*, to spit. The *nganga* in this case, to prove his power, heated a matchet red hot three times and licked it each time. He received as a fee for his services an amount equal to 24s.

The next *nganga* in importance is the one called in on the death of a person, and is named—

4. *Ngang' a ngombo*,—(*ngombo*, guessing). The special work of this *nganga* is to guess at or point out the witch (*ndoki*) who has caused the death of the deceased.[8] This *nganga* is sometimes, but rarely, engaged to discover the witch who is troubling a sick man, especially if the said sick man is influential and wealthy,—a chief of importance. Usually, however, he is not sent for until the person is dead. This *nganga* must not belong to the same family or clan as the deceased.

5. *Ngang' a nzaji*. Thunder is supposed to be made by the *nzaji* fetish, which also has the lightning under its control, and both lightning and a thunderbolt are called *mbw' a nzaji* (the dog of *nzaji*). *Nzaji* is represented by a wooden image, and is believed to possess tremendous power. When a person has been robbed and cannot discover the thief, he sends for *ngang' a nzaji*, who brings his wooden image, and asks the suspected persons if they have stolen the article. If they all deny the theft, the *nganga* goes outside the house, taps with his knife several times on the stomach of the image, and raises and lowers it three times. *Nzaji* is thus incited to strike the thief with lightning.[9] The man who has a skin disease called *tiya twa nzambi* (fire of God), in which the skin puckers up and blisters as though burnt, is thought to be under the ban of *nzaji*, and when he dies he is buried at or near a cross road. The fear of *nzaji* is so great that a thief will return

[8] Vol. xx., p. 186-7. [9] Vol. xx., p. 475.

the stolen article, secretly if possible, or openly rather than risk a terrible punishment. The *nzaji* curse is nullified in the following way:—The person or family under the ban tells the *ngang' a nzaji* to bring his image, and he pours some palm wine into the hole in the stomach of his image, stirs the wine well, and gives it to the person or persons to drink. This is called *nua mbozo* (to drink the mixture), and the mixture renders the participants immune from the above disease, and from death by lightning. If several members of a family die by *nzaji*, the family goes through the ceremony of marrying the *nzaji* fetish into their family, or one of the members of the family becomes a *ngang' a nzaji*, and this is called *tuntuka nzaji* (to come under the benign influence of *nzaji*). It is believed that, if *nzaji* belongs to the family, it will have pity on it. It must be remembered that, when the *nzaji* curse is put on a thief, the thief's family is included in the curse; and, if the family has a strong suspicion that one of its members is the thief, they try to protect themselves in the above manner, and undoubtedly the thief often protects himself by taking advantage of the antidote.

6. *Ngang' a mbambi.* This *nganga* by his fetish image gives syphilitic sores and deep-seated ulcers. A man living in a town near San Salvador had some syphilitic sores called *mbadi* which the *ngangas* could not heal, although many were engaged for that purpose. At last they said the sores were caused by the *mbambi* fetish, and to cure the man it was necessary to make the *mbambi* fetish a member of the sick man's family, when it would take pity on him. The *ngang' a mbambi* was sent for, and on arriving he put his drum in the centre of the crowd that had collected in the middle of the town. A boy and girl were selected to represent the clan. The girl was put on the ground with her back supported by the drum, and the *nganga* beat away on his drum until the girl swayed to and fro with the rhythm of the beating;

then, of a sudden, she jumped up and ran to a house opposite, climbed over it, and, as she went, pulled out, in her frenzy, handfuls of grass. Her actions showed that she was under the spell of the fetish, which had taken possession of her. The same operation was repeated on the boy, but, being too young to know what was expected of him, he sat stolidly still, and at last was replaced by an older boy, who very quickly re-enacted the girl's performances. The *mbambi* fetish was then regarded as a member of the clan, and was expected to withdraw his displeasure from his "relative." The patient, however, was never cured of his disease, and died a short time after the above ceremony.

7. *Ngang' a mpungu*,—(*mpungu*, mighty, all-powerful). This *nganga* owns a luck-giving bag of charms.[10] This *nganga* is supposed to have the power of making his clients favoured by women, slaves, and trade, and also by his family and friends. Those who by us are regarded as being the special favourites of fortune are regarded on the Lower Congo as being in possession of the *mpungu* charm, or *sole* image. The price of this charm is one slave, and, as only the rich can give that price, the idea is consequently fostered that such a fetish really gives good luck to its happy owner. The *nganga* can not only impart good luck to his clients, but, if paid, also remove good luck from any one and overwhelm them with misfortune. He has only to tap the *sole* image and hold it up and down three times and hang it outside his house, and away its spirit will fly to ruin the person against whom it has been incited.

8. *Ngang' a zumbi*. Should a town desire to have good luck in health, in trading, in breeding animals, and in its rivalry with other towns in hunting, farming, etc., the inhabitants contribute towards feeing a *ngang' a zumbi*

[10] Vol. xx., pp. 43-4. The bundle of *mpungu* may also contain some albino's hair.

to make for them a *nkind' a evata* (town charm). The *nganga* arrives in due time with his bag of charms. A plain post of *lembanzau* wood is procured, and a hole is cut in the top. Into this hole some of the strong *zumbi* charm is put, and a piece of palm gossamer is tied over the top. A hole is then dug in the ground just outside the town by the side of the road along which the women pass when fetching water from the stream. A goat is killed, and the head is put in the hole, and the fetish stick placed on it. (This is supposed to keep the white ants away from the stick.) The blood is poured over the hole in the stick, bathing thus the charms in blood. The town charm is now complete and ready to work, but there is one prohibition that must be scrupulously observed,—nothing tied in a bundle may enter the town, or the charm will become non-effective. Women returning with firewood must untie the bundle before reaching the "town charm"; men with bundles of grass for thatching must untie them; carriers with loads must loosen all the cords, or make a wide detour; and people must remove their girdles and belts. No sacrifice is offered regularly to this charm, but, should something very bad happen to the town or people, they refresh, or renew the energies of, the charm by pouring some more blood over it. Sometimes the fetish post is placed in the centre of the town.

Sometimes a man will invest in a *zumbi* charm for his own exclusive use. The fee is so extravagantly large that only rich men can pay it, and hence the idea of its power to bring riches to its owner is fostered.

This *zumbi* charm is at times put into a fowl, a goat, or a pig, and such a fowl or animal is never sold or killed, and it is never stolen, as no one would dare to steal the fetish belonging to another. Male animals only are invested with the *zumbi* power, and, when the animal grows old, the power is transferred to another. There used to be found in the towns what were called *nsusu a zumbi*

(*zumbi* fowls). The possessor of a *zumbi* charm selected a fine healthy cock, and gave it a small portion of the *zumbi* charm to swallow. That fowl then became his fetish, and he treated the fowl like a fetish. No one was allowed to beat or offend it, and it was respected like a chief. The *zumbi* fowl told its owner of coming events, such as danger to the town or to himself, and by its crow it also foretold the future, and in that way brought luck to its owner, as only he understood the information given by its crow and could take advantage of it. When the fowl became old, the *zumbi* charm was given to another, and the first one was killed, but eaten only by its owner. Drums were used in driving the *zumbi* power into a person, but the fowl simply swallowed a piece of the charm.

The *zumbi* is a bundle of charms, or an image that has had some of the charms put into it, or a fowl, or an animal as indicated above. The power of the *zumbi* is derived from the great *mpungu* charm. *Nsusu* (fowl) *a zumbi*, *nsusu a sole*, and *nsusu a mpungu* are all the same in their operations, getting their power, however, originally from the last,—*mpungu*.

9. *Ngang' a nkwiya.* This *nganga* pretends to control, punish, and even destroy the *nkwiya*, evil spirits that cause all diseases and death, for the *nkwiya* is the evil spirit by which the *ndoki* (witch) is possessed. If the *ngang' a bitodi* (No. 3) is unsuccessful in persuading the spirits to let the sick man alone, the *ngang' a nkwiya* is called, and, when he has ascertained what spirit it is that is troubling the man or family, he tries to drive it away by cursing, threatening, and firing his guns at it, and, as a last resort, he digs up the body of the person whose evil spirit is accused of being the cause of the illness or epidemic and burns it. By burning the body it is believed that the spirit is effectually destroyed, but this is done only when the evil spirit of the person is

persistent in its attacks on the health and comfort of the individual or family.[11]

10. *Ngang' a munkanda*, (*i.e.* trap). This *nganga* works with a bundle of charms and some small traps. The bundle contains powdered chalk, palm nut, and small garden eggs, and the bag is called *nkutu a maswa*; on the outside are six traps. The leaves etc. are *nlakaji*, *lumbuzu*, *munjila-njila*, *mundondo*, *dintata*, and *tendi kia ndungu*. If a person spits blood, or has a bad chest complaint, the *nganga* takes *makaiya* (leaves) *ma lumbuzu*, some *dintata*, and some of the chalk powder, crushes them together, and adds a little palm wine, and gives the mess to his patient to drink. Then the *nganga* puts several of the *nkanda* (traps) about the doors of the sick one's house or room, having first put a little fowl's blood or some sweet herbs in them to attract insects, spiders, cockroaches, etc. In the morning he looks to see if anything has entered them, and, if he finds a cockroach is right at the end of the trap, he knows the witch belongs to a distant branch of the family, and without more ado he crushes the cockroach, believing that the sickness will now pass from his patient to the *ndoki* represented by the cockroach. His patient will now get better. If, however, the cockroach is only half-way up the trap, he knows the *ndoki* is of very near kinship to the patient, and, as he does not want to pass the sickness on to a near relative, he warns the cockroach, and lets it go. Should a cockroach be found in the trap the next morning, he believes it is the same one (or, if it is a spider, that it has only changed its form); he will either warn it and threaten it more strongly and let it go, or he will keep it shut up a few days without food, and will watch to see if a near relative of the patient becomes thin, and, if no one becomes thin, he will vehemently threaten the *ndoki* in the insect and let it go. Should he find an insect in the trap on

[11] Vol. xx., p. 60.

the third morning, he kills it at once, as it is evident that the *ndoki* is very persistent and should be punished. It does not matter if the insect is found in a different trap each time. When he squeezes the insect in the trap some one else gets the illness of the patient, and, as this is the only way to catch this particular complaint, it is evident that the first patient got it by trying to bewitch some one else. This is supposed to be the only way in which this lung trouble is imparted and cured. Some women when confined send for this *nganga* to keep all *ndoki* from entering their babies. It is interesting to note that these *ndoki* can travel about disguised as insects, and the folk they represent suffer in proportion to their own suffering. In this *nganga* we have the black and white art operating at one and the same time, in curing and in giving a complaint.

11. *Ngang' a masaku.* A person suffering from dropsy in the stomach sends for this *nganga*, who on arrival calls together the relatives of his patient, and to some of them he gives light branches, to others rattles, and to one of them the fetish image *masaku*. The *nganga* puts the drum by the side of the sick man, and, while the *nganga* is playing it, the relative who has the fetish image beats it and calls on it to use its power to cure the patient, and punish those who are causing the disease; those with the rattles shake them vigorously, and those with the branches beat the body of the sick man with them. After keeping up this performance for some time, the *nganga* leads them outside the town, and the branches are all heaped together and left. The *nganga* then procures some sweet-smelling herbs, and boils them in a large saucepan, which is put under the patient; a large blanket is put over the man and the saucepan, and thus he takes a vapour bath and perspires most freely. This is repeated many times. Here again in the same ceremony are exercised both the black art and the white art.

12. *Ngang' a nkamba.* This is a female *nganga* who exercises her functions in cases of pregnancy to ensure a good and easy delivery and a healthy child.[12]

13. *Ngang' a nkisi,*—(*nkisi*, fetish, charm, amulet). When a child is born under unusual circumstances, *i.e.* by presentation of the legs, or the mother has dreamed of the *ximbi* (water spirits), a ceremony already described is observed.[13]

14. *Ngang' a mbanzangola* has a fetish which is the most powerful and most feared of all the fetishes in the catalogue. It is a wooden image, and is retained in the possession of its *nganga*. A private person can buy a *sole* fetish, or any one of the others, but no private individual may own a *mbanzangola* fetish. If a person desires to cause pain, disease, or death to another, he goes to a *nganga* of this fetish, and, having paid a fee, drives in a nail or a knife where he wants his enemy to feel the pain. A knife stabbed in a vital part means a painful death to the man's enemy. A nail in the shoulder, elbow, or knee would mean excruciating agony in one of those joints, and indicates that the man does not want to kill his enemy, but only wishes him to have rheumatism, abscesses, or some other minor ailment. The *mbanzangola* images are often found stuck over with nails, knives, and other sharp instruments. This is probably the only fetish image in connection with which there is no white art practised. It is neither a preventive fetish nor a curative one, but is always used to inflict pain.

15. *Ngang' a lembe,*—(*lemba*, to tame, soothe, make gentle). This *nganga* is called upon to ratify unconditional peace between towns or chiefs that have been making war on each other.[14] If a man has killed another by accident, he has to pay a small sum of money to deceased's family. The homicide is then taken to this *nganga*, who procures

[12] Vol. xix., p. 419.
[13] Vol. xx., pp. 477-8.
[14] Vol. xx., p. 37.

the third morning, he kills it at once, as it is evident that the *ndoki* is very persistent and should be punished. It does not matter if the insect is found in a different trap each time. When he squeezes the insect in the trap some one else gets the illness of the patient, and, as this is the only way to catch this particular complaint, it is evident that the first patient got it by trying to bewitch some one else. This is supposed to be the only way in which this lung trouble is imparted and cured. Some women when confined send for this *nganga* to keep all *ndoki* from entering their babies. It is interesting to note that these *ndoki* can travel about disguised as insects, and the folk they represent suffer in proportion to their own suffering. In this *nganga* we have the black and white art operating at one and the same time, in curing and in giving a complaint.

11. *Ngang' a masaku.* A person suffering from dropsy in the stomach sends for this *nganga,* who on arrival calls together the relatives of his patient, and to some of them he gives light branches, to others rattles, and to one of them the fetish image *masaku.* The *nganga* puts the drum by the side of the sick man, and, while the *nganga* is playing it, the relative who has the fetish image beats it and calls on it to use its power to cure the patient, and punish those who are causing the disease; those with the rattles shake them vigorously, and those with the branches beat the body of the sick man with them. After keeping up this performance for some time, the *nganga* leads them outside the town, and the branches are all heaped together and left. The *nganga* then procures some sweet-smelling herbs, and boils them in a large saucepan, which is put under the patient; a large blanket is put over the man and the saucepan, and thus he takes a vapour bath and perspires most freely. This is repeated many times. Here again in the same ceremony are exercised both the black art and the white art.

12. *Ngang' a nkamba.* This is a female *nganga* who exercises her functions in cases of pregnancy to ensure a good and easy delivery and a healthy child.[12]

13. *Ngang' a nkisi*,—(*nkisi*, fetish, charm, amulet). When a child is born under unusual circumstances, *i.e.* by presentation of the legs, or the mother has dreamed of the *ximbi* (water spirits), a ceremony already described is observed.[13]

14. *Ngang' a mbanzangola* has a fetish which is the most powerful and most feared of all the fetishes in the catalogue. It is a wooden image, and is retained in the possession of its *nganga*. A private person can buy a *sole* fetish, or any one of the others, but no private individual may own a *mbanzangola* fetish. If a person desires to cause pain, disease, or death to another, he goes to a *nganga* of this fetish, and, having paid a fee, drives in a nail or a knife where he wants his enemy to feel the pain. A knife stabbed in a vital part means a painful death to the man's enemy. A nail in the shoulder, elbow, or knee would mean excruciating agony in one of those joints, and indicates that the man does not want to kill his enemy, but only wishes him to have rheumatism, abscesses, or some other minor ailment. The *mbanzangola* images are often found stuck over with nails, knives, and other sharp instruments. This is probably the only fetish image in connection with which there is no white art practised. It is neither a preventive fetish nor a curative one, but is always used to inflict pain.

15. *Ngang' a lembe*,—(*lemba*, to tame, soothe, make gentle). This *nganga* is called upon to ratify unconditional peace between towns or chiefs that have been making war on each other.[14] If a man has killed another by accident, he has to pay a small sum of money to deceased's family. The homicide is then taken to this *nganga*, who procures

[12] Vol. xix., p. 419. [13] Vol. xx., pp. 477-8.
[14] Vol. xx., p. 37.

a saucepan of palm wine and presses into it the juice of *nsangalavwa* stems and *elemba-lemba* leaves. He then dips his hands into the mixture, and puts the palms of his wet hands to the forehead and back of the homicide's head, then to the temples, and then over all the joints of the body. This makes him *olembamene* (gentle, docile, careful). Should a hunter kill his dog, he must call this *nganga* and go through this ceremony, or next time he will kill a man. No one would hunt with him unless he observed this rite. In the same way the *ngang' a lembe* operates upon the insane to render them docile, and to cure them of their madness.

16. *Ngang' a sungu*,—(*sungu*, violent death,—the war fetish). On the proclamation of war between the towns, a strong charm is made by this *nganga*.[15]

17. *Ngang' elemba*,—(*lemba*, to remove all evil spells),—provides means used to accomplish much the same object as No. 16.[16] No. 16 provides a charm to cause a violent death to the enemy, and No. 17 a protective charm from violent death by the enemy.

18. *Ngang' a nkosi*,—(*nkosi*, lion). This *nganga's* fetish has the power of giving and curing chest complaints such as pneumonia, pleurisy, etc., and a person suffering from a disease of this kind goes to or sends for the *ngang' a nkosi*, who cuts a long, thin, exposed rootlet of a tree, and binds it tightly round the patient's chest. The *nganga* then searches for a bunch of palm nuts on a palm-tree that has never been cut before for palm nuts, and, having found the first fruits of the palm-tree, he takes some of the nuts and tears the oily fibre off with his teeth,—(a knife must not be used),—meanwhile walking round the palm-tree. Two of the nuts freed of their oily fibre are hung from the rootlet round the man's chest,—one near each breast,—and then the oil from the fibre is pressed out and mixed with palm wine and rubbed well into the patient's chest.

[15] Vol. xx., p. 35. [16] Vol. xx., p. 36.

19. *Ngang' a lufwalakazi*, (probably *lufwa lua* (*n*)*kazi*, from *lufwa*(*fwa*) death, *lua* of, *nkazi* wife and husband).[17] The ceremony performed on a widower who has lost his first wife is as follows:—The bereaved husband sends for this *nganga*, who gives him a raw egg to swallow. The widower then enters his house, and for six days comes out at night only. He may only sleep on a palm basket, *i.e.* a basket made by plaiting two palm fronds together. At dawn on the seventh day the male relatives of the deceased woman arrive to escort him to a running stream, carrying his basket bed. On arrival at the stream one of the relatives takes the bed and throws it into the water, scrapes his tongue, shaves him, pares his nails, makes three small cuts on his arm, and finally immerses him three times in the river to wash away the death. The widower then returns to the town, and a cock and hen are killed and cooked, and are eaten by the relatives of the deceased,—the males eating the cock, and the females the hen. The greatest care must be taken not to break a single bone of either fowl. Palm wine is then drunk, and the bereaved is rubbed with oil and camwood powder. At sundown the bones of the fowls are collected and tied in a palm leaflet, and buried at the base of a young palm-tree. From those who are present the *nganga* selects the men and women who have never been bereaved of husband or wife, and these have to tread in the earth over the buried bones. Those who thus tread in the bones have a tabu put upon them that they are not to eat palm nuts or anything made from them until a child is born to each of them. To disregard this prohibition is to court a like bereavement. A pumpkin seed is added to the charm worn by the widower, and three fibre cloths dyed black are put about his waist, and thus all the evil spells are broken. The man need not wait a year or two as a widow does, but can marry as soon as the wife is buried and the above rites

[17] Vol. xix., pp. 431-2.

performed. He is obliged to observe them, as otherwise no woman would dare to marry him. When the man returns to the town, his deceased wife's sister steps over his legs. The *nganga* receives as his fee a demijohn of palm wine and from 50 to 100 strings of blue pipe beads.

20. *Ngang' a nkisi a Kiniambe*, (*i.e.* divine fetish).[18]

21. *Ngang' a bau*,—(*bau*, divination by ordeal or testing).[19]

22. *Ngang' a manimba*, (*i.e.* sleeping sickness). The patient suffering from this complaint who goes to a *nganga* is treated in the following manner:—The *nganga* gives him a purge, and then something hot to drink with pepper mixed in it. He occasionally drops pepper juice in the patient's eyes to keep him awake, and lets blood every four days. He also scarifies the back and legs, and rubs in a mixture of lime juice and gunpowder, and stands the patient for a short time in the sun. Very often a low state of health exhibits some of the symptoms of sleeping sickness, and such cases are helped by any course of medicine in which they have faith; these so-called cures foster the belief of the people in the power of the *nganga* to relieve real cases of sleeping sickness.

23. *Ngang' a mbuji*, (*i.e.* madness).[20]

24. *Ngang' a manga.* A married couple, who have by death lost several children, will send for this *nganga*. When he arrives, the woman holds a "hand" of plantain on her head with her right hand. Her left hand being tied with a rope, she is led by a man who cries out,—"I have a person for sale." The *nganga* says, —"Bring the woman here, and I will buy her that she may bear children." The seller demands 3000 strings of beads, and the *nganga* pays 3 single beads and takes the woman, whereupon he throws away the plantain, saying,— "Remove these plantains, for they are the reason why she does not bear healthy children, because she is carrying them on her head." He cuts the rope, and a fetish feast

[18] Vol. xx., p. 57. [19] Vol. xx., pp. 187-8. [20] Vol. xx., p. 40.

is made called *elambu*. The *nganga* puts a tabu on her, and the ceremony is finished. The *ngang' a manga* also does around Wathen what the *ngang' a moko* practises around San Salvador.

25. *Ngang' a ezau*,—(*zaula*, to scoop away). This *nganga* destroys the power of the evil eye.[21] The possessor of the charm can call away the soul of his enemy, and the soulless one will soon die.

26. *Ngang' a kimbaji-mbaji*, (*i.e.* to-morrow). Any one who desires to do harm to a person under the protection of this charm always puts off committing the evil until to-morrow, and thus the person is never hurt, as to-morrow never comes. This *nganga* is employed to use his charm especially to counteract the evil designs of *ezau*. The charm itself is composed of various herbs rammed into a univalve shell.[22]

27. *Ngang' a mbumba*, (*i.e.* secret, mystery).[23]

28. *Ngang' a mpongo*. This *nganga* owns a fetish by which he prepares in saucepans protective charms which work by making an enemy forget his evil intentions. If a person wants to rob another under his very eyes, he uses a charm prepared by this *nganga*, and under its guard he goes to the person's house, and either he or an accomplice engages him in an interesting conversation so that he forgets all else, and while in that state of forgetfulness is robbed.

29. *Ngang' a ngani*.[24]

30. *Ngang' a mbambudi*,—(*bambula*, to deflect, to transfer in a mysterious way). The owner of this fetish is supposed to have the power of causing farm produce to leave an enemy's farm and go to that belonging to the owner of this charm, or client of this *nganga*. Fruit is also mysteriously stripped from the enemy's tree, and made to hang from the trees of others. Trade goods can also be spirited

[21] Vol. xx., p. 473.
[22] Vol. xx., p. 473.
[23] Vol. xx., pp. 40-1.
[24] Vol. xix., p. 436.

from one house to another. Any one possessing this fetish on him is not allowed to stay or sleep in a strange town, as the people fear its power. This fetish and the *ezau* are much the same, and can be counteracted by using the same charm.

31. *Ngang' a nkonzo*, (*i.e.* nervous energy). Any person lacking energy through ill-health, etc., sends for this *nganga*, who rubs two pieces of iron down the legs and arms three times; he then takes some green grass, and rubs it into shreds, and puts some fire in the middle and some sweet herbs on the live ember. He blows on it until there is a good smoke, and then passes the smoking herbs three times round the legs of the patient as he (or she) stands astride. When a woman is in birth pangs and has not strength to deliver her baby, they seat her on two stones and perform the above ceremony. This fetish comes from the forge, and consequently no one will steal from a forge, or he would lose his nervous energy.

32. *Ngang' a malunga*,—(*lunga*, a smithy, forge). The same as No. 31.

33. *Ngang' a mayuku*,—(*yukula*, to transfer, deflect),—has much the same power as Nos. 25 and 30.

34. *Ngang' a ebaku* is at the head of the *nkimba* secret society, *i.e.* there is a *nganga* of this cult in every *vela* (lodge) of the society. He superintends the twirling of every novice until the latter becomes giddy and unconscious, and in that condition is carried into the lodge. *Ebaku* means an old man, an elder, and in every *nkimba* lodge there was an *ebaku* who looked after the initiated and taught them the arts of the guild and also the secret language.

35. *Ngang' a nkau* was the name given to the *ngangas* who were at the head of the *ndembo*, or *nkita*, or *nsi a fwa* secret society. To what I have already written on the *ndembo* cult,[25] I should like to add the following note:—*Nkita* is a fetish that is responsible for all crooked and

[25] Vol. xx., pp. 189-98.

deformed things. Any abnormal event, such as a child being born by presenting its feet first, is put to the credit of *nkita*. *Nkita* is the power in *ndembo* that can remove deformities, if the deformed person will enter the *ndembo* lodge, and, as infecundity is regarded as abnormal, a sterile person,—man or woman,—has only to enter *ndembo* to have the disgrace removed. This is done by giving the initiated a new body.

36. *Ngang' a ngol' a nkasa* is the one who administers the ordeal (*nkasa*) to a witch.[26]

37. *Ngang' a nkongo*, (*i.e.* hunting skill).[27]

38. *Ngang' a mwilu*. The functions of this fetish man are the same as those of *nzaji* (No. 5).

39. *Ngang' a maninga* owns the fetish that causes a man to become extremely thin and weak, and also cures the complaint.

40. *Ngang' a ngundu* is the one who attempts to cure hernia with fomentations of hot leaves, purgatives, and palm wine mixed with certain juices.

41. *Ngang' a ngobila* possesses an image that is used for discovering thieves, and recovering stolen property. This fetish gives thieves any and every kind of bad lung trouble, from which they cannot be cured until they have made restitution for the robbery.

42. *Ngang' a ebunze*. When this *nganga* is called to attend a person with fits, apoplexy, or the ague shivers of fever, he makes a leaf funnel and squeezes the juices of certain leaves into it, and drops the mixture into the eyes of the patient.

43. *Ngang' a eseka*, (probably from *seka*, to sharpen).

44. *Ngang' a lubwiku*.

45. *Ngang' a elongo*.

46. *Ngang' a kumbi*.

These four *ngangas* perform the rites of circumcision.[28]

[26] Vol. xix., p. 417.
[27] Vol. xix., pp. 434-5.
[28] Vol. xx., pp. 304-7.

47. *Ngang' a lukandu* is the one who has the rain-stopping charm. The *lukandu* is a small bundle of "medicines," and when the *nganga* wants to stop the rain he puts this bundle on the ground and surrounds it with several small heaps of gunpowder. He shakes his rattle, explodes the powder, and blows his whistle three times, and then the rain will neither be so frequent nor so abundant. (The rainbow is one of the signs of the effective power of this *nganga*. When the people see it they believe the charm has worked, and the rain will not again fall for a time.) If this, however, does not succeed, *salt is put on the fire*; but this last charm may stop the rains entirely, so it is used with great care and only when other means fail. The *nganga*, on the day that he is going to invoke the *lukandu*, must neither drink water nor wash himself. To make the rain come after a long drought, the *nganga* takes some *lulemba-lemba* leaves, and puts them into a stream and dives under the water, and when he returns to the surface the rain will soon fall.

48. *Ngang' a ekumfu* owns an image that squats on its haunches with its arms upraised, holding something on its head. My informant's mother was a *nganga* of this kind, but, as she died while he was a young lad, all he remembers of the fetish is its shape, and that it was regarded as powerful, but its special functions he has forgotten.

49. *Ngang' a maladi.* When a person recovers from certain serious sicknesses, such as sleeping sickness, dropsy, etc., this *nganga* brings his fetish, which originally came from the Baladi country (in French Congo), and removes the tabu of "not crossing a road," which was imposed on the patient while ill, in the following manner:—He takes his patient to a cross road, draws a chalk mark on the road, digs a trench, puts water into it, and then he takes the patient, by interlocking the little fingers of the right hands, and helps him over the water three times. The tabu is removed, and the sickness is not able to follow the

man. Should a woman give birth to weakly children that soon die, this *nganga* is called, and on arrival he digs a trench and puts water in it. He helps the woman over it by the interlocking of the little fingers of the right hands, and the sickness from which she was suffering, and which caused the death of her children, will not follow her across the running water.

It will be observed in the above list that there is a *nganga* for every known disease, and one for every possible emergency in native life. The native was afraid to take a single important step in any direction from birth to death without first invoking the aid of the witch-doctor and his fetishes. When a native was not helped by one *nganga*, he, as a rule, did not blame him, but thought the diagnosis was wrong, and that the disease or misfortune was not under the control of his particular fetish. His faith in *ngangas* was not affected, but he simply changed one medicine-man for another, hoping that the new *nganga* would have a fetish to meet his case.

It is not to be thought for a moment that all these *ngangas* sprang simultaneously into existence, or that they are the product of only one tribe; they are undoubtedly the evolution of many generations, and a free appropriation from neighbouring tribes of fetish ceremonies, etc., that appealed to them through being made widely known by some famous *nganga* of the time. The Congo native was always ready to try a new fetish, hoping thereby to gain some advantage to his fortune or his health.

The following is probably the history of the rise of many of the *nganga* cults now in vogue:—A quick-witted, observant man noticed that a certain herb, or a certain mode of procedure, such as massage or inducing perspiration by steaming, was beneficial to a patient suffering from a certain disease. If he had given the herb in a simple way without any hanky-panky, or did a little medical rubbing without accompanying it with ceremonies, or had

given a vapour bath without rites and the ostentatious display of fetish power, the natives would not have regarded him as a *nganga*, and he would have procured very little business. In order to protect his discovery, and to draw patients, he surrounded it with the hocus-pocus of fetish rites and ceremonies, and thus started a new cult that had its day. It is most probable that *ngangas* and their fetishes have risen in power, have had wide fame and much popular support, have then fallen into disrepute, and have been abandoned in favour of new ones, and, if the truth were known, as many, if not more, *nganga* cults have been forgotten as are now remembered.

In the early years of the Baptist Mission on the Congo, the natives had little or no faith in our medicines, because we administered them in a simple and straightforward way. If we had had recourse to trickery we might have made large sums for our Mission, but, although our medical knowledge has been very limited, yet our remedies have so gained in favour that at one station alone, (Wathen), a sum of from £25 to £30 is taken annually for medicines, and natives come long distances to be treated in our hospital.

The *ngangas* have largely maintained the continuity of native customs, for, when baffled in curing a person, they have frequently put their failure at the door of a broken or slighted country custom; they are largely responsible for crushing any inventive genius the people have shown by putting public calamities,—such as an epidemic of sickness,—to the account of any inventor who might be known at the time; and they have retarded all progress by charging with witchcraft any one who was more skilful in work, or more energetic and shrewd in trading, than his neighbours. The fear of being accused of witchcraft has been so great and continuous that it has hampered and destroyed every attempt at advancement, and nullified every progressive step, and there was little hope of the

native attaining advancement in civilisation or any betterment of his conditions of life, until he lost faith in his *ngangas*.

It will be observed that in the ceremonies of some *ngangas* white magic is more evident than black, and in others black magic is more prominent than white, and that nearly every *nganga* practised both the black and the white art by the invocation of the same fetish in a slightly different way; by dealing with his fetish in one way he invoked it to curse a person with disease and misfortune, and by following another mode of procedure he tried to soothe and appease his fetish, so that in a good humour it would give his client good health and good luck.

JOHN H. WEEKS.

---

given a vapour bath without rites and the ostentatious display of fetish power, the natives would not have regarded him as a *nganga*, and he would have procured very little business. In order to protect his discovery, and to draw patients, he surrounded it with the hocus-pocus of fetish rites and ceremonies, and thus started a new cult that had its day. It is most probable that *ngangas* and their fetishes have risen in power, have had wide fame and much popular support, have then fallen into disrepute, and have been abandoned in favour of new ones, and, if the truth were known, as many, if not more, *nganga* cults have been forgotten as are now remembered.

In the early years of the Baptist Mission on the Congo, the natives had little or no faith in our medicines, because we administered them in a simple and straightforward way. If we had had recourse to trickery we might have made large sums for our Mission, but, although our medical knowledge has been very limited, yet our remedies have so gained in favour that at one station alone, (Wathen), a sum of from £25 to £30 is taken annually for medicines, and natives come long distances to be treated in our hospital.

The *ngangas* have largely maintained the continuity of native customs, for, when baffled in curing a person, they have frequently put their failure at the door of a broken or slighted country custom; they are largely responsible for crushing any inventive genius the people have shown by putting public calamities,—such as an epidemic of sickness,—to the account of any inventor who might be known at the time; and they have retarded all progress by charging with witchcraft any one who was more skilful in work, or more energetic and shrewd in trading, than his neighbours. The fear of being accused of witchcraft has been so great and continuous that it has hampered and destroyed every attempt at advancement, and nullified every progressive step, and there was little hope of the

native attaining advancement in civilisation or any betterment of his conditions of life, until he lost faith in his *ngangas*.

It will be observed that in the ceremonies of some *ngangas* white magic is more evident than black, and in others black magic is more prominent than white, and that nearly every *nganga* practised both the black and the white art by the invocation of the same fetish in a slightly different way; by dealing with his fetish in one way he invoked it to curse a person with disease and misfortune, and by following another mode of procedure he tried to soothe and appease his fetish, so that in a good humour it would give his client good health and good luck.

JOHN H. WEEKS.

COLLECTANEA.

THE FAIRY CHILD AND THE TAILOR: AN ISLE OF MAN FOLK-TALE.

[THE following story was told to me by Joe Moore, who lives in the parish of Patrick, some mile from Close-ny-Lheiy. I wrote the story down from notes made at the time,—the dialogue being taken down, word for word, as it fell from his lips. He told me that his father got the story from old Hom Bridson himself, ninety years ago and more; he never repeated the story while any of the Colloo family lived, but the last descendant died many years ago, and the old farmhouse is in ruins. It was a curious coincidence that, in the week following that in which I had the story from Joe Moore, I received it also from Logan, Utah, from Miss Quirk, who had it from an old Manxman who had lived there for fifty years and had emigrated from Glen Meay.]

There was one time a woman named Colloo in Close-ny-Lheiy, near Glen Meay, and she had a child that had fallen sick in a strange way. Nothing seemed wrong with him, yet crosser and crosser he grew, nying-nyanging night and day. The woman was in great distress. Charms had failed, and she didn't know rightly what to do.

It seems that, about a fortnight after birth, the child, as fine a child for his age as you would see in a day's walk, was left asleep while the mother went to the well for water. Now Herself forgot to put the tongs on the cradle, and, when she came back, the child was crying pitiful, and no quatin' for him. And from that very hour the flesh seemed to melt off his bones, till he became as ugly and as wizened a child as you would see between the Point of

Ayre and the Calf. He was that way, his whining howl filling the house, for four years, lying in the cradle without a motion on him to put his feet under him. Not a day's res' nor a night's sleep was there at the woman these four years with him. She was fair scourged with him, until there came a fine day in the spring that Hom beg Bridson, the tailor, was in the house sewing. Hom is dead now, but there's many alive as remember him. He was wise tremenjus, for he was going from house to house sewing, and gathering wisdom as he was going.

Well, before that day the tailor was seeing lots of wickedness at the child. When the woman would be out feeding the pigs and sarvin' the craythurs, he would be hoisting his head up out of the cradle and making faces at the tailor, winking, and slicking, and shaking his head, and saying "What a lad I am!"

That day the woman wanted to go to the shop in Glen Meay to sell some eggs that she had, and says she to the tailor:—"Hom man, keep your eye on the chile that the bogh [poor dear] won't fall out of the cradle and hurt himself while I slip down to the shop." When she was gone the tailor began to whistle aisy to himself, as he stitched, the tune on a lil hymn.

"Drop that, Hom beg," said a lil harsh voice.

The tailor, scandalised, looked round to see if it was the child that had spoken, and it was.

"Whush, whush, now, lie quate," says the tailor, rocking the cradle with his foot, and as he rocked he whistled the hymn tune louder.

"Drop that, Hom beg, I tell ye, an' give us something light an' handy," says the lil fella back to him, middling sharp.

"Aw, anything at all to plaze thee," says the tailor, whistling a jig.

"Hom," says my lad, "can thou dance anything to that?"

"I can," says the tailor, "can thou?"

"I can that," says my lad, "would thou like to see me dance?"

"I would," says the tailor.

"Take that oul' fiddle down then, Hom man," he said, "and put 'Tune y wheeyl vooar' [Tune of the big wheel] on it."

"Aw, I'll do that for thee, an' welcome," says the tailor.

The fiddle quits its hook on the wall, and the tailor tunes up.

"Hom," says the lil fella, "before thou begin to play, clear the kitchen for me,—cheers an' stools, everything away. Make a place for me to step out to the music, man."

"Aw, I'll do that for thee, too," says the tailor.

He cleared the kitchen floor, and then he struck up "Tune y wheeyl vooar."

In a crack the lil fella bounced from his cradle on to the floor with a "Chu!" and began flying round the kitchen. "Go it Hom,—face your partner,—heel and toe does it. Well done, Hom,—jog your elbow, man."

Hom plays faster and faster, till me lad was jumping as high as the table.

With a "Chu!" up goes his foot on top of the dresser, and "Chu!" then on top of the chimlee piece, and "Chu!" bang against the partition, then he was half flying, half footing it round the kitchen, turning and going round that quick that it put a reel in Hom's head to be looking at him. Then he was whirling everything round for a clear space, even Hom himself, who by degrees gets up on the table in the corner and plays wilder and wilder, as the whirling jig grew madder and madder.

"M' Yee!" says the tailor, throwing down the fiddle, "I mus' run, thou're not the chile that was in the cradle. Are thou?"

"Houl' man! thou're right enough," says the lil fella. "Strike up for me, make has'e, make has'e, man,—more power to your elbow."

"Whush!" said the tailor, "here's Herself coming."

The dancing ceased. The child gave a hop, skip, and jump into the cradle.

"Get on with thee sewing, Hom; don't say a word," says the lil fella, covering himself up in the clothes till nothing was left of him to be seen except his eyes which keeked out like a ferret's.

When Herself came in the house, the tailor, all of a tremble, was sitting cross-legged on the round table and his specs on his nose and letting on that he was busy sewing; the child in the cradle was shouting and sweeling [squealing] as usual. "What in all the earthly worl'...! But it's the quare stitching, altogether, there's been goin' on here, an' me out. An' how thou can see thee needle in that dark corner, Hom Bridson, let alone sew, it beats me," says

she, siding the place. "Well, well, then, well, well, on the boghee veg [poor little thing]. What is it at all, at all, that's doin' on the millish [sweet]? Did he think Mammy had gone an' lef' him then, the chree [heart]? Mammy is goin' to feed him, though."

The tailor had been thinking mighty with himself what he ought to do, so he says,—"Look here, woman, give him nothing at all, but go out and get a creelful of good turf."

She brought in the turf, and throws a big bart [bundle] of fern on it. The tailor give a leap off the table down to the floor, and it wasn't long till he had the fine fire.

"Thou'll have the house put on fire for me, Hom," says Herself.

"No fear, but I'll fire some of them," says the tailor.

The child, with his two eyes going out of his head watching to see what the tailor would do then, was slowly turning his whining howl into a kind of call,—to his own sort to come and fetch him, as like.

"I'll send thee home," says the tailor, drawing near the cradle, and he stretches out his two hands to take the child and put him on the big red turf fire. Before he was able to lay a hand on him, the lil fella leaped out of the cradle and took for the door. "The back of me han' an the sole of me fut to you!" says he, "if I would only ha' had only another night I could have showed thee a trick or two more than that yet."

Then the door flew open with a bang, as though some one had thrown it open, and he took off with himself like a shot. A hullaballoo of laughing and making fun was heard outside, and the noise of many running little feet. Out on the door of the house goes Herself, she saw no one, but she caught sight of a flock of low-lying clouds shaped like gulls chasing each other away up Glen Rushen, and then comes to her ears, as if afar off from the clouds, sharp whistles and wicked little laughs as if making mock of her. Then, as she was turning round and searching, she suddenly sees her own sweet rosy smiling child with thumb in mouth lying on the bink [stone bench] right before her. And she took all the joy in the worl' of the child that he was home again safe and sound.

Sophia Morrison.

Peel, Isle of Man.

A Folklore Survey of County Clare (*continued*).

IX. *Supernatural Animals.*

There is a rich fauna of supernatural animals in the county, even snakes being represented in it. There can be little doubt that the highly imaginative early Irish personified the more terrifying powers of nature, such as the sea, the storm, and the thunder. The roaring, writhing waves in a sea creek or river swirl may have suggested some great creature, (too great to be natural), wallowing under the waters, and so given rise to the endless *péist* names and legends, in which a distinction is never drawn between the spectral and the natural.

Péists.—Ireland, although free from serpents at all times known to science, was yet much dominated by them mentally. Probably no lake of any importance in Clare was untenanted by a serpent, a wonderful animal, or a city. A *péist* could, however, be chained or slain by a hero or saint, and the majority of the *péists* were believed to have been eliminated by such warriors in the same way as the bear and, later, the wolf were cleared away by ordinary mortals. *Péist* only meant beast, and seems to mean no more in many place-names not belonging to lakes or river pools. Cappanapeasta near Inchicronan need not imply a monster, but Poulnapeasta we may always venture to translate as "water dragon's lair." There are many examples in tradition of the "dweller in the waters," "the serpent-god of this hallowed stream." In the *Hunting of Sliabh Truim* we find a *péist* with "ears as large as the gate of a Cathair" (stone fort) and "tusks as big as a tree."[1] The saga of *Da Derga's Hostel* brings into one the Norse, Irish, and Hebrew beliefs of the *péist*, Midgard Snake, and Leviathan by its tale of the "Leuidan, that surrounds the globe and strikes with its tail to overturn the world."[2] The *Feis tighe chonain* and *Hunting of Sliabh Truim* are full of allusions, and contain a dialogue with a Grecian *péist*, and tell how Finn slew spectres, arrachs, and aimids (women bugbears), and "banished from the raths (earth forts) each *péist*." Even in a nearly contemporary history of a hero of the time of Canute, a

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 115. [2] *Revue Celtique*, vol. xxi., p. 54.

Clare prince Murchad, son of King Brian, and, like his father, slain at the moment of victory in 1014, is described as "the second powerful Hercules who destroyed and exterminated *péists* and monsters."[3] It is interesting to note how the deserted forts, even in pre-Norman times,[4] were believed to be the haunt of strange monsters, and to afford an equivalent to "big game shooting" for the local warriors:

"He slew the spectre of Drom Cliabh,
And the spectre and serpent of Lough Ree.
Fionn banished from the raths
Each piast he went to meet.
A serpent in the refulgent Shannon
He slew by frequenting the "lake.""[5]

First in importance amongst the *péists* is the "Cata." St. Senan (about A.D. 500) found that this monster dwelt in Iniscatha, now Scattery, in the estuary of the Shannon, where Finn had killed a like infester. The Cata devoured the saint's smith, Narach, but Senan brought him forth again alive. The subsequent combat promised great things, but ended tamely. The Cata advanced "its eyes flashing flame, with fiery breath, spitting venom and opening its horrible jaws," but Senan made the sign of the cross, and the beast collapsed and was chained and thrown into Doolough near Mount Callan (the black lake, "Nigricantis aquae juxta montem Callain in Tuamonia").[6] In the oldest (metrical) Life of Senan, the *péist* appears as the "immanis bellua" or "bestia," while Iniscatha is rendered "Belluanam Insulam." The legend is alluded to even in the late eighth-century *Calendar of Oengus* under March 8th, "Senan of InisCathaig gibbetted Naroch's foe." The story is remembered widely, and among all

[3] *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (ed. Dr. Todd, Rolls Series), p. 187. This curious and bombastic panegyric proves statistically that the valour of Murchad was $\frac{1}{10807}$th part of that of Hector of Troy, who was seven times more valiant than the Tuatha Dé Danann god Lug-long-hand.

[4] The Normans held similar beliefs. Giraldus Cambrensis gives an account of spectral apparitions in a fort during the conquest of Leinster.

[5] *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, vol. vi.; cf. vol. ii., p. 58.

[6] Prose Life of St. Senanus, Colgan, *Acta S. Hib.*, under March 8th, Section xxxviii. See also Wh. Stokes, *Lives of the Irish Saints from the Book of Lismore.*

classes at Scattery and along both banks of the river, at Kilkee, Kilmihil, and round Doolough and Miltown Malbay. In the fifteenth-century details of the "Cathedral" of Scattery a large-eyed dragon with crocodile jaws is conspicuous; there was another carving at Kilrush; and a third,—the "pattern-stone" removed from Scattery and until lately at Kilkee,—showed the Cata as "the amphibious beast of this blessed Isle," a nondescript creature with spiked back, scales, fish tail, nose curling up spirally, and clawed forefeet.

St. MacCreehy, a generation later than Senan (about 580), rivals the latter as a "dragon queller." He subdued the "Bruckee," a demon badger (*broc sidh*), at Rath Blathmaic near Inchiquin, which slew men and cattle and resisted the prayers of six local saints.[7] MacCreehy by his holiness soon overpowered and chained it; the aged saint then threw it

"Deep in that forgotten mere
Among the tumbled fragments of the hills"

below the hill of Scamhal (or Scool) where its den Poulnabruckee (Poll na broic sidhe) is still shown. As already suggested (p. 181) the Bruckee may have been a bear, and "a terrible bear,—he is death to a herd of cattle" in *Bricriu's Feast*[8] sounds like an allusion to a common occurrence. The Bruckee on "MacCreehy's tomb" in Kilmacreehy church, on the shore of Liscannor Bay, is exactly like the Cata carvings in Scattery, with long pointed ears, large eyes, and huge jaws blunt-ended, but bristling with pointed teeth. In the fifteenth century it had become a dragon in local belief.

Another Bruckee haunted Shandangan Lough near Corofin, a little pool famous, when I first knew it, for remarkable changes of colour. There are two funnel holes, eight to ten feet wide, full of water, in the soft ground near the pool which are still

[7] See Plate XIV., p. 340, *ante.* O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, vol. iii., p. 322; *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxix., p. 249.

[8] P. 64 (ed. *Irish Texts Society*). However, if the animal was common in the literary period, one might expect that the Life of King David would have suggested an Irish counterpart to the monks. Fights with the wolf are practically absent from Irish tales, and it seems safer to regard the identity with the bear of the badger "as big as a cow" as a mere speculation.

regarded with fear and suspicion. Ned Quin of Coad, a honest truthful man who died about eight years ago, firmly believed that he had seen the Bruckee in this lake. When he and a man named Pilkington were passing by, they saw a brown hairy monster swimming and plunging in the water, and it had eyes as large as turnips.[9] It was probably a "tussock" of peat and coarse grass that had, as often happens, fallen off the crumbling shore. There is no tradition that this pest was confined by the local sainted lady (Findclu) Inghean Baoith.

John Windele, amongst much speculation as to there being a dragon temple (*dracontium*) at Scattery and others at Loop Head in Clare and at Dun Farvagh in the Middle Isle of Aran, asserts, on the authority of *The Adventures of the Three Sons of Thorailbh*, a romance written in 1750, that several other formidable monsters belong to this district.[10] These were the Faracat,[11] Fearboc or Fearbach, and three other dragons, the spawn of the "all-devouring sow, on the rock of Cruine" reared by "the red demon of Doolough." Comyn, in the same romance, derives the name of Illaunmattle, an island off the neighbouring coast, from the Matal, a formidable beast, (perhaps a demon boar), defeated by the same heroes.[12] How far those of Comyn's stories without local attestation are genuine folklore is doubtful. Akin to these monsters is the mighty serpent hunted and slain by the O'Briens' army down the valley of the Daelach in Corcomroe. They stoned it with rocks which still form the great cairn of Carnconnachtach, near Ennistymon, over its remains.[13] This cairn, being at Ballydeely (Daelach's town *par excellence*), may have been the reputed tomb of the Firbolg chief Daelach, son of Umór, and is almost certainly the "Carn mic Tail" where the O'Conors of Corcamodruad inaugurated their chiefs.

[9] So Dr. G. U. MacNamara.

[10] Windele, *Topographical MS.* (Royal Irish Academy), p. 3; *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 350.

[11] *Ante*, p. 183.

[12] The Mata, a giant, many-legged, and carapaced monster, infested the Boyne valley, and left a pyramid of its bones in the cemetery of Brugh. See "Dindsenchas," *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv. (1894), pp. 292, 329.

[13] *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 309.

These beliefs are obviously early, as in the "Agallamh" of *The Book of Lismore*[14] is a lough *péist* which kills men and hounds, and *The Book of Feenagh* tells of "Loc na pesti," where a hideous *péist* slew 900 youths as they bathed. The *Seanchus Mór* has a lake monster, the Murdris, which expands and contracts like a smith's bellows. The same idea takes shape in the reputed gigantic (if not supernatural) eels and pikes in certain lakes. An enormous pike haunts Gurteen Lough, an old property of the Stamers, in Lower Bunratty. The peasants dare not bathe in its waters, and believe they have seen in the dusk a huge misty form in the lough and even crawling up its shores, whence it has frequently carried off lambs, and even calves.[15]

Bulls.—In ruins and hollow trees sometimes a strong breeze from some particular point will cause a deep intermittent bellow, which might originate a belief in ghostly bulls. At Rosslara (Fortanemore) Castle near Tulla we have heard the wind from some undetermined point towards the north-west, when sufficiently strong, raise a roar so mighty as to be audible far from the ruin. I traced the noise to a small deep window nearly filled by a slope of earth and stones. The Castle enjoys the fame of being haunted, but I have heard no bull legend. At Rinroe (or Elmhill) Castle near Clonlara, the bull was seen about 1890 by the then owner of the farm on which the ivied tower stands. Having missed several "trams" of hay, the farmer was lying in wait in some bushes in the Castle field, and at last saw a huge black bull come out of the ruin, and throw its tail round a "tram" of hay and draw it into the castle.[16] There is an old lane way at a beautiful spot on the shore of Lough Derg opposite to the "Holy Island" of Iniscaltra with its lofty round tower and clustered churches with their noble setting of lake and mountains. In this old road are two dreaded spots, one haunted by a ghostly black bull with fiery eyes, and the other by a less awe-inspiring object "a ghost like a turkey cock"! Farther north is the scene of a curious variant of the Bishop Hatto legend, with frogs instead of rats and a brutal boy in place of a cruel prelate.[17]

[14] Translated by S. H. O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii., pp. 101-265.
[15] So the late Ralph Hugh Westropp and Mrs. Stamer.
[16] The late Hugh Massy Westropp heard this from the farmer.
[17] So Capt. Hibbert.

Water Cattle.—I have not found a water-bull legend clearly told in Clare, but cow's horns are seen over the waters of one lake and "something roared" under the waters of another.[18] In 1877 I heard of cattle coming out of some lake near Kilkishen, (perhaps Cullaun, with its enchanted city or palace), but I could not recover the story when searching twenty years later. "*Loch na bó girre* which is called *loch Gréine*" is given[19] as an old name for the large lake of Lough Graney in the Aughty mountains on the north border of Clare. This probably implies that it had a legend like that of Lough bo Girr, near Cahir in County Tipperary, whence an enormous long-horned cow used to issue.

Púcas and Horses.—Though the *púca* has influenced very often the place-names of Clare, its legends in the county are dry and vague. One man near Clonlara had the misfortune to become its sport. It took the form of a pony, and, finding the man searching for treasure in a gravel-pit, in which he had dreamed that gold was concealed, bore him away on a long rough ride and dropped him at the spot from which it started, where he was found bruised and insensible next morning.[20] The *púca* also appears as a hideous goat. I was told by a servant, about 1870, of a demon "black puck-goat with fiery eyes" appearing to a poor country woman on a roadside bank in the Cratloe hills.[21] The tale was very blood-curdling, but, doubtless to my relief then but regret now, I put it out of mind, and now forget its details. The *púca* always puts its hoof on the blackberries at Michaelmas, after which they become unfit to eat.[22]

Of spirit horses other than the *púca*, I have heard of one at a deep gravel quarry, near Trough in the same hills. The ghostly presentment of a Limerick gentleman, a Mr. Furnell, appeared one moonlight night on horseback. He rode at full gallop, with

[18] I think Lough Breeda, east from Tulla, and Clonlea Lake were intended. I am to blame for not making a note at the time, but was only interested in the legend. My notes only begin in 1878, though embodying earlier matter, and are too often "car notes" from drivers and others and not properly located. Where possible, I re-examined them from 1892 upwards.

[19] In the "Agallamh," *Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii., p. 126.

[20] So the late Sir Hugh Dillon Massy at Doonass.

[21] So Mrs. O'Shea at Clorane, Limerick.

[22] Cf. similar English belief as regards the devil.

hounds in full cry, and the sound of horns, across the upper field, leaped the fence, and disappeared into the quarry with a crash and groan. Mr. Francis Drew of Drewsborough, who was driving past with a friend, recognised and called to the ghostly rider; when he saw the supposed accident, he ran into the quarry, but could find nothing. Next day he heard of the death of the hunter, but far away from the quarry.[23]

Supernatural, but evidently material, were the horses which came out of the caves of Kilcorney in the heart of the Burren,[24] for they left descendants, noted for their high spirits and fierceness, by earthly mares in the valley. A similar tale of sea-horses coming out of Galway Bay was told some thirty-five years since, and we owned a reputed scion of their race, a cob from Connemara on the opposite side of the Bay.

Dogs.—One spectral dog haunts the road between Carrigaholt and Ross in the long peninsula of the Irrus, and is believed to be the spirit of a comparatively recent local celebrity, "Robin of Ross," of whom many tales are told. He was a member of the Keane family, and one version makes his ghost a different dog from the one near Carrigaholt.[25] Another dog accompanies a human ghost on its nightly patrol between the railway bridge and the cemetery at the venerable church and shattered round tower of Dromcliff. The precincts of Ennistymon House were haunted by the spectre of a large black hound, quite harmless.[26] Once very famous, but now nearly forgotten, was the ghostly "Black Dog of Cratloe." Many believed that they had seen the apparition, which used often to accompany the D'Esterre's coach and the mail car. My mother and my brother Ralph Hugh Westropp, who travelled through the great floods of the Shannon on February 1st, 1869, told a very circumstantial tale of the dog.[27]

[23] So the late Capt. Ralph Westropp, from Mr. Drew.

[24] *Ordnance Survey Letters*, (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 236; cf. Gough, *Camden*, vol. iv., p. 366.

[25] So the MacDonnells and a driver named Russell. "Robin" lived in the early eighteenth century.

[26] So Mrs. Twigge.

[27] My mother in her diary notes,—"Drove home through several floods, the worst at Bunratty. . . . Saw the phantom dog at Cratloe."

I was present at its first telling, before they heard from our old servant, Mrs. Julia MacHugh, of the local belief. The tale, I have heard, was fully confirmed by their driver and a guide, a workman of the D'Esterres, who piloted them along a flooded and unfenced reach of the road a little to the east of Bunratty. A large, dark, shadowy dog seemed to run upon the moonlit water, first to one side and then to the other of the carriage, and was more than once lashed at by the driver. It disappeared near where the road ascends from the low marshy "corcasses" along the foot of the Cratloe hills. Julia MacHugh, a woman of wide local knowledge, at once "explained" the apparition and said that the omen was good if the dog ran alongside, but bad if he leaped at the carriage or horses. On one occasion he leaped at the mail car, and soon afterwards its driver was thrown off and killed on the spot. I recently learnt that a ghostly black dog haunts by night the lonely road above the old ruined house of Glenomera.

Seals.—The belief that seals are disguised human beings prevailed, I am told, in Clare forty years ago, at least along the Kilkee coast.[28] I never heard it myself from fisherfolk. A little further north, from Connemara up to Mayo, the Kinealys are reputed to be descended from a beautiful seal-woman. The belief is nearly universal, and is attached even to a few of the family in Clare.

Rabbits.—Early this year a clever intelligent man, near Ennis, went with a boy and a ferret to shoot rabbits from a fort. Three ran out and were shot at and missed. The man then called the boy to come at once, and ran off in great excitement and fear, saying that the rabbits were fairies. Some such belief must be widely spread, as Mrs. MacDonnell of Newhall told me that, when a girl, she took up a small and very tame white rabbit in the glen at Edenvale and immediately afterwards found that she had lost a ring. The people who helped in the search, and her father's gamekeeper, were convinced that the rabbit was a fairy and had taken the ring with it.

Birds.—I have read of an enchanted bird which was caught in the cave of Kilcorney and spoke with a human voice.[29] The

[28] So the late Hugh Massy Westropp.

[29] *Ordnance Survey Letters*, (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 236.

ravens and owls connected with the Ross-Lewins, Westropps, and other families as death warnings have already been referred to (p. 190).

X. *Spectral Lands and Cities.*

Clare formed a part of the outmost fringe of the ancient world, and its people were deeply impressed with the mysteries and wonders of the Outer Ocean. The voyage of Maelduin tells of the son of a Clare man sailing out into "the great endless deep" and finding isles of surpassing beauty and wonder, and the "Hui Corra" in deep repentance sailed towards the setting sun from the creek at the northern bound of Clare "to meet the Lord on the sea."[30] St. Brendan, eager to seek out new islands, went for advice to St. Enda, a saint closely connected with Clare, (where Killeany bears his name), and its appanage, Aran. In the bay to the north of Clare William Ires, a native of Galway, became accustomed to the ocean which he crossed with Columbus, and it may be that his tales of Hy Brasil, of St. Brendan's Isle, and of the "thrice fifty distant Isles in the ocean to the west of us. Larger than Erin, twice is each of them, or thrice,"[31] encouraged the frightened sailors of the great Admiral to persevere a little longer.

Hy Brasil,[32] the Isle of the Blessed, is possibly a legacy from ancient paganism, which placed its Tirnan-oge, The Land of Youth, in the waves "on the west side down from Aran, where goes the sun to its couch."[33] The desire for the ageless, deathless land prevailed all up the western coast, and was strong in Kilkee in 1868-78, and perhaps even still. I myself saw the mirage several times in 1872 giving the perfect image of a shadowy island with wooded hills and tall towers springing into sight for a moment as the sun sank below the horizon. I have also heard from Kilkee fishermen legends, like that embodied in the verses of Gerald

[30] "Voyage of the Hui Corra," *Revue Celtique*, vol. xiv. (1893), p. 37; *Voyage of Bran*, (ed. Kuno Meyer), vol. i., p. 12; "Voyage of Maelduin," *Revue Celtique*, vol. ix. (1888), p. 45.

[31] *Voyage of Bran*, vol. i., p. 14.

[32] It is marked on a series of ancient maps from the fifteenth to the middle of the seventeenth centuries.

[33] *Grolla an fhinga*, (Irish Texts Society, vol. i.), p. 21.

Griffin, of men starting seaward to reach its fairy shores, and never returning.

Another magic island was Kilstuitheen, or Kilstuiffen, in Liscannor Bay. On the southern shore, in 1839, there was said to have been an ecclesiastical city swallowed up by the earthquake that split Innis Fitae into the present three islands,[34] which suggests derivation from O'Conor's then recent version of the various Irish Annals. On the northern shore the tradition was fuller. Kilstuitheen sank when its chieftain lost its golden key in battle, nor will it be restored until the key is recovered from its hiding place, some say, under the ogham-inscribed gravestone of "Conan" on Mount Callan. (When that place was dug out only bones and rusted iron were found.)[35] The island, with its golden-roofed palaces, churches, and towers, may at times be seen shining far below the waves, but once in seven years it rises above them, and those who see it then are said to die before its next appearance. The fishermen

> "point how high the billows roll above lost Kilsafeen,
> Its palaces and towers of pride
> All buried in the rushing tide
> And deep-sea waters green."[36]

Comyn, in *The Adventures of the Three Sons of Thorailbh* (1750), connects it with the raid of Crochaun, Dahlin, and Sal in the time of Finn and their defeat of Ruidin, Ceannir, and Stuithin. Legend near Lehinch places the battle at Bohercrochaun. A pretty legend in 1878 told how those rowing over the sunken island smell the flowers of its fields through the waters.[37]

[34] Annals of Ulster, Clonmacnoise, and the Four Masters; *Ordnance Survey Letters*, (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 304.

[35] *The Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, ser. ii., vol. i. (1872), pp. 269 *et seq.*

[36] *Monks of Kilcrea.*

[37] *Ordnance Survey Letters*, (Co. Clare), vol. i., pp. 300-4, vol. ii., pp. 74, 99; *Handbook to Lisdoonvarna* (1896), p. 64; *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxx., p. 289; *Journal of the Limerick Field Club*, vol. iii., p. 197, where I have collected the materials at some length. Other sunken monasteries and churches are alleged at Monaster Letteragh, off the coast of Mayo, and the Cantillons' Church in Ballyheigue Bay in Kerry. I do not regard the story in the *Irish Penny Journal*, vol. i., p. 362, by J. Geraghty MacTeague, as anything but a work of fiction; it is very artificial,

Another sunken island off Loop Head is named by the Rev. John Graham and the Halls,[38] and called Kilstiffin or Kilstapheen. I heard no such tradition in Moyarta, but O'Curry alludes to it without contradiction, although he was a native and son of a veritable repertory of the local legends of the Irrus.[39] The towers and other edifices were visible at times under the waves, and its inhabitants sometimes raised destructive storms over its site when all around was calm.

The large lake of Cullaun (Cullaunyheeda) near Tulla is reputed to cover a palace or a city. Tradition said that a chief, Sioda MacNamara, (probably the restorer of the beautiful "Abbey" of Quin in 1402), was carried into the depths by a "water horse" which he had caught and trained. The rock off which his treacherous steed leaped was shown before 1870, and the chief was believed to be sleeping till "the last weird battle in the west," doomed to win Ireland her liberty and a glorious place amongst the nations. It seems likely that it was from the same lake that magic cattle issued, as I heard about Kilkishen, near it, in 1877. A local bard, Michael Hogan, refers to the lake in one of his poems,[40] but how far he embodies local legend I am unable to say. His light-hearted, if lawless, hero is surprised on coming to "Cullaun's fairy waters" to see a noble park instead of a lake. He hits his cow in surprise, and she leaps the fence. Following her he reaches the palace of an ancient chief, who entertains him and dismisses him with his marvellously fattened cow. He finds at the fair that he has been absent for a year under the waters of the lake.

"Thro' wild Cullane's embowering shades—
Beneath the silver starlight, sleeping,
He pass'd—the trees, with silent heads,
Upon his darken'd path hung weeping.

---

following other romances, and contradicting the genuine legends in several particulars.

[38] *Mason's Parochial Survey*, vol. ii., p. 490, collected by Rev. J. Graham from the Behanes, Landers, Contis, and Coonerties of Kilrush and Carrigaholt; Mr. and Mrs. S. Hall, *Ireland: Its Scenery etc.*, vol. ii., p. 436.

[39] *Ordnance Survey Letters*, (Co. Clare), vol. ii.

[40] *Lays and Legends of Thomond*, pp. 13, 20.

He turned to see the Lake's blue plain,
  With all its emerald glories round it;
But there appear'd a grand demesne,
  By towering elms and poplars bounded.

. . . . . .

He look'd behind—the scene was gone—
  A thrill of wonder gather'd o'er him;
For, nothing save the blue Lake shone
  With all its silver curls, before him."

There was another legend, but a very vague one, about a city submerged by a magic well under the beautiful lake of Inchiquin. The legend seems to have died out near Corofin. Another curious legend about Inchiquin lake was found by Dr. G. U. MacNamara, to the effect that the lake originated from an old woman piercing the earth with a spindle, when waters burst out and filled the valley.

THOS. J. WESTROPP.

(To be continued.)

FIFTY HAUSA FOLK-TALES (*continued*).

19. *The Hyæna and the Wrestling Match.* (B. G.)

This is about the Hyæna. She had a husband, a male hyæna.[1] So she arose and got a vessel to go to the stream. So she went and came to (the place where) games were being held (by) the Elephant, the Buffalo, the Hartebeeste, the Roan Antelope, the Gazelle, the Jerboa, the Hare, the Lizard, and the Water-lizard. They were having a game. Now the Elephant was the great one, the umpire. So she (Elephant) said,—"Now (in this) wrestling game whoever throws down another may eat the flesh of him whom he has beaten." Now, on the Hyæna's arrival, they said,—"Are you not coming to play?" She said,—"I am (playing) certainly." When she had put down

[1] "Kura" is nearly always employed for both sexes, but the word itself ending in "a" is feminine; only in story 28 is it made masculine. The male hyæna is larger than the female.

her vessel, she was given the Gazelle to wrestle with (she was joined wrestling). When she (Hyæna) had lifted her (Gazelle) up, "boop" she threw (her) on the ground. Then the Elephant said,—"Good. Take it away. (It is) your meat. You have won." When she (Hyæna) had gone, she met her husband, who said,—"Where did you obtain the meat?" Then she said,—"God curse you." She said,—"Look here! Wrestling is going on over there. He who throws another may take his flesh and eat (it). You, you can sit down (doing nothing)." Then he said,—"Are they doing it now?"—so spoke the male. Then she said,—"No, they have gone away (there will be no more) until tomorrow." He said,—"All right. May God bring us safely to tomorrow." He was rejoicing. Day broke. He had not slept, but in the early morning said,—"Have they come (to) play?" She said,—"Oh, no, (not) until the afternoon." He was rejoicing. In the afternoon he came first to the playground. He had tied twenty bells to his waist-belt. On his arrival[2] they said,—"Oh, to-day we have a wrestler as a guest." Then the Elephant said,—"Well, let the wrestler enter the arena so that we may see him." So he entered the arena, and he danced, and danced, and danced. Then he challenged (stretched hand to) the Elephant, for the Elephant to wrestle with him (catch him wrestling). But the Elephant said,—"You are full of insolence. Will you not find a small (antagonist)?" Then he challenged the Buffalo, but the Buffalo said,—"You are full of insolence. Will you not find a small antagonist?" Then they said,—"Oh, this one is a wrestler." Then the Elephant said,—"Let us match him with (push him to) the Jerboa, and we shall perforce see." So the Elephant said,—"Here is the Jerboa. Start wrestling." Then the Hyæna said,—"Oh, you are mocking me." But the Elephant said,—"Go on, nevertheless." As the Jerboa came, he (Hyæna) threw him up and opened his mouth, (and) the Jerboa fell in the mouth. So he (Hyæna) swallowed (him). Then he challenged the Roan-Antelope, but he (Antelope) said,—"Oh no, the small ones are not (yet) done with (finished)." Then they said (it was said),—"Water-lizard, come out and wrestle with him." So the Water-lizard said,—"Very

[2] Not clear how they could have been there at his arrival when he was first.

well." When the Water-lizard came out, the Hyæna threw her up, and opened his mouth to treat her like the Jerboa. (But) the Water-lizard as she descended caught (his) throat. Then the Hyæna fell down, crying out,—"Alas, alas." Then the Hyæna shook (his head) violently and threw off the Water-lizard. Then the Elephant said,—"Come on, let us help the Lizard to get the meat." But the Hyæna went off with a run, and just escaped. Then he came and told his wife, and said,—"(As for) you, wife, your nature is not a good (one). You said they were playing, (yet) see they wanted to kill me there." Then she said,—"As for you, you are worthless. You shall not eat (any of) the flesh of this Gazelle, not even the bones."

20. *Why Dogs and Hares do not agree.* (S. D.)

A Dog and a Hare became friends in a suburb of the town. So the Hare said to the Dog,—"My love for you is great. I shall take you to our town. The whole town is filled (populated by) Hares. (It is) a city of Hares." The Hare was not able to carry the Dog, so he dragged (him) along the ground in a leather bag. When he had come (gone), all the Hares gave him a welcome, and said,—"What kind of goods (load) have you brought?" Then he said,—"It is a load of medicine."[3] They said,—"Bring (it) here. (Let us) take it from you."[4] But he said,—"Oh no. If it were taken from me, the medicine would become useless" (finished). When food had been brought (made), he (Hare) took some, and put (it) inside the bag and gave (it) to the Dog, who ate (it). They stayed for two days at the town. Then the Hare said to the Dog,—"I am going to take you back to the village where we are living in friendship." So he began dragging the leather bag on the ground with the Dog inside, and they came to a Hyæna's farm (where) the Hyæna was working with her cubs. As the Hare dragged the Dog, they trod down the Hyæna's guinea-corn (for the Hyæna). Then the Hyæna said,—"Who is that who is destroying (going to destroy) my guinea-corn?" So the Hare said,—"Oh, Hyæna, is that what you are like (your

[3] Or charms.

[4] If a person has a very heavy load on his head, he always has to get some-one to help him to put it down.

character)? Would you not like a bit of luck?" But the Dog heard (them speaking) thus, so he came out with a "boop" from the bag. The she (Hyæna) said,—"I shall go and see who have broken down my guinea-corn." When they saw her coming, the Hare ran away. The Dog (also) ran away. Then the Dog returned to the village where he was living in friendship with the Hare. The Dog could weave. (So) he sat down, and (began) weaving at the village. Now the Hyæna was following them, and she came and found the Hare amongst the bushes lying down. Then he (Hare) got up with a "boop," and came upon the Dog at the weaving place. Then he said,—"Oh, Dog, are you weaving? Give (not bring) (it to me). Let me relieve you." So the Dog said,—"Very well. As for me I am tired, so get up (on the seat). I shall rest." The Dog lay down panting, when the Hyæna came and said,—"Of you two whom was I chasing?" Then the Hare said,—"Whom do you see panting?" Then she (Hyæna) made for the Dog at a run, and the Dog only just escaped. Then he said,—"Ahem, I, a dog, (think) 'I only just escaped' is better than 'I was only just caught'" (*i.e.* I was lucky to get off). Then he said,—"Lo! (but) I met the Hare and made friends with him, (and) he has played me false" (eaten my friendship). That was the beginning of his quarrel with the Hare.

21. *The Dog, the Salt, the Cake, and the Hyæna.* (B. G.)

The Dog, the Cake,[5] and the Salt started off on a journey to a strange land.[6] When they reached the river, (they found) the water had risen, so the Cake told the Dog to take him across. But he refused, so the Cake asked him to be patient. When he had asked him, the Dog took up the Cake to ferry him across (make a ferrying for him). Now, when he entered the water, he dipped the Cake in. The Cake only just got over. He (Dog) went and put the Cake in the sun. Then he returned to the Salt, and he took the Salt and entered (went to) the water. Then he wetted the Salt in the water. When he had wetted the Salt, it dissolved and disappeared in the water, (so) the Dog crossed and came to the Cake. Then he said that they should go. They

[5] *Dadawa*, black cakes made from the fruit of the *dorowa* tree.

[6] Lit. "to act as strangers," *yi* being understood.

arose and went. They went to a Hyæna's farm. Now the Cake was carrying a leather bag. So the Dog said,—"Let me get inside the bag." So the Dog got inside. When he had got inside, he told the Cake to carry him. Then the Cake said he would be revenged. The Dog said not to take (follow with) him into the Hyæna's farm. So the Cake carried him. But he took him into the Hyæna's farm. When he had brought him, he began kicking down the ridges of the farm. Then the Dog said,—"Here do not go (here)." Then the Hyæna said,—"Who are there?" The Cake said,—"Ah, it is we." Then she said,—"You and who?" so said the Hyæna. So he said,—"I and the Dog." But the Hyæna did not hear. So they went on and on, the Cake kicking down the ridges of the farm. Then the Hyæna said,—"Here, what kind of people (are you to do) thus?" Then the Cake said,—"A man with a Dog for a load will not be unable to wander in the Hyæna's farm" (*i.e.* will be welcome). Then the Hyæna said,—"What did you say?" So the Cake said,—"I have (a load of) a Dog here." When the Hyæna heard, she came running. So the Cake threw down the Dog. So the Cake ran away, and left the Dog there. (So) the Hyæna came and took (him). When she had taken (him) and had gone, she (found that) she had no fire. (So) she left (him) with her cubs. When she had left (him) with (to) them, she went to look for fire.[7] Then the Dog said to the cubs,—"Have you ever seen my nose?" The cubs said they had not seen (it). So the Dog said,—"Open (the bag) a little, that I may show you my nose." When they had seen (it), they said,—"All right. Go back. We have seen (it)." He went back, and said,—"Have you ever seen my head?" They said they had not. So he said,—"Open a little, and you will see." When they had seen, they said,—"All right. Go back. We have seen it." Then soon afterwards he asked if they had ever seen his feet. They said they had not seen (them). He said,—"Well, open a little, and I'll show you (them)." When they had seen (them), they said,—"All right, we have seen (them). Go back." He went back. After a little he said,—"Since you were (born) have you ever seen my pace?" (running). They said

[7] This story is not yet modernised enough for matches to be introduced. The only available fire would probably be at her house.

they had not seen (it). So he said,—"Well, open a little, and you will see." When they had opened (the bag) he ran off rapidly. So the Dog got away. When he had gone, the father (Hyæna) returned, and came and saw the Dog was missing (without). So he fell upon his cubs and beat them until he had killed them. The Dog had gone away. The Cake had gone in his own different direction. The Dog was looking for him.

22. *The Hyæna and the Bitch.* (M.)

The Hyæna and the Bitch. They kept house together in the midst of the forest. One had (see) her hole. The other had hers separately. So it went on until they conceived and gave birth. This went on until the Hyæna said,—"Oh, Bitch, if we go to the forest and do not get anything (to eat), let us return and you seize one of your pups and kill (it) so that we may eat (it)." So the Bitch said,—"Very well." So, when they had gone and returned and had not caught anything, the Bitch came and seized a young Hyæna and killed it. Then she cooked it (made food), and they ate it. At daybreak (next morning) they went to the forest and returned. Even this time (now) they did not catch anything. Therefore the Bitch came, caught a young Hyæna, and killed it, and they ate it. (This went on) until six young Hyænas had been taken. So the Bitch went and found a place for her puppies, and she put them on the top of a tree. She said,—"If you hear me say 'My puppies su(r)r,' let down the rope for me to climb up." Then the Bitch came to the Hyæna's house, and said,—"My puppies are finished. Shall we go and take yours and eat them?" Then the Hyæna said,—"Oh no." Then she went to her hole and looked, and did not see anything. So then the Hyæna sprang at the Bitch, and the Bitch (ran away) straight to her house. When she came, she said,—"My puppies su(r)r." So they let down the rope for her to climb up. So the Hyæna was left on the ground. He was foaming at the mouth (spittle was flowing). So the Hyæna went to the house of a magician, and she said,—"O, Magician, will you not give me a charm (a thing of praying), that I may go and say 'My puppies su(r)r' so that they may let down the rope for me to climb up?" So the magician said,—"Very well, I will give you (one)," he said,

"but if you come upon (any) bones do not take and eat them." So the Hyæna was given a charm. When she had been given a charm, she went and she saw some bones on the road. She was hungry. She ate (them). Then she came to the house of the puppies. On her arrival, she said,—"My puppies shi." Then the puppies said,—"Oh, we know you. You are the Hyæna." Then the Hyæna returned to the magician. And she said,—"Ah, Magician, the charm which you gave me did not act." Then he said,—"Well, I told you, if you saw (any) bones, not to take them." Then she said,—"Very well." Then he gave her another charm. So she returned. On her arrival she said,—"My puppies su(r)r." Then the puppies let down the rope. When she had almost climbed up, the puppies saw it was the Hyæna. So they let her fall (to) the ground. Then the Hyæna (then she) came and shrivelled up, and became a wooden mortar. That is all. Then the Bitch came and saw her. On her arrival she said,—"Oh, my puppies su(r)r." So they hauled her up to the top. Then the puppies told her the news.

23. *The Cunning Goat and the Hyænas.* (M.)

This is about the He-goat. He started off on a journey in the early morning while it was still damp.[8] He said he was going to the Hyænas' market to buy.[9] He was travelling along (when) he met the Hyæna, and she said,—"Oh, He-goat, where are you going?" Then he said,—"Leave off calling me 'He-goat,' I am God." So she said,—"If you are God, make me some water to drink." So he shook his body, and water poured off. So then the Hyæna went off. After she had gone, she returned again to the He-goat, and said,—"It is a lie. If you are God, give me some more water." So he again shook his body, and water poured off. Then she said,—"All right, be off." Then he came upon some Hyænas, and they made for him at a run. They drove him away. He ran until he met with a Lion. Then the Lion said,—"He-goat, where are you going?" So the He-goat said,—"I have been buying at the Hyænas' market."

[8] Lit. "So he took dew."

[9] Or else "it was going to be held," though the pronoun ought, if so, to be feminine.

He (Lion) said,—"What and what have you bought?" He (He-goat) said,—"Some Hyæna urine and some dung. They are very sweet." The Lion said,—"Give me (some) to try (touch) and taste." So the He-goat gave him some honey and *nakia*.[10] So the Lion tried (some), and enjoyed it.[11] Now the Hyænas were following the He-goat to seize (him). So the Lion called a Hyæna. He said,—"Hyæna, come here." So the Hyæna came. He said,—"Give me (make for me) some urine and dung of yours to taste." So she (Hyæna) said,—"Oh, we have no sweet dung." Then he said,—"You are lying." So she said,—"(As) God (is my witness) (it is) not a lie I am telling" (making). Then he seized the Hyæna, and squeezed (her). Then the Hyæna made water for him. He took (it) and tasted (it). He said,—"(*Term of abuse*), there is another sweet kind." So thus it was he squeezed her and squeezed her until the Hyæna died. Then the Lion went away. When he had gone, the other Hyænas chased the He-goat to catch (him). So they came upon the He-goat at his house. Then the He-goat said,—"Here, you wait, I am owed (following) money by the chief of the butchers." He said,—"If I get (it), let us go that I may buy meat for you." So they said,—"Agreed, let us go." Now they came upon the kind of trap which catches animals. The trap now had fastened to it a leg of a goat. So he said,—"Now, look here, you ask him to give you (it) that you may go." Then one Hyæna said,—"Hai, Chief of the Butchers, give us (the meat) for heaven's sake, and let us go." But the chief of the butchers refused to speak. Then the Hyæna sprang upon the goat's leg and seized it, but the trap caught the Hyæna. Then the sisters ran away, and so the He-goat went off. Soon the men who had set the trap heard the Hyæna's growling, so they came and took her out, and the Hyæna ran away. Then she went and told her parents. But they said,—"Really you must keep away from the He-goat. Otherwise (if it be not thus) he will kill you." Thus it was she kept away.

[10] Cakes of flour and water soaked in honey and pepper.

[11] Lit. "Felt sweet."

24. *The Old Woman, the Hyæna, and the Monkey.* (B. G.)

This is about a Monkey. The Hyæna went to the forest and found a suitable spot, and she said she would build a house (there). Then the Monkey came, and he also said that the spot was good for building a house in. He cleared the ground (place). Then the Hyæna came and said,—"Who is so fond of me (my lover) that he clears the ground for my house?" Then she built a house. The Monkey came and said,—"Who is it who is so fond of me that he makes me a house?" Then he made a roof. When night came, a certain old woman,—(old shrivelled one, your fat is only on your knee, your bones (would fill) a basket, your fat (only) a fist),—came and entered the house. Now this was the road to the market. The Monkey when he came picked some ground-nuts and entered the house. He did not know that the old woman was there. Then the Hyæna also found the dead body of a horse and entered. She did not know that the Monkey was there. She did not know that the old woman was there. As for the old woman, she knew they were there, for she saw them. Now, the Monkey, when he had cracked and eaten two ground-nuts, reached out his hand to put (the rest) in the corner, and the old woman got them. The Hyæna also thought she would hide the rest of the horseflesh, but the Monkey got it. When the Monkey had taken it, he put it in the corner and the old woman got it. Now the old woman, the senseless old thing, said,—"These young people are giving me presents, what shall I give them, let me give them something from the market." They did not know she was there. So she stretched out (her hand), and put a giginnia seed in the hollow of the Monkey's eye. Then the Monkey rushed outside,—"booboop,"—with a run. Then the Hyæna rushed outside,—"booboop,"—with a run. Then they saw each other, and they said,—"Now, let us make an alliance against (upon) the thing which is in the house." So they allied themselves with the Elephant, with the Buffalo, with the Lion, with the Duiker, with the Hare, with the Jerboa, with the Ostrich. Then the Hyæna said,—"Whoever finds out what is in this house, I will give him a hundred thousand (cowries)." The Monkey also said (that), whoever found out what was in the house, he would give him a hundred thousand (cowries). So they said,—"Whom

shall we put inside the room?" Then the Ostrich said she would go in. She said let her body be tied with a rope, (so that) when she entered they could pull (were pulling) the rope from behind. She said,—"If you hear me say 'Pull,' (then) pull." The Ostrich, when she had entered, was caught by the neck by the old woman.[12] Then she (Ostrich) said,—"Pull." They pulled (were pulling), and the old woman pulled, until the old woman cut off the Ostrich's head. Then the Ostrich fell down. (She had) no head. So they scattered. While they were running, the Elephant trampled on the Hare, and on the Duiker, and on the Jerboa, and all died. Then the old woman came out from the house and collected the flesh. Thus it was that she inherited the house of the Hyæna and of the Monkey.

25. *Why the Hyæna and the Donkey do not agree.* (B. G.)

This is about the Hyæna and the Donkey, and what caused them to quarrel.[13] The Hyæna said to the Donkey,—"Why do you wag your head (the wagging that you do)? You wag to the south. You wag to the north. What do you get by it?" Then the Donkey said to her,—"Every time I wag (every wagging that I do), if I wag to the south I am given a piece of meat; if I wag to the north I am given a piece of meat." Then the Hyæna said,—"Oh, of a truth, Donkey, you will not get thin. Always in the dry season and the wet season you are fat and well conditioned."[14] Then she said,—"Now, as for me, what shall I do also to get some?" Then he said,—"Wait until we have unloaded. Then come and sleep with us." So she said,—"Very well," and (all that day) she was praying to God that the evening would come.[15] Then she went amongst them and slept. When morning came, they said,—"Bring the donkeys and put their loads on." When all had had loads put on, and all were complete, she said she had none. So a load was taken off from one small donkey which was not fit to carry a load, and it was given to her. Now, when

[12] Lit. "The ostrich, when she had entered, then the old woman seized her neck."

[13] Lit. "what joined them in strife."

[14] Literally *tibbir* means rolling in fat.

[15] Lit. "Oh God, oh God, let night come (quickly)."

they were travelling, she was beaten once. Then she wagged to the south, she wagged to the north, but she did not see any piece of meat. Then she said,—"Here, Donkey, up to now I have not had anything." Then the Donkey said, "Come, Hyæna, is one given breakfast before sunrise? Indeed, only after sunrise," so said the Donkey. And the Hyæna said,—"Very well." So they went on a little further, and they beat her with a stick. Then she wagged to the south, she wagged to the north, and said,—"Here, Donkey, shall I not get any breakfast?" Then the Donkey said, "Come, Hyæna, you are in a hurry." Then she said,—"Very well, for to-day (I shall be patient). I shall try my best for one day." So they were travelling on and on, when she was beaten with a switch. Then she said,—"Oh, Donkey, as far as I am concerned I am going to run away." Then the Donkey said,—"Oh, come, Hyæna, why?" Then the Hyæna said,—"Oh, is everyone like you, a great useless one?" Then the Donkey said, "Come, try a little longer. If you do not see you get (some), then run away." She said—"Very well, I will make that attempt for your sake." Now, as it happened, the Hyæna began to get tired, her tongue hung out. Then the traders said,—"Oh that (*term of abuse*), the Hyæna, she cannot travel." Then they all beat her, and, when the Hyæna had got her deserts, she ran away. So she said (to herself),—"Very well, Donkey. Even in the next world (you may) pray God not to let you meet me." That is what made them quarrel.

26. *The Lambs, the Hyæna, the Jackal, and the Jerboa.* (U. G.)

The Lambs had gone to wash when the Hyæna came amongst them, and said she would wash with them. And she began to seize one and push him under the water and twist his neck and hide him. Then again she caught another and put him in another hiding-place, until she had killed ten. When the Lambs (sheep) had come out and were going home, they saw that ten of them were missing, so they said,—"Washing like this is not good for us. We shan't wash with the Hyæna again." Now in the evening the Hyæna returned and entered the water, and when she had thrown one out and put it by, she returned to the water. Just then the Jackal came and took it, and went into the forest some distance off

and hid it. Then again she threw one out, and, when she returned to the water, the Jackal took it. When the Hyæna (saw that she) had only (the) one left (which was) in her mouth, she said (wondered) who had done this to her? Then she let it pass, and went to her house. Then the Jerboa brought her news, and said,—"Oh, Hyæna, what will you give me if I tell you where your meat (pl. for s.) is?" Then she brought a bag and gave him, and he took it to his house. She said,—"If you go and guide me to my meat, when I get it I will give you another bag." In reality, this bag was a bag of the Hyæna's wind, (which) she had made inside and had caught it and tied it up. When she had no flesh she used to squeeze the wind in soup and it became like *kwaddo*.[16] Then he (Jerboa) said,—"Very well, let me take you to your meat." So they went to the Jackal's house. When they had gone, the Jerboa said,—"Lie down here as if you had died." So she lay down. Then he went and found the Jackal, and said,—"Look, some animal of the forest has died." Then he (she),[17] (Jackal), said,—"Oh (that's nothing), I killed it yesterday." So she came out and said,—"Go on in front and guide me to the carcase," and he (Jackal) went along singing a song of praise to his arrow, saying he was a mighty hunter,[18] the slayer of beasts. Then they came upon the Hyæna. The Jackal did not know (that there) was a Hyæna (there), she was in the grass. Then the Hyæna jumped up with a "boop," and seized the Jackal, and said,—"Let us go. You take me to where my meat is, including you." So the Jackal took her where her meat was. Both him (Jackal) and all the meat the Hyæna ate up. She gave the Jerboa one amongst the remainder.

27. *Why the Hyæna and the Jerboa cannot agree.* (B. G.)

The Hyæna and the Jerboa[19] were friends. He (Jerboa) said,—"Oh, Hyæna, I saw a house with young women (in it). I shall go and court one. You also court one, (and) we shall be married." And the Hyæna said,—"Very well." So the Hyæna

[16] Salt and the fruit of the locust-tree (*dorowa*) ground and mixed with water.

[17] *Oxla* is at first made feminine (ends in *a*), but should be masculine.

[18] *Maizubge*, properly the owner (or user) of poisons.

[19] This animal is not really a jerboa, but is something like a grey squirrel.

procured a bag, and put cowries in (it). As for the Jerboa, he put wind in his. When they were close, the Jerboa said,—"Now you are the greater. Your load of money is heavy. Mine is of cloths, (and) not heavy. Since you are the more important, you carry mine and I'll take yours." The Hyæna said,—"Very well." When they had got near the door of the house, the Jerboa said,—"Oh, Hyæna, what would you give to hear good news?" He said,—"This house has a goat-house and a fowl-house. I shall sleep in the fowl-house, you in the goat-house." The Jerboa said,—"During the night I shall eat five fowls." The Hyæna said,—"No, no, I cannot do that. In the house of my mother-in-law I shall eat one (only)." When they had come, they saluted. It was said,—"Welcome to you, welcome to you." When they had come, each showed his presents separately. Now the Jerboa, since he had taken the Hyæna's load and had not returned it to him, passed it off as his own. The Jerboa's load of wind (was) with the Hyæna, and became his. When the Jerboa's load of money was seen, it was said,—"Certainly this one has come with a true (purpose)." When the Hyæna's load had been opened, only air came out, and it left the bag compressed (fallen in). Then they said,—"This one, a thirst for evil has brought him." Then they said,—"Well, give them a place to sleep in." So it was said,—"See here the fowl-house, here is the goat-house, let each choose the place where he will sleep." Then the Hyæna opened his mouth quickly, and said,—"I (shall sleep) only in the goat-house." Then the Jerboa said,—"Right, as for me I shall sleep in the fowl-house." In reality, the Jerboa wished to betray the Hyæna and have him killed. When they had gone to their rooms, the Jerboa came out again and went to the people of the house. He said,—"Now I, wherever I go, I travel honestly (with one heart)." He said,—"Now you know you have put me in the fowl-house, and the Hyæna in the goat-house. When day breaks you must say,—"We do not know the number of the fowls in this house, we shall count them." When they have been counted take one and give it to the strangers (for) food." He said,—"You say also "the goats of this house we do not know how many they are, let us count them, and when the strangers are about to go home let them be sped

with a he-goat."" When day broke the fowl-house was opened, the goat-house was opened. Then the Jerboa said,—"They are saying the fowls are to be counted." And the Hyæna said,—"When the fowls have been counted, the goats, will they count them also?" The Jerboa said,—"So I heard them saying." When the fowls had been counted, all were there, the Jerboa had not eaten any. It was said,—"Let the goats be counted." When the Hyæna heard (this), he said,—"Oh, Jerboa, I am taken short." So he went out behind the house. So the Jerboa said,—"Oh, do you see the beginning of his treachery?" When the goats had been counted and one found missing, the youths were called. It was said,—"Come quickly and follow the Hyæna." So they followed, calling,—"Hyæna, come here (and see about) the business of your marriage." But he said,—"No, no, I give (it) up." So it was said,—"Very well. It is known what he has done, follow him, shoot him." When he had turned around and had seen that he was being followed with bows, he bolted, and saved (himself) only with difficulty. He said,—"It is between me (us) and the Jerboa." He said,—"But, as for the Jerboa, I (we) shall meet (or quarrel) with him." Well, that is the thing which caused his (their) quarrel with the Jerboa. The reason why the Jerboa runs from the Hyæna (is) because of (the fear of) revenge.

28. *Why the Donkey lives in the Town.* (G. B.)

Of all the beasts of the forest the Donkey was the greatest, so he said. He said, if he went to the forest, (of) the beasts of the forest that he would kill there was no end. The Hyæna said,—"Oh, no, I am the greatest." Then the Donkey said,—"Hyæna, go to-morrow and find out where the beasts have assembled. Then come and tell me." The Hyæna said,—"Very well." In the morning the Hyæna went to look for the place where the beasts had assembled. When he had gone, he came upon the Elephant, the Buffalo, the Deer, and the Water-buck. The beasts had assembled in force, all had come to one place. Then the Hyæna returned, and told the Donkey. So he told her to go in front, and take him to the place. They went on, and on, and on, until they came to the place. Then he said,—"Hyæna, go back

a little, and stop until I call you to come and eat some flesh." Then the Donkey went carefully, so that the beasts of the forest would not see him. When he had come close, he rushed out with a "boop," and went,—"Hoha, hoha, hoha," like the braying that they make. Then the Elephant became frightened and ran away, and trampled on the Buffalo, and the Deer, and the Water-buck, and others up to about a hundred she killed. The remainder ran away. Then he said to the Hyæna,—"Come here." When the Hyæna came, he said,—"See here, all these I have killed." Then the Hyæna said,—"Of a truth you are a terror, you are my chief." The Hyæna was (then) afraid of the Donkey. He (they) always used to go out with the Hyæna. She thought his ears were horns, until one day she said,—"May I touch your horns (s. for pl.), and feel them?" So the Donkey said,—"Here they are." When she had touched them, she found they were not hard, and said,—"Indeed, those things of yours are not horns?" So he said,—"Yes, they are ears." Then she said,—"That's very nice." Then, one day in the evening, the Donkey went out to feed, when the Hyæna made a bound and rushed and seized the Donkey, and the Donkey, when he felt pain, ran away right inside the town. When the people of the town saw him, they caught him, and said they had gained a Donkey. From that time the Donkey has never returned to the forest.

29. *The Jackal and the Dog at the Marriage Feast.* (S. D.)

The Dog came, and said to the Jackal,—"There was a marriage at our house yesterday." He said,—"Let us go to the bride's house and have a feast (drink oil).[20] There is plenty of oil there. Let us go and (drink it)." So they came and entered the house where the oil was. They kept on drinking, they drank and drank, they went on drinking. As they were drinking, the Jackal, the crafty one, went outside several times,[21] and measured the door to see that his body would not (if lest) become swelled enough to prevent him passing. As for the Dog, since he had entered he had not gone out. At length the people of the house heard a movement, and said,—"Who is in the room?" They went out. The Jackal went out, the Dog came (but) he was unable to

[20] Probably palm-oil, a great delicacy.

[21] Lit. "used to go."

go out, his body prevented him. So the people of the house came and beat the Dog well, until the Dog played them a trick and lay as if he were dead. When they saw the Dog was dead, they threw him away. Then the Dog opened his eyes (awoke), got up, and ran away.[22]

30. *The Contest of Wits between the Dog and the Jackal.* (B. G.)

This is about the Jackal and the Dog. They were friends. The Jackal asked the Dog, and said,—"How many wits have you got?" The Dog said,—"Twelve." He said,—"How many have you?" He said,—"Only one." Then the Jackal said,—"Well, let us go for a walk and see what your wits (are worth)." So they went and found that the Hyæna had gone for a walk,[23] so they went into her house. When the Hyæna came back, she said,—"Ah, welcome, Jackal." Then the Jackal said,—"I came to see how you were, I have had guests."[24] He showed her the Dog, and said,—"See what the guests brought for me. (They are) ten. I have brought you one." Then the Hyæna said,—"Thank God, Jackal." Then the Jackal asked the Dog, and said,—"Hullo, Dog, amongst your twelve wits how many are left?" The Dog said,—"Ten." Then the Jackal said to the Hyæna,—"You must look and see him, look fixedly (join eyes), do not ignore him." When the Hyæna had looked fixedly at the Dog, and they had stared at each other, the whole of the Dog's body was shaking. Then the Jackal said to him,—"Hullo, Dog, of your wits how many are left?" Then the Dog said,—"Oh, dear, only two." Then the Jackal said,—"Very well, tell me what the two are." Then the Dog said,—"At first, when I am crushed, I shall call out. After that, when I am crushed again more powerfully, then I will drop." Then the Jackal said,—"Very well, you will see that my one wit is better than your twelve." Then he said to the Hyæna,—"I have been thinking." Then the Hyæna said,—"What

[22] Cf. Vaughan, *Old Hendrik's Tales*, p. 125 ("Ou' Jackalse Takes Ou' Wolf A-Sheep Stealing").

[23] Lit. "They came upon the Hyæna, she had gone for a walk." This does not mean that they met her, but that they did *not* find her.

[24] See note to story 19, (p. 487).

have you been thinking about (what kind of a thought)?" Then the Jackal said,—"I, the possessor of ten things, have brought you only one, yet are you my friend? Let me return home now, and bring you three, so that one you will eat, and two you can give to your cubs." Then she said,—"Very well, praise God, go and bring them." When they had come to the mouth of the hole, the Jackal said,—"Well, bring me that one that I may go and make up the two." Then the Hyæna said,—"Oh, no, leave this one, go and bring two more." But the Jackal said,—"Oh, no, I cannot do so. If I do not return with this one the others will run away." So the Hyæna said,—"Very well." Then she brought the Dog to the mouth of the hole, but the Dog bolted. Then the Jackal bolted. Then he went and lay down close to the foot of a tree. The Dog came and lay down (also). He did not know the Jackal was there. When he came he lay down, then the Jackal said,—"Is that you, Dog?" Then the Dog said,—"Yes, is that the Jackal?" The Jackal said,—"Now, do you see that my one wit was better than your twelve?" Then the Dog said,—"Indeed, it is so." It happened, as they were talking, the Hyæna was standing close to (upon) them, (but) they did not see her. The Dog was lying down and panting. Then she (Hyæna) said,—"Of you two, who was I chasing?" Then the Jackal said,—"Ah, who is panting?" Then the Dog went off at a run. The Hyæna followed him. The Jackal also ran away and escaped.

A. J. N. Tremearne.

(To be continued.)

Sirmûr Folklore Notes.

The following notes have reached me from Sirmûr, a state between Simla and Derâ Dûn, in the hills which form the southern ranges of the Himalayan system. It is a Hindu State with few Mohammedan subjects, yet Islamic influences are apparently pronounced.

A small creeping plant called *gaur* is used as a cure for snake-bite, a cowrie's weight of it being pounded and eaten. This plant is found all over the hills.

For hydrophobia a *chitlî* or black hornet is caught, and its head, legs, and wings cut off. The carcase is then pounded, and given to the patient to eat.

The following *mantra* is recited as a cure for snakebite :—

Ran bândhûn, ranbîr bândhûn, lûn bândhûn, Parmeshar bândhûn. Bis jhâlî sâton patâl, jahân baithēn sāson Bhunpâl, nîl kâ kanthâ bhanwar kâ jâl. Pahlâ band Râmchandrajî lâe Sîtâ, Sît-bândh Sîtâ leâe. Dujâ band Hanûmânt Pardhân. Râm, Rahîm, Rasûl kî ân.[1] *Chauthâ band Gaurjân ne dîâ Sawâ bhar nirbis kiyâ. Chale mantar, phurē bâchâ,*[2] *Harâ Harî shib Shankarî! Chale dank bis mithî ho-jâye!*

"I will bind (*i.e.* control) the battle and the warrior. I will bind salt as well as Parmeshewar (God). There is poison spread in the seven lower regions where the great Bâsu Nâg, the king of snakes, has his home, and also where there is the net spread by a *bhanwar*, with its blue neck. The first binding is of Râmchandrajî who brought home Sîtâ, crossing the ocean on the bridge called Sît-bândh. The second binding is of the Lord Hanûmân. Take care of Râm, Rahîm, and Rasûl (Mohammed). Gaurjân gave the fourth bond, and made ineffectual 1¼ loads of poison. Let the *mantra* be effective, and let my saying come true! By the grace of Harâ Harî and of Shankarî (Durga) let the poison become harmless!"

The following *mantra* is a cure for a black scorpion bite :—

Kâlâ bichhû, pîlâ bichhû, bichhû, kangar-wâlâ, harî chunch, gal sone kî mâlâ! Eshar âne, Gauran de attâr bichhû atrain. Hanûmân bir lâlkarun. Mere chagat, mere gur kî sakat! Phuro mantro bâchâ! Is bâchâ se tâle Luna Chamarî kî khâl men pare! Is se na tâle to kharî samundar men pare.

"Black scorpion, yellow scorpion, scorpion with thy precious stone, thou hast a green beak and necklace! God may bring, and Gauran (Shiv's wife) may take away. Scorpion, I will make thee go! I will challenge the warrior Hanûmân to assist men. My devotion and my *guru's* power! Take effect, my *mantra* and my word! If it avoids this word, let it fall into Luna Chamarî's womb! (If still it does not go away, then let it go to hell!) If still it does not go away, let it fall in the salt sea!"

In the Kiârdâ Dun women are supposed to be sometimes possessed by Sayyids (Mohammedan saints). In such cases violent measures are avoided, and the Sayyid is humbly asked to accept a *nazr* or present and leave the woman.

[1] An oath.

[2] *Bâchâ*, a saying :—*bâshâ*.

The following is a *mantra* for expelling evil spirits from a woman :—

"*Bismill âh-ir Rahmân nir-Rahîm. Agan jâgē jagan jâgē jâgē Khwâjâ Pīr. Chhattis karor Devi Dēvtâ jāgēn, Khwâjâ tir. Khwâjâ Khizr kar bhali. Shri ko chorel ko marhi ko Masânī ko jin ko bhut ko prēt ko bāndh ko lyāūn. Nā āwê to pakar kē mâr kē lyāūn. Khwâjâ Khizr kar bhali.*"

"In the name of God, the merciful and generous ! Awake fire, the world, the Khwâja Pîr (Khizr), 36 crores of gods and the Khwâja's arrow ! Do something, good Khwâja Khizr ! I will bind and bring Lachhmi (goddess), she-demon, evil spirit burial ground, genii, *bhut*, and *pret*. If they will not come, I will catch hold of them and will beat them, and then will bring them. Do something, good Khwâja Khizr ! "

The patient, while this is being recited, is fumigated, being made to inhale smoke through the nostrils. If she still remains unconscious, a still more drastic treatment is employed, and she is slapped on the face or her hair pulled until she speaks, and she then names the she-devil who possesses her and who, when told to depart, demands a certain thing in a certain place. This demand is at once complied with.

The following is known as the *Aseb kâ mantra* :—

Hâth men hatharî Hanûmân ke, sahe Bhairon sagpâl, Nâhar Singh kî manu mahnî. Kāli kāl sirî dâr dîâ. Nar mahîâ bir. Charî ko bândhûn, churel ko bândhûn, jâdû ko bândhûn, chhut ko bândhûn. Chute sabhad phurē bâchâ merā. Pind hoe Kāchā Nâhar Singh aur Hanûmân kâ sabhad hae sachâ.

"Hanûmân's hand is adorned with a hammer, and Bhairon's with a *sagpâl* ; Nâhar Singh has a precious stone. Kāli brings death on one's head. The warrior is with a lance. I will bind the *Charî* and *Churel* (evil spirits), and even magic and the *chhût*. Let the word go on, and let the saying take effect. My body is mortal, but Nâhar Singh and Hanûmân's words are true."

Fever,—tertian or quartan,—is treated by going to the forest and cutting down a plant called *bissu*, the patient saying,—"O brother fever, forgive my fault and come into this plant." For snakebite a small bough of the *samâlû* tree is cut, and the wound touched with it twice or thrice, whereby the spread of the poison is arrested. The *mantra* for snakebite is :—

Bismillâh-ir Rahmân nir-Rahîm. Hazrat Sulaimân Paighambar bin Dâûd alae his-salam. Haftad do giroh mâr zihr mâr bâd mâr. Bismillâh ulhamdo lillâhe Rab-bil âlemîn mâleke yaum iddîn iyyâkâ nâbodo wa iyyâkâ nastâ-în, ihd-i- nâs serâtul mustaqîm serat ullâzîna anamta alaihim ghairil maghzube

alaihim walaz-zualin. Amin! Qul ho wallaho ahad Alla-hus-samad lam yalid wa lam yulad wa lam ya kulla hu kofowan ahad.

"In the name of God who is merciful and benevolent! Sulaimân, the Prophet, the son of David, salutation be to him! The clans of snake! Poison of snake, wind of snake! In the name of God! Praise be to God who feeds all worlds and is the Master of the last day! We worship thee and we invoke thy help. Show us the direct way, the way of those whom thou hast favoured and not of those whom thou hast discarded and depraved! Amen! Say He is God, the Eternal God. He was not born, nor does he give birth to any, and there is none equal to Him."

The bite of a black scorpion is touched thrice with an iron prong or *chimta* to stop the poison from spreading.

When the fields have been damaged by rats, the people of the Dûn place *halwâ* (a sweetmeat) before their holes, and pray to them thus:—"*Ai Mûsâ Paighambar, ab hamârî khetî ko nuksân na kariyo,*" *i.e.*, "O Prophet Moses do not injure our fields!" The charm simply depends on the verbal resemblance between *mûsh* (rat) and *Mûsâ* (Moses).

For headache or intermittent fever, the picture of a peacock and a scorpion is drawn on a piece of paper, or *bhoj pattar* leaf. Sometimes this charm is worn round the neck; sometimes it is washed in water which the patient drinks.

The following is a charm used in Sirmûr for the cure of a disease in children called *mitha*, in which the ears are said to become cold:—

"*Awwal bismillâh ar nâm Rahîm, gaṭh meṅ Sarusti astâj pîr, dost sâbat Rahîm yaqîn, haqq lâillâh Muhammad Rasûl-ul-lâh! Chale mantar, phurwa bâshâ, dekh mere sabkarma tamâshâ, jal chhoṛûṅ jalwâî, chhoṛûṅ jal kî, chhoṛûṅ kâî, tîn khûnt jangal kî chhoṛûṅ, chhoṛûṅ agan sawâî, jal bândhûṅ jalwâî, bândhûṅ jal kî, bândhûṅ kâî, tîn khûnt jangal kî bândhûṅ, bândhûṅ agan sawâî, merâ bândhâ bandhe, merâ kholâ khule, tujhe Hanûmân pîr kî duhâî.*

"First by the name of God and His merciful name, in my possession is Saraswatî (goddess of learning), teacher and *pîr*. Let friends be reassured. God is true and Mohammed is his Prophet! Let the *mantra* go forth, and let the word take effect! Look at my good works and miraculous deeds! I release the water and that which pertains to it, and its *kâî* (the green scum on the surface of a stagnant pool). I release the three corners of the jungle and the powerful fire. I bind water, everything pertaining to it, and its *kâî*. I bind the three corners of the jungle and the powerful fire. Let it be bound by my binding, and by my untying let it be loosed. Hanûmân *pîr's* oath is upon you!"

In the recently published *Gazetteer* of the Sirmûr State a brief account is given of certain cures used in diseases of children. I here give some other cures:—

When the child get blisters on its body, a young pig is dedicated over its head, and turned loose in the forest; some *pûrîs* (cakes) and *gulgalâs* (sweetmeats) are also offered in the same way, and placed with the pig. When the child feels pain in its ribs, a mixture of the root of the *kandûrî-lâl* and *jawain* rubbed into the mother's milk is given to it to drink.

H. A. Rose.

Armenian Folk-Tales (*continued*).

4. *The Thousand-noted Nightingale* (*Hazaran Bulbul*).[1]

Once upon a time a certain king causes a church to be built. It takes seven years to complete it. It is dedicated, and the king goes there to worship. As he is on his way, a tempest arises. The king is in danger of perishing. Suddenly he sees a hermit standing before him, who accosts him, saying,—"Long live the King! Your Majesty has built a beautiful church, but it lacks one thing." The tempest increases in fury, and the hermit vanishes from sight. The king has the church torn down. It is seven years in being rebuilt, and is grander than before. It is dedicated. The king goes to worship. A terrible tempest arises. The hermit appears again to the king. He says,—"Long live the King! Your Majesty has built a magnificent church, but one thing is lacking." The king has it torn down again. This time it is nine years in being re-built. The king commands it to be built so that nothing upon earth can compare with it. It is completed, and dedicated. The king goes there to worship. A tempest arises. The hermit again stands before the king. He says,—"Long live the King! The church you have built is matchless; it is a pity that it should lack one thing." Then the king seizes the hermit by the collar, and demands,—"Now tell

[1] This is the eighth story in *Manana*.

me what my church lacks! You have had it torn down twice already." "This church needs the Thousand-noted Nightingale; then it will be perfect." He spoke these words and vanished. The king returned to his palace.

Now this king had three sons. The sons noticed that their father was troubled about something, and they asked,—"Father, what is your grief?" He replied,—"I am growing old, and how am I going to go after the Thousand-noted Nightingale, which I must have to make my church complete." "We will go and bring it for you," his sons assured him. Then the three sons mounted their steeds and set forth.

After travelling for a month they reached a spot where the road forked. They stood there puzzled. A hermit met them, and asked,—"Where are you going, my brave fellows?" "We are going to bring the Thousand-noted Nightingale, but we don't know which road to take," they replied. Then the hermit said,—"He who takes the wide road will return; the one who takes the middle road may return or he may not; the one who takes the lower road cannot hope to return. Do you ask why? Well, you go along and you come to a river. The owner of the Thousand-noted Nightingale has bewitched it, and turned its waters into salt water which cannot be used, but you must drink of it and say,—"Ah, it is the water of life!" You cross the river, and you come to a thicket. It is full of briars. They are ugly. You must gather them, and say,—"Oh, these are the flowers of immortality!" You pass the thicket, and you come to a wolf tied on one side of your path and a lamb on the other. There is grass before the wolf, and meat before the lamb. You must take the grass and put it before the lamb, and the meat before the wolf. You pass on until you come to a great double gate. One side is closed, and the other is open. You must open the closed gate, and close the open one. You enter, and you find the owner of the Thousand-noted Nightingale asleep within. The owner sleeps for seven days, and remains awake for seven days. If you succeed in doing all I have said, you will be able to bring back the Thousand-noted Nightingale; if not, you will neither be able to reach there nor to return.

The elder brother took the wide road. He went and went

until he reached a kiosk and a palace. Then he said to himself,—"Why should I go and lose my life! I will stay here and serve in this house and live."

The second brother took the middle road, and went, and went, until he crossed a mountain. There he saw a palace which shone like the sun. He dismounted and tied his horse. He entered a park. A green bench stood near by, and he went and sat there. Immediately a gigantic Arab came rushing towards him, and, giving him a blow with his club, felled him to the ground and turned him into a round stone which rolled under the bench.

Now let us come to the youngest brother. He mounted his horse and took the lower road. One after the other he reached river, thicket, wolf, lamb, and gate, and did all that the hermit had told him to do. When he entered the park, he saw a most beautiful maiden reclining upon a couch. The Thousand-noted Nightingale had come out of its cage and stood upon the maiden's breast singing its sweetest notes, and had put the maiden to sleep. Then the Prince caught the Nightingale, and stooped and imprinted a kiss upon the maiden's brow; then he set out upon his return.

When the maiden awoke from her sleep, she saw that the Thousand-noted Nightingale was gone. She knew it had been stolen, and she cried,—"Gate, stop him!" The gate replied,—"God be with him. He opened my closed door and closed my open door." "Wolf, Lamb, stop him," she cried. "God be with him! He gave the grass to the lamb, and the meat to the wolf," they answered. "Thicket, stop him," she cried. "God be with him! You made me to be full of briars; he made me become the flower of immortality." "River, stop him," she cried. "Why should I stop him? You made me salt and slimy; he made me become the water of life. Let him go! God be with him!" The maiden was at the end of her resources. So she mounted her steed and gave chase. Let us leave her for the present.

The Prince met the hermit once more; he saluted him, and said,—"Here is your Thousand-noted Nightingale." Then he inquired about his brothers. The hermit told him that they had

not returned. The Prince asked the hermit to keep the Nightingale for him while he went to find them.

He took the broad road and went till he reached a large city. He went to a baker's for something to eat. He saw his elder brother working there. He made himself known to him secretly, and taking him back with him left him with the hermit while he went to find his other brother.

He crossed the mountain. He came to a palace which shone like the sun. He dismounted, tied his horse, entered the park, and sat down on the bench. Then the great Arab rushed towards him, crying,—"Do you think that seat has no owner, that you seat yourself there?" As he spoke, he raised his club to strike him, but the Prince was too quick for him. He snatched the club from the Arab's hand, and struck him, whereupon the fellow turned into a stone. The Prince said to himself,—"Some evil has befallen my brother here." He began hitting the round stones which were lying about on the ground, and each one became a man and fled in haste from the spot; but he did not see his brother among them. Then he saw the stone under the bench; he struck that also, and it proved to be his brother, who also started to run away. He cried after him, saying,—"Brother, do not run away; I am your brother." His brother looked behind, and behold, it was so! The two brothers returned together to the hermit.

They took the Thousand-noted Nightingale, and the three brothers set out for home. On the way they were thirsty. They came to a well. They let the youngest brother down into the well to draw up water for them. They drank, but then they left their youngest brother in the well. The other two said to each other,—"If he be with us, with what face shall we go to our father." They took the Nightingale and went on.

When they reached home they said to their father,—"Our youngest brother was killed. We found the Thousand-noted Nightingale and brought it to you." They hung the Thousand-noted Nightingale in the church, and expected to hear it sing, but there was not a sound nor a breath from it.

The maiden, mounted upon her steed, reached the King, and asked,—"Who was that brave fellow that took away my Nightin-

gale?" "We took it," the two brothers replied. "What did you see on the way?" "We did not see anything." "You are not the ones who took it from me, then; you are robbers," she said, and she cast them into prison, and their father also, while she ruled the city. "Until the one who took the Thousand-noted Nightingale appears, there is no escape for you," she said. Let them remain there while we go and find the Prince.

Some women who were reaping barley drew the Prince up out of the well, and one of them adopted him. One day, a few weeks later, news reached them that the Thousand-noted Nightingale had been brought to their country, and that the owner of the bird had come after it. Then the Prince begged for permission to go to the city and see the new church and all the sights. He went. He visited his home, and found neither his father nor his brothers. He inquired where they were. They told him that the owner of the Thousand-noted Nightingale had come and cast them into prison. He went and brought them out. The maiden sent for him and said,—"I am the owner of the Thousand-noted Nightingale, do you not fear me?" The Prince replied,—"I am the one who brought the Thousand-noted Nightingale. I do not fear you." The maiden asked,—"What did you see on the way?" The Prince told about the river, the thicket, the wolf, the lamb, and the gate,—all that he had seen and done. "And if you do not believe me, behold, there is the mark which I imprinted upon your brow, betrothing you to myself!" he added. "I wish you joy," responded the maiden.

They had a grand wedding in the church, and the Thousand-noted Nightingale began to warble and to pour forth a thousand, thousand sweet notes, and still it sings and still it sings! Three apples fell from heaven.

J. S. Wingate.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Alfred Nutt: an Appreciation.

In the history of any given study there occur moments when circumstances seem, as it were, to call a halt, and bid the student survey the distance travelled, to sum up gains and losses, and estimate alike the ground traversed, and the point attained.

To Arthurian scholars the untimely death of one whose name has so long, and so honourably, been associated with these studies offers such a halting-place, and it has seemed to me, as one who for upwards of twenty years had been closely connected with Alfred Nutt in those studies in which he took so deep and unselfish an interest, that it would be well for us to look a little more closely at the work which he achieved in these special fields, and appreciate more accurately the debt which English scholarship owes to him.

In a letter which I received a short time ago from Dr. Nitze, a review of whose study on *The Fisher King* was one of the last contributions from Mr. Nutt's pen, the impression made by his work abroad was thus summarized: "*It is a great loss to scholarship. Mr. Nutt had an excellent training, an accurate method, and a sense of style.*" The testimony voices, I think, the opinion even of those who felt unable to accept the conclusions to which he came.

To my mind the great value of Mr. Nutt's work has been his appreciation of the fact that the progress of Arthurian romance has been along the road of evolution, that direct literary invention has played but a secondary part in the growth of this wonderful body of romance, and that the study of folklore might, therefore, aid us

in distinguishing the elements of which that body was composed; further, he pointed out the part which specifically Celtic tradition had played in this evolutionary process.

The earlier studies contributed to this Review,—the examination of J. G. von Hahn's "*Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula*,"[1] and the study on the "*Mabinogi of Branwen, the daughter of Llyr*,"[2] —and the later essay on *The Influence of Celtic upon Mediæval Romance*, (which inaugurated the series of *Popular Studies on Romance and Folklore*), dealt with this question in its main aspect, and brought to light many hitherto unsuspected parallels between Welsh and Irish tradition and the literary Arthurian cycle.

The *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* carried the attack further, to the very heart of the citadel in which Christian mediæval tradition and imagery had been for so long securely intrenched. The first English "*Travail d'ensemble*" on the subject, it at once freed English scholarship from the reproach of having too long neglected a study which might have been expected to make a special claim upon the attention of English scholars, and drew attention to the pressing character of the folklore problem. The opposition which the work met with in certain quarters may be best realized by a perusal of Mr. Nutt's *Apologia contra Zimmer*, which, appearing originally in the *Revue Celtique*,[3] was subsequently published in pamphlet form. From that time forward Alfred Nutt's name was, on the Continent, definitely associated with the plea for the insular, Celtic, and popular *provenance* of the Arthurian cycle, and he was regarded as the most prominent advocate of the views championed, more moderately, by the late M. Gaston Paris.

At that time the theory associated with the names of Professors Foerster and Golther practically held the field. These scholars staked, (and stake), all on the genius and originality of Chrétien de Troyes; with him the romantic Arthurian tradition had taken a definite literary form, before Chrétien all was chaos, after him all was imitation, and the indignation with which the 'evolutionary' theory, militating as it did against the inventive genius of their idol, was received, was unbounded.

But 'Wisdom is justified of her children'; doubtless many readers of *Folk-Lore* have perused with interest Mr. Lawson's

[1] *The Folk-Lore Record*, vol. iv. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. v. [3] 1891, vol. xii.

recently published work, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, a review of which appears below. The reviewer remarks that the principle of the work,—*i.e.* the idea of illustrating from present popular belief the beliefs and practices of classical times,—is a perfectly sound one, but it was precisely for this that Alfred Nutt, twenty years ago, incurred the biting scorn of his foreign critics,—*i.e.* for daring to use modern folk-tales in elucidation of mediæval romance. The gulf Mr. Lawson proposes to span is far wider, but the bridge is of identical construction, and the feat of literary engineering which was received with opprobrium twenty years ago, meets with no more than ordinary criticism to-day.

The latest work of importance published by Mr. Nutt, the text of *The Voyage of Bran*, with essays on "The Happy Other-World," and "The Celtic Doctrine of Re-birth," is one which I think has not yet received its due meed of appreciation. Mr. Nutt, I know, felt this himself; when discussing the support which the theory of the Life-Cult origin of the Grail tradition receives from the facts collected in the work referred to, he wrote to me as follows,—"I do believe *The Voyage of Bran* is a good sound piece of work, seminal, and creative, and I think it should have received higher recognition than it did." The book was, indeed, ahead of the critical knowledge of the day, and at the moment we did not possess the facts which would enable us to appreciate the importance and critical value of the evidence to which Mr. Nutt drew attention. In my opinion the book,—certainly the second volume,—is likely to gain in interest as time goes on, and will probably prove to be the most valuable legacy the writer has left us. But, if due recognition was not forthcoming, Alfred Nutt did not fight a losing battle; as his notice of Dr. Nitze's work, above referred to, clearly shows, he was keenly aware of the progress which Arthurian criticism has made in these latter years, and, if the cause in which he spent himself so generously has not yet quite come to its own, the time is not far distant; the future is with the Folklore School, and their opponents know it.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

"CROSS TREES."

Can any reader give information about the "Cross Trees" in Wexford? It is, I am told, locally believed that, if a funeral party omits to leave a cross by the tree in passing it on their way to the churchyard, ill will befall "the corp."

M. EYRE.

RELIGIOUS DANCING.

Th. Trede, in the fourth part of *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche, Bilder aus dem religiösen und sittlichen Leben Süditaliens*, 1891, states that cultus-dances still go on in Christian lands in spite of all the prohibitions which Popes, Councils, and Synods have issued. Wild, bacchic performances in connection with the Madonna are still to be watched in the Posili-grotto near Naples during the night between the 7th and 8th of September. Trede also mentions a similar dance near Salerno, in connection with "the feast of the forty martyrs." In many parts of Calabria dances always accompany the procession in which the image of a saint is carried. Religious dancing of a serious and dignified order also occurs in modern Greece.[1] The *Springprozession* at Echternach is described in T. H. Passmore's *In Further Ardenne*, p. 217, and the frontispiece of the book represents "this skipful Pilgrim's Progress." Tille, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Weihnacht*, makes several allusions to the custom of dancing in and round churches.

I should be grateful for information as to religious dancing in European countries, and particularly as to the ecclesiastical dancing-customs of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica?

Kirton-in-Lindsey. MABEL PEACOCK.

[1] The authorities quoted are B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, S. 88 Hettner, *Griechische Reisen*, S. 73.

REVIEWS.

L'ORIGINE DE L'IDÉE DE DIEU. Étude Historico-Critique et Positive. I^ere Partie. Historico-Critique. Par le Père GUILLAUME SCHMIDT, S.V.D. Vienne, Autriche: Imp. des Mechitharistes, 1910. 4to, pp. xiii + 316.

IN compliance with many requests, he tells us, Père Schmidt republishes from his excellent serial, *Anthropos*, the first part,—historical and critical,—of his work on "The Origin of the Idea of God." His purpose is to ask for criticism, which he will gratefully receive: meanwhile he bids us remark that he does not yet propound his own solution of the problem of the Origin of the Idea of God. That solution he promises to give us in a later work.

It is not an easy task for me to speak of the book of Père Schmidt, because he professes great obligations to my own writings on the evolution of religion, though, naturally, he differs from me on various points. Perhaps I may be allowed to explain how I arrived at my present opinions. They are, in fact, derived from study of the writings of Mr. E. B. Tylor. In the earlier editions of his *Primitive Culture*, a book of forty years ago, he made it plain that certain peoples, when first studied by Europeans, were not, indeed "monotheists," did not "assign the distinctive attributes of deity to none save the Almighty Creator," but *did* exhibit, "high above the doctrine of souls, of divine manes, of local nature-spirits, of the great deities of class and element . . . shadowings, quaint or majestic, of the conception of a Supreme Deity." [1]

[1] *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 302 (1st edit.).

"Shadowings, quaint or majestic, of the conception of a Supreme Deity"—these I found almost everywhere, when I was writing *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (1887). In my preface of that year I said "the existence—even among savages—of comparatively pure, if inarticulate, religious beliefs or sentiments is insisted on throughout." I was amazed at the nature and amount of the evidence for Mr. Tylor's "shadowings of the conception of a Supreme Deity," among low races who did not possess what Mr. Tylor regards as the upward steps towards that conception, the beliefs in "divine manes, local nature gods, great gods of class and element." I found the result without the supposed prior steps towards the result. Therefore, in 1898, I published a too hastily written book, *The Making of Religion*, (more or less modified in editions of 1900 and 1910), and my conclusion was that the more the beliefs and practices of Animism or ghost worship prevail, the more did the conception of a primal, creative, and ethical and *non-animistic* superior being fall into the background, till in a few cases there remained of him but *nominis umbra*, or not even the shadow of a name. Meanwhile the evidence for the very wide diffusion of the belief in this being, (who is best called, I think, the All Father, a term employed by Mr. Howitt), has rapidly accumulated. I take up the newest book on a barbaric oceanic people, "The Island of Stone Money," by Dr. W. H. Furness, a son of the great American Shakespearean scholar (Lippincott, 1910), and I find Yalafath "the ruler of Heaven," "the supreme deity," high above War and Wind and Dance gods; and beginning to be, though benignant, "negative rather than positive," though addressed in prayers, (pp. 144, 149–50).

I said, and I repeat, that the comparative study of religions did so persistently overlook this form of belief that in Professor Huxley's and Mr. Herbert Spencer's works we find no trace of creeds which Mr. Tylor and "*le vieux Waitz*," (as Père Schmidt writes,) dwelt upon,—Waitz especially in the cases of African and Australian tribes. I tried to call science back to the superabundant evidence, and Père Schmidt, in an amusing history of the fortunes of my little book, shews that I piped to "scientists" who declined to dance,—at least on the Continent and in America.

At last, in Germany, K. Breysig, in criticising P. Ehrenreich, (who discovered me,) styled me "cet Ecossais, aussi parfaitement capricieux que spirituel." But K. Breysig did not examine my evidence! Moved, as early as 1902, and again in 1904, by Dr. L. de Schroeder, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Vienna, Père Schmidt made the acquaintance of my book, and pursued the subject with energy, and with the aid of his very extensive erudition,—for example, his knowledge of savage languages, and of the Pygmæan peoples.

This personal explanation is almost necessary, for Père Schmidt devotes fifty-two pages of his work, (pp. 72-124), to a statement of "*Le Préanimisme monothéistique d'Andrew Lang.*"

The terms *préanimisme monothéistique* scarcely express my notions. As Mr. Tylor says, "the assignation of the distinctive attributes of Deity to none save the Supreme Creator," is monotheism "in the strict sense," and "in this strict sense no savage tribe of monotheists has ever been known." Very few monotheistic peoples, "in the strict sense" very few, if even any at all, have ever been known. I do not think that I ever ascribed to any savage tribe, or to the masses of any European people, a religion which is monotheistic "in the strict sense" of the philosopher. What I did hold, and do hold, is that "shadowings quaint or majestic" of a most superior, *non-animistic*, often ethical Father and Master and Maker are a very widely diffused element in savage and barbaric beliefs, and that this element is the germ of the most advanced monotheistic creeds. It is desirable that adversaries should criticise, in detail, the testimony, early, modern, and daily accruing, to the fact of the existence, (in various degrees), of the belief. Such criticism is a very considerable task; the adversary must undertake it before he can prove that my opinion is, in Mr. A. R. Brown's words, "an elaborate misinterpretation" of the evidence. Nobody seems to be in a hurry to examine the evidence!

Père Schmidt states my scantlings of evidence, with additions from later sources, such as Mr. Strehlow's work on the Aranda and Loritja. He is most copious as regards both materials and criticism in his critique of my theory, (pp. 125-244). Here he deals with the views of Messrs. Howitt, Tylor, Hartland, Foy,

Marett, and Van Gennep, especially applauding "l'opposition resolue mais noble de M. Sidney Hartland," to whose criticisms, indeed, and perhaps to his alone, I am greatly indebted. That Mr. Tylor has not offered any censure of my book, or books, is due to two causes, no doubt. I am his very old friend and pupil; he loves not controversy; and his official duties at Oxford, combined, alas, with ill health, have retarded the publication of the great work on which he has long been engaged. Many learned men, like Mr. Tylor, detest polemics, though, for my part, I think that discussion may be most profitable, as long as we do not let "our angry tempers rise."

Père Schmidt begins with Mr. Howitt, whose theory of the origins of the belief in an All Father is not, indeed, identical with my own. But, in the matter of facts, Mr. Howitt wrote, "as to the belief in the tribal All Father which is held by the tribes mentioned by me in my *Native Tribes*, and is not held by other authors, I see no reason to alter anything I have said." Well, as to the existence of the belief in an ethical and explicitly *non-animistic* All Father, I entirely agree with Mr. Howitt. As to the origin of the belief I do not feel sure that Mr. Howitt is right, his view being that the All Father is merely the Head-man of the Sky-tribe. However, this is a matter of theory of origins: and Père Schmidt proceeds to combat Mr. Howitt's theory (pp. 127-128), which certainly does not colligate all the facts. At most Père Schmidt appears to grant that "some of the traits which characterise the Supreme Being among the aforesaid tribes" are suggested by the earthly headman: which is not unlikely.

To me Mr. Howitt seemed to regard the belief as a concomitant of social progress from "group marriage," female descent, and "matrimonial classes," to individual marriage, male descent, and society with a local basis. Père Schmidt shows that Mr. Hartland and Mr. Frazer understood Mr. Howitt in the same sense.[2] But I pointed out that, according to Mr. Howitt, the belief existed among tribes with female descent and with no local basis of society, while it is not found in Mr. Spencer's Arunta and the northern tribes with individual marriage, male descent, and *loca* communities.

[2] *Folk-Lore*, xvi., 1905, p. 106. *Fortnightly Review*, Sept., 1905.

Mr. Howitt replied that I had misunderstood him; but he did not say that Mr. Frazer and Mr. Hartland had also done so,—as they had. Even now I do not think that his statement was lucid, nor am I entirely certain that he did regard the All Father creed as a concomitant of social advance, while the question was superfluoι ly complicated by his belief in "group marriage" among the Dieri .nd their congeners. The certain fact is that the All Father belief is common, or universal, in South Eastern tribes whether with male or female descent, whether with or without communities of local basis, while the belief is absent, or merely vestigial, in northern and central tribes with male descent and local communities. These are the facts, and they exclude the opinion that, in Australia, the presence or absence of the All Father is a concomitant of social advance or failure to advance.[3]

There is no room for a criticism here of Père Schmidt's opinions about social evolution in Australia. He is inclined to think that, in Australia, descent in the male line is earlier than descent in the female line, and he enters into ethnological theories of race. My reply exists in a book which will probably appear some day. But into these ethnological theories about various races, with various institutions, now combined in Australia, I cannot here enter. I confess to being a sceptic about all ethnological speculation whether concerning Pelasgians in Greece, or Papuans and Negritians in Australia. My knowledge does not enable me to estimate the value of linguistic arguments and tests of race; it is for philologists acquainted with many outlandish tongues to criticise Père Schmidt's conclusions. He reviews battles long ago, waged in *Folk-Lore* between Mr. Hartland and myself. To me he seems an impartial umpire, for, though on the whole he sides with me, he allows plenty of "points" to Mr. Hartland. If I were re-writing my book I should find much advantage in Père Schmidt's verdicts. "Mr. Hartland's piercing eye has discovered many weak places, inaccuracies, and exaggerations in the system of Lang." Being on my side, after all, Père Schmidt, naturally, gives me the majority of "points," mainly objecting to "the emphasis with which Lang so often insists on the word "father.""

[3] Père Schmidt, (p. 131, Note 3), has unluckily credited me with some opinions entirely contrary to what I hold.

Really, as the Australians do so too, I hardly see how I can help following the evidence. To be sure, as Mr. Howitt observed, they use the term "father" in the classificatory sense, but they also use it in the personal sense. Moreover they use "father" as a title of reverence, and, as Christians speak of God as "the Father," black fellows apply the same term to the being whom they regard as primal and most potent; while their application of the word "Father" to a Colonial Governor is on a level with our speaking of "Father Schmidt." Really I do not see how I have erred in this matter.

Père Schmidt gives a point to Mr. Hartland for saying that we find no All Father who at the beginning lived in the sky. But before the beginning Atnatu of the Kaitish lived beyond the sky, and still inhabits that region. I must not, however, go on defending myself,—to tell the truth, Pere Schmidt often does me that service, even in cases where I should have been at a loss. The personal character of these All Fathers is certainly in striking contrast to that of Zeus in Greek mythology, but Bunjil is accused of seizing two women whom Karwin had made or created, and of giving Karwin satisfaction by spearing him in the thigh. I do not feel tempted to excuse Bunjil, but Père Schmidt thinks it worth while to do so. From my point of view the contrast between the Zeus of everyday *fabliau* and the Zeus to whom Eumaeus prays is quite natural and inevitable, and nobody denies that Zeus is a supreme being.

The same view I would extend to Bunjil, but Père Schmidt defends his character in a very complex argument which I do not clearly follow and cannot condense. It partly turns on the relations of Bunjil with the Eaglehawk of mythology, and with the stars (pp. 202 *et seq.*), and "sex-totems" come into the discussion. It is too ramified for me, but at all events, in a variant of the Karwin myth given by Miss Howitt, Karwin is the sinner, and Bunjil merely punishes his wickedness. Let us give Bunjil the benefit of the doubt! The discussion leads Père Schmidt into theories about astral and lunar myths, no longer intelligible to the blacks, and to a system of the blending of two distinct cultures and races in S.E. Australia: a crisp-haired and a straight-haired race. "Solar heroes" come into the system, and,

enfin, a medley of astral, lunar, and solar myths, and sex-totem myths, have obscured and more or less depraved the legends of the All Father, which is very probable. Thus the view of M. Van Gennep that the All Fathers are merely First Ancestors or Culture Heroes is set aside. It was rejected by Mr. Howitt, and may, I think, be disproved without all the apparatus of Père Schmidt. Four divergencies from my view, and concessions to criticism, are made,—with my entire consent, though I am rather shy of our old friend the Solar Hero. *J'en ai vu bien d'autres*!

"Le résultat général de la critique est donc extrêmement favorable à Lang." But Père Schmidt for the present confines himself to Australia, while pointing out that my contention covers the whole field of savage and barbaric religion, as far as I have information. To the great mass of evidence Père Schmidt intends to return.

His last chapter deals with the "preanimistic theories of Magic," which we associate in England with the name of Mr. Marett. The book of a predecessor, Mr. King, "The Supernatural," (London, 1892), is unknown to me, and is described as "the best work, hitherto, of the new school." Père Schmidt has a genius for discovering hidden merit: he has met with no mention of Mr. King in the literature of our topic. One must instantly procure Mr. King's book, in two volumes: its title, "The Supernatural," would have attracted me, but it never swam into my ken. Mr. King does not accept Animism as the starting point of religion, "Magic is anterior to Animism." He investigates the notions of *mana*, *wakan*, *orenda*, and so forth. About the All Fathers of Australia, Mr. King seems to be strangely ill-informed (p. 257). Concerning Mr. Marett's essays, Père Schmidt makes criticisms of much the same sort as have occurred to myself: he admires the article "From Spell to Prayer," first published in *Folk-Lore*, June, 1904.

Space permits but a very inadequate notice of the work of Père Schmidt, and vanity has dictated a treatment perhaps too personal, though it was quite impossible, as his readers will see, to keep myself "out of the memorial."

A *prima facie* objection to the opinion which I share with Père Schmidt, is that we have both a heavy bias,—he as a Catholic

priest, and I as *un capricieux*,—against the anthropologically orthodox doctrine of the rise of religion in Animism. But I have no *a priori* objection to that doctrine, for, like Malvolio, "I think nobly of the soul," and, if we have no souls, I have no interest in religion. The truth is that, the more I studied early religion, the less did the hypothesis of Animism as the origin of belief in the All Father seem to colligate the facts. None the less, Animism has, of course, had an enormous influence on the development of religion, an influence often very hostile to Theism; in other cases complementary to Theism.

As Père Schmidt has not yet given us his own theory of the origin of the idea of God, I do not know what his theory is, or in what way his bias affects, if at all, his logic. But let me insist that every man of us *has* a bias, and a strong bias, a circumstance which our opponents,—whose strong point is not a sense of humour,—do not seem to be able to understand. Whether or not the scientific bias caused the chapter of the All Father of backward tribes to be ignored, it is not for me to say, but ignored it was, too frequently, by students in the last century. In that chapter there is nothing to alarm them, if they see the obvious conclusion which,—with their opinions,—they can draw from the early belief.

A. Lang.

Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions. Par H. Hubert et M. Mauss. Paris: F. Alcan et Guillaumin, 1909. 8vo, pp. xlii + 236.

L'Année Sociologique. Publiée sous la direction de Émile Durkheim. Tome xi. (1906-1909). Paris: F. Alcan et Guillaumin, 1910. 8vo, pp. iii + 822.

The Birth of Humility. By R. R. Marett. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. 8vo, pp. ii + 31.

The first two books are in continuation of the valuable series of publications initiated by Prof. Durkheim, of which an account has been laid before the Folk-Lore Society on previous occasions,

and which have contributed so much to the discussion of anthropological problems during the last dozen years. Of the second it will be sufficient to say that it continues the acute and original series of reviews of works, whether in the shape of books or of single articles, on sociological and anthropological subjects, and that its intrinsic importance is in no way diminished by its divorce from the initial *Mémoires* that used to appear in the same covers.

The volume of *Mélanges* by Messrs. Hubert and Mauss is a reprint of three articles already published, two of them,—namely, those on Sacrifice and on the Origin of Magical Powers,—in previous volumes of the series, and the third,—on the Representation of Time in Magic and Religion,—separately. They are here preceded by a Preface in which the authors expound the connection between the three and the ideas which underlie their researches, and incidentally answer objections to method and results. The republication of these articles in a cheap and handy form will render them more useful to students of folklore, and it is to be hoped will cause them to be more widely known and studied. Students who are already acquainted with them will turn with interest to the Preface. The defence of the authors' position it contains is to some extent a retrospect of the steps by which they have reached that position. But it is more than this, for in replying to objections they are led to the enunciation of general principles and results. The summary analysis of the idea of Sacredness, for example, deserves careful comparison with that recently put forward by Mr. Marett in his masterly lecture on *The Birth of Humility*. Mr. Marett's analysis is the more detailed and exact; but, while it covers much of the same ground and so far agrees with that of Messrs. Hubert and Mauss, it approaches the subject from a different starting-point. Mr. Marett is a psychologist: Messrs. Hubert and Mauss are sociologists. They insist on Sacredness as a social phenomenon: he views it primarily as the expression of the complex emotions of the individual soul. Neither of these aspects can be safely neglected. A clear comprehension of the interaction of the social relations with individual impulses is necessary to enable us to read the half-effaced hieroglyphs of the genesis of religion. For the French authors

the social influence is everything. Judgements, for them, are not dictated by the individual reason, but by social forces. We owe much to Prof. Durkheim and his disciples for calling attention to the social side of religion. The tendency of the English school of anthropologists was too greatly to neglect it. But, after all, the emotions arise in the individual. They are emphasized and organized by contact with those of other individuals collected in a group, whether that group be a howling mob of rioters or the bedizened knights and councillors and dames of a Primrose League. What anthropologists have to do in retracing the history of civilization is to balance accurately the one set of forces with the other, and to allot to either no more than its fair share in originating and impelling the movements of human progress.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE SIGNS AND SYMBOLS OF PRIMORDIAL MAN. Being an Explanation of the Evolution of Religious Doctrines from the Eschatology of the Ancient Egyptians. By ALBERT CHURCHWARD. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1910. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 6''$, pp. xxiii + 849. Col. etc. ill.

THE title of the book is somewhat misleading, as the object is not so much to explain the evolution of religious doctrines as to set forth a pet theory of the author in regard to Freemasonry. The author finds the root of all true religious knowledge in the Egyptian religion, especially as set forth in the Book of the Dead, and, as has been done before, traces Egyptian influence to almost very clime and people. The book is written *ad majorem gloriam* Freemasonry, and with Freemasonry, as such, we find no fault.

To judge by the author's frequent remarks, such as,—"a statement too absurd for any kind of argument," "an assertion sufficiently ridiculous to prove his complete want of knowledge of the subject" (p. xii.), "so lamentably ignorant of the whole subject" (p. xiii.), "in ignorance of anything pertaining to the subject" (p. xiii.), when speaking of those who disagreed with him

in regard to views set forth in another work of his, the author is by no means destitute of confidence in his superior knowledge; indeed, not to leave the reader to the mercy of his (*i.e.* the reader's) private judgement, he states in plain language, "We contend that the result of our labours herein set forth is correct" (p. 5). It may be quite true that the reviewers of the former work of the author had no knowledge of the Egyptian alphabet (pp. xiv *et seq.*), and we have no doubt that the author has "tried to search after the facts with a steady honesty" (p. xi), and, when he says,—"Facts and history are one thing; theories and "according to" are another" (p. i), we agree with him heartily, finding both in his book. The book contains many facts carefully collected from numerous mentioned and not mentioned sources, and a great many more theories, many of which have long been exploded as fanciful. To the facts no one can object, but, when they are handled, as they have been by the author, to prove a preconceived notion, science gives way to imagination and fact to fancy.

The book bristles with assertions which one really cannot take seriously, and is full of inaccuracies. The writer seems to lack even an elementary acquaintance with one of the languages which he uses (or attempts to use), to prove one of his theories. This is surprising, especially as he lays so much stress upon accurate knowledge, from which he avers the correctness of his deductions (p. 5). We will point out only a few things in support of what has been said above.

The author's remarks on the Jewish religion (pp. 236 *et seq.*) betray no knowledge of the state of the historical situation as recognized by the scholars of to-day. It may be that the author, who seems to quote well-known authorities simply to point out their ignorance, did not consider it worth while even to mention the critical position of Bible scholars as being perhaps, to use his own language, "too ludicrous to discuss." He revives a long-exploded theory identifying Jahweh with an Egyptian deity (p. 294). The author's knowledge of Hebrew cannot even be called elementary. The Hebrew word in l. 20, p. 294, which he imagines to represent the Hebrew word for mercy-seat, has absolutely no meaning. The four Hebrew letters לפקח should be כפרת and the mistake arose simply from the author's ignorance of Hebrew. The same

is true of other Hebrew words with which the author ornaments the pages of his book; *e.g.*, on p. 297 we find a word which the author believes to represent the Hebrew for "ark" or "coffer." As little knowledge of Hebrew is displayed on pp. 364 *et seq.* To judge by the way in which Baali (p. 365) is used, the author seems to have no idea that it is Baal *plus* the pronominal suffix of the first person singular; and what does "Baalam" (p. 365) mean? Whence that form? The plural is Baalim.

HISTOIRE DE L'IMAGERIE POPULAIRE FLAMANDE ET DE SES RAPPORTS AVEC LES IMAGERIES ÉTRANGÈRES. Par E. H. VAN HEURCK et G. J. BOEKENOOGEN. Bruxelles: G. van Oest & Cie, 1910. 4to, pp. ix + 727. Col. etc. ill.

THE Continental definition of *folklore* as covering folk arts and crafts and, in fact, anything produced by or related to the folk, seems to have stimulated the formation of collections and museums of folk objects. While the museum of peasant art at Haslemere is probably,—until Mr. Lovett's comprehensive collection is adopted by some fortunate locality,—the only separate public gathering of the kind on this side of the Channel, in 1907 the catalogue of the Antwerp *Musée de folklore* of the *Conservatoire de la Tradition Populaire Flamande* already included 2816 items, ranging from house tiles, salt-boxes, stable lanterns, costumes, and toys, to lovers' hearts cut in trees, *folklore électoral*, chapbooks, and broadsides. Collections of less importance exist at Skansen in Sweden, Bucharest, and elsewhere. The present handsome and fascinating volume is appropriately dedicated to M. Elskamp, the donor of the Antwerp Museum, and describes, with the help of hundreds of illustrations, the picture broadsides, each containing one or a number of coloured or plain woodcuts or prints with accompanying legends, which from the adoption of wood engraving for this purpose in the fifteenth century up to recent years were produced in millions for the peasantry and the children of Flanders and other European countries. Early prints of this kind were generally religious, and evidence of this remains in the

names still applied to them of *heilig* in Protestant Friesland and of *aleluyas* in Spain. Some of the most interesting examples are still of the religious type, such as the pennons (*drapelets*) printed with the legends etc. of trade patron saints, or places of pilgrimage, carried in funeral and wedding processions, and hung up in the peasants' homes beside the statuette of the Virgin. The capricious colouring of the prints is thought by our authors to have been adopted to suit a popular taste formed by the weird rose-coloured dogs, red trees, and blue horses of the twelfth and thirteenth century painted glass in the cathedrals of Antwerp, Laon, etc. The authors supply a mass of laboriously collected material for the study of the long life and transmutations of wood blocks,—some of which they trace back to seventeenth-century Dutch and French originals and others to eighteenth-century chapbooks, while the bulk were specially cut for the broadsides. One of the most curious examples of change of ascription is the use about 1820 of a very recognizable portrait of Napoleon as the portrait of the hereditary prince of the Netherlands, 'the conqueror of Waterloo.' In another print, obviously of St Brigit of Ireland, the legend is that of Brigit the Swedish princess. As might be expected, many of the subjects occur in the prints of almost every nation, and, as in chapbook and ballad literature, there is the strangest mixture of old folk-tales,—Cinderella, Habetrot, Red Riding Hood, Tyll Owlglass, the Land of Cockayne, the Wandering Jew,—with tales perhaps on their way to become folk-tales,—e.g. Gulliver's Travels, in which two episodes differ from Swift, Gulliver's death-scene appearing to be copied from that of Tom Thumb!—proverbs, street cries, fashions, games old and new, monsters surviving from mediæval bestiaries, old customs such as leaping over candles on January 6, universal jests such as *La Dispute de la Culotte*, battle pictures of Jena etc., the burning of Moscow, and prints (of about 1850) of General Tom Thumb. One interesting adaptation to modern conditions is the belief that if the prayer on a certain common print be read daily for eight days before the drawing of the conscription, and the print bound to the arm with which the ticket is drawn, a 'good number' will result (p. 74).

The greater part of the book is concerned with the prints

produced at Turnhout, (about 20 miles from Antwerp, and now a world-centre of the manufacture of playing cards), and we are told that, of the three principal houses originally producing these broadsides, one has closed its doors, another has given up their production and destroyed its blocks, and the third has adopted modern machine processes and is allowing its remaining blocks to pass to the Antwerp Museum,—a different attitude to that of a Nancy proprietor, who refuses to part with, or even to show, the blocks mouldering since 1844 in his attics, and is using the remaining stock of prints as packing material! Much information is given, however, about other countries, with bibliographies, and it is possible to confirm Mr. Nutt's luminous suggestion (*ante*, p. 384) that the racially distinctive elements of the lore of the folk are to be found amongst its artistic rather than its practical elements; soldiers abound in German broadsides, while they are rare in Holland until after the Napoleonic wars and the Belgian insurrection of 1830, and many other examples occur of national preferences and additions to the common stock of subjects.

This book is not only an interesting record of the time when the workman was still a designer and thinker and not a mere machine minder, but a rich storehouse of material for study of the problems of the diffusion and variation of folklore, and is to be very heartily commended to all students.

A. R. Wright.

Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals. By J. C. Lawson. Cambridge University Press, 1910. 8vo, pp. xii + 620.

In this very readable book the author gives the results of his own researches when, ten years ago, he visited Greece as Craven student, together with a considerable amount taken, with due acknowledgement, from other workers in the same field. A companion volume to Abbott's *Macedonian Folklore*, dealing with the beliefs and practices of more southerly Hellenic populations, has long been needed, and to some extent this book, despite grave defects, fills the gap. We say "despite grave defects," for

the book is in one respect almost worthless owing to its inaccuracy. The writer sets out upon perfectly sound principles, namely, with the idea of illustrating from the present beliefs of the conservative peasantry the popular beliefs of ancient times. He succeeds in telling us something about modern Greek superstitions; but his comparisons with ancient ideas break down hopelessly, because,—to be frank,—the religion of ancient Greece is a subject about which he knows less than nothing. What is to be made, for example, of such statements as these? "Nothing was imposed [in ancient Greece] by authority. In belief *and in worship* each man was a law unto himself" (p. 3). Every man "a law unto himself" in worship, in any ancient state or any part of the countryside, of which we know anything! Probably nothing outside of savage communities was ever so completely controlled by sacred and inviolable rules, observed to the letter by the whole community, as the religion of ancient Greece, unless it was that of ancient Rome. After this we are quite prepared to find him reversing the functions of the Heavenly Aphrodite and Aphrodite Pandemos (p. 4), on the strength of a passage in Artemidorus,—he does not seem to know that the blunder, or rather the deliberate misrepresentation, dates from Plato,—and trying to find, in the confused ancient way of speaking of the dead, now as corpses and again as phantoms, a trace of something like the Slavonic belief in vampires, or stating (p. 572) that the date of the Mysteries coincides roughly with that of Easter,—a glaring error from which any handbook would have saved him. His handling of ancient texts also is childish. Not only does he accept, with hardly a trace of criticism, any and every piece of vaporing of late authors on such dark subjects as the ritual of Eleusis,—(Lobeck, whom he quotes, might have taught him a little caution, to say nothing of later works),—but he continually misinterprets perfectly straightforward statements of, *e.g.* Herodotus. *Her.* IV. xciv. (the human sacrifices of the Getae) is thus expounded,—"No one can fail to notice that Herodotus' own interest in the custom centres not in the idea which prompted it but in the manner of carrying it out. His account of it reads as if he knew his Greek readers to be familiar enough with the conception of human sacrifice as a means of sending a messenger to

some god" etc. (p. 350). That is, the presence in historical Greece of a hideously barbarous rite, mentioned with abhorrence by Greeks, for a purpose foreign to their beliefs,—for all their deities were accessible to ordinary prayer, and to kill a man was not to send him to the gods but simply to the Underworld, where he would be cut off from communication with the greater portion of them,—is to be forced out of a passage which states simply that such a rite took place among certain savages! Another misinterpretation of the same author, which we have not space to quote, occurs on p. 501, and similar blunders are scattered up and down the whole book.

When we turn, however, from Mr. Lawson's theories of ancient religion to his facts about modern and mediæval folklore, we find less to criticise and much to interest us. Thus, the examples of survivals of polytheistic beliefs are noteworthy. We mention a few; continual reference in popular stories etc. to τὰ 'ξωτερικά, the "outside," *i.e.* pagan, spirits, conceived as really existing and not necessarily and entirely malignant; the quaint Athenian blessing, νὰ σ' ἀξιώσῃ ὁ Θεὸς νὰ εὐχαριστήσῃς θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους; belief in local daimones (στοιχειά); tales of a mysterious personage once actually called ἡ δέσποινα, who seems to be simply one of the Chthonian goddesses, perhaps Demeter; belief in the Fates (Μοίραις), in fairies called Νεράϊδες, and in the Lamia. We are glad also to get further information about the "Callicantzari," as Mr. Lawson calls them,—Mr. Abbott, using a slightly different form of that Protean name, says "Karkantzari,"—formidable and exceedingly filthy bogeys who prowl, it would appear, especially about Christmas time. Without accepting Mr. Lawson's attempt to derive their name and functions from the Centaurs,—we should emphatically label them "non-Greek," leaving it to experts to decide whether they are Slavonic, Turkish, or what not,—we recommend these gentry to all folklorists. Equally interesting is the account of modern funeral customs, in which traces of cremation may be found; and also the survival of the common ancient metaphor of death as a marriage,—if survival it be; at least it is an interesting parallel. We wish, however, that Mr. Lawson had been a little more critical in the selection of his materials, if he did not want to publish all he had collected. When (p. 339) he

tells a tale of human sacrifice in recent times (early nineteenth century) from Santorini, we cannot but conclude that the venerable narrator was "having" him.

However, with all its defects,—and they are wide-reaching,—the book, as we have said, fills a gap and has its value. Some day we hope the author will give his undoubted abilities a fair chance by extending his reading and cultivating the art of disbelief. Then he may give us something of less impeachable worth.

H. J. Rose.

The Melanesians of British New Guinea. By C. G. Seligmann. With a Chapter by F. R. Barton, and an Appendix by E. L. Giblin. Cambridge: University Press, 1910. 8vo, pp. xxiii + 766. Ill.

In this massive volume Dr. Seligmann has given us the most complete account yet published of the sociology, sorcery, and religion of any tribe on the mainland of New Guinea, and he has done this for such diverse tribes as the Koita of the central district, the Roro and Mekeo tribes of the lower reaches of the St. Joseph river, and the Southern and Northern Massim of the south-eastern archipelagos. Considering the relatively short time Dr. Seligmann spent at some of the places he visited, it is surprising what a mass of systematic material he has collected, but the help which he enlisted from Government officials and from missionaries enabled him to correct and extend his observations. All the peoples studied are at the same stage of material culture, but there are considerable differences in social customs which are of great interest, and when more data are available from other areas we shall be in a better position to judge how far these are due to an evolution from within or to influences from without. The following notes will give some slight idea of the scope of the work.

The most characteristic cultural feature of the Massim is the existence of a peculiar form of totemism with matrilineal descent. The members of each clan have a series of totems, of which a

bird is the most important. The series usually consists of a bird, fish, snake, and plant, but a four-footed vertebrate may be added. In some parts there is a dual or a multiple exogamous grouping of the clans, which regulates many social matters. There does not appear to be any special affinity between a man and his totems, nor can he influence these in any way. All over the district a man shows more regard for his father's totems than for his mother's, which are also his own. A person can kill his own totems, and, with the exception of the bird, even eat them. In the central district totemism has disappeared, but among the Roro-speaking people of the coast about Hall Sound and to Cape Possession, and the Mekeo further inland, it is represented by clan badges. There is another strange resemblance to the natives of the north-west coast of America in the unexplained *hekarai* ceremony,—a series of feasts which by its rivalry and exchange of valuable property bears a superficial resemblance to a *potlatch*; but a more close analogy can be found in the public exchange of food or property which occurs in Murray Island, Torres Straits.

The burial customs of the Northern Massim are particularly interesting on account of the contrast they present to those of their Southern neighbours, among whom people of clans other than that to which the dead person belonged scrupulously abstain from having anything to do with the dead body or its burial. Among the Northern Massim the whole funeral is carried through by the dead man's *lubai* or *nubai*, certain connections by marriage, who are consequently never of the same clan as the dead man.

In the Trobriands, as soon as a man dies his store of yams is divided amongst his near relatives who are members of his own totem, and several of his coco-nut trees are cut down by some of his relatives, there being no restriction regarding the use of these trees, their leaves, or their fruit. The dead body remains in the house until burial, and wailing is kept up unceasingly. When the body has been placed in the grave by the *lubai*, food is provided by all near relatives belonging to the deceased's own totem, and is eaten by all the other clans of the village, in which feast the widow and father of the dead man take part, having previously blackened themselves as a

sign of mourning. When a village chief dies, those belonging to his totem from all the neighbouring villages bring food to the burial feast; members of any other totem bring no food, although they come to the feast. The widow's hair is cut, her mourning costume being provided by her *lubai*,—in this instance the sisters of her dead husband, who also shorten her petticoat and cut her armlets and leglets at the conclusion of her term of mourning. When a woman dies, her *lubai*,—in this case her husband's brothers,—dig the grave and bury her, after which the usual feast takes place. A widower blackens himself and wears mourning for his wife, his mourning gear being provided by his female *lubai*,—dead wife's sisters. On the night following the burial the body is exhumed by the dead man's father, or, if he is absent, the dead man's sister's husband may perform the duty. The bones of the legs and arms are then removed, and these are made into spatulæ by the father, brother-in-law, and children, who alone are allowed to use them ceremonially. The terminal joints of the phalanges are worn by the children, and in some cases the jaw is worn as a bracelet by the widow. In the case of the death of a paramount chief, his father or his sister's husband removes the bones from the arms and legs, and perhaps even some of the ribs; these bones are distributed to people of all the totems except that of the dead man, each village chief in his district receiving one bone. Enough bones would be reserved for making lime spatulæ for the ceremonial use of the father, children, and sister's husband. The skull would be made by the children of the deceased into a lime pot, which they, and perhaps also their father's widows, might use. In every case it is the relations-in-law or the *lubai* who remove the bones and make the spatulæ, and who also perform the office of burying the dead.

In the Marshall Bennets the widow almost invariably keeps the skull of her husband in the house, and wears his jaw as a bracelet, while his vertebræ and phalanges are worn by her brothers and her children. A widower also keeps the skull of his late wife in his house, and wears her lower jaw as a bracelet, while her vertebræ are worn by her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law. In some parts a dead man's jaw will be worn by his son. In

Kwaiawata the bones are kept in the house for some time, and then removed and exposed in shallow rock shelters in the sea cliffs.

The book contains a very large number of very excellent and well-chosen photographs, and fifty illustrations in the text. A very interesting feature is the large number of reproductions of native drawings, serving in most cases to elucidate ceremonies, but incidentally illustrating other matters, and demonstrating the artistic skill of the natives. Dr. Seligmann's book is a notable contribution to ethnology, and deserves a place in every student's library.

A. C. Haddon.

The Island of Stone Money. Uap of the Carolines. By William Henry Furness, 3rd. J. B. Lippincott Co., 1910. 8vo, pp. 278. Ill.

Dr. Furness's pleasant book on the people of the isle of Uap in the Caroline Group is not specially meant for anthropologists. Rather it is aimed at the general reader. Consequently special students are left asking for more, and hoping that Dr. Furness will communicate more precise and more extensive information to some anthropological serial. We want to know about the rules regulating marriage in Uap, about totems (if they exist in any degree), about names for human relationships, classificatory or descriptive; and perhaps Dr. Furness may some day enlighten us. He has a curious chapter on the *failu* or the club-house of the males, into which very little boys may wander freely. It it also the resting place of weary fishers home from the sea, who are tabued so strictly that they may not even see the faces of women or come near them. The lads of each *failu* carry away a pretty girl from some other community, perhaps of old by sheer violence; now some secret bargaining is probably done. Though she is common to all the adult members of the club, she is treated with perfect courtesy and kindness; too long attachments to any individual are gently discouraged, but, as far as she is concerned, there is no jealousy. The life of a

mispil is not unhappy, but poor Migiul, the prettiest *mispil* in the isle, looks profoundly melancholy. In another photograph of her sent to me by Dr. Furness *père*, the eminent Shakespearean scholar, she is much prettier than in the published copy (p. 124). If a *mispil* bears a child she becomes the individual wife of a member of the club. You may meet matrons of the most unimpeachable virtue marked with the *mispil* tattoo. Still, it is not a pretty custom. The stone money,—huge circles of perforated stone,—is hardly a medium of exchange, but a circle lost at sea is still at the owner's account at the bank. Shell money is also in circulation. A three-span *fei*, of good whiteness and shape, purchases fifty baskets of food, but the owner of the baskets need not carry off the *fei*; it lies at his account.

In religion we find, atop of the topmost bough, Yalafath, "the ruler of Heaven," "the creator of the world," Lord of the dead; he is kind, but rather unsympathetic. Nevertheless he is addressed in prayers. After a stay with Yalafath, souls seem to return, invisible, to Uap. Yalafath "is the supreme deity and has the general supervision of mankind." There is a polytheism of departmental deities; Dr. Furness found no sacrifice, and no priests, but there are paid wise men and exorcists. Colours are easily distinguished by the natives, but blue and green pass as lighter shades of black, and all three are *rungidu*. Tattooing is on the wane; slaves may not tattoo themselves. Burying is by interment; various postures are given to the corpse. The living are "delightful people," and the Germans, to their infinite credit, prohibit alcoholic drinks. There is given a pretty full vocabulary. Yalafath is rendered "God of Creation," Dr. Furness not having before him the fear of critics. But what he gives as the "Creation Legend" says nothing about what we mean by "creator," and is not of much authority.

A. Lang.

Melanesians and Polynesians. Their Life-histories described and compared. By George Brown. Macmillan, 1910. 8vo, pp. xv + 451. Ill.

Dr. George Brown has given us in this beautiful volume the

ethnological information he has collected during nearly fifty years in the West Pacific, but practically the book is a comparison between the natives of a limited area of New Britain and those of Samoa. Dr. Brown was one of the first white men to go to New Britain, and, though some similar information has been published by Parkinson (especially in *Dreissig Jähre in der Südsee*) and by others, his first-hand account is of great value, as it deals with the time of the first contact of the natives with Europeans. For various and obvious reasons many sections dealing with New Britain lack that thoroughness which modern science requires, but it is not fair to expect expert work to be accomplished by a pioneer missionary. In addition to his own information, Dr. Brown gives some valuable quotations from various missionaries and native teachers in the Bismarck Archipelago, from the Rev. W. E. Bromilow for parallels in south-east New Guinea, and from other correspondents elsewhere. An extremely good idea of savage life can be gained by the reader, and the student of folk-lore will find much to interest him, especially from a comparative point of view, for he has to hand two contrasted stages of evolution, not indeed of the same people, but at all events of people not too remote from each other geographically and culturally. Where there is so much to choose from, it is difficult to make selections, and all that the present writer can do is to recommend the book heartily as interesting, informing, and accurate; but there is so much more one would like to hear about! Dr. Codrington's *Melanesians* still retains the premier place amongst books dealing with the Western Pacific south of Dr. Brown's particular field, and for more precise information on mainly sociological and religious matters we await the publication of the investigations undertaken by Dr. Rivers. Would that an English student could supplement Dr. Brown's work in New Britain, working by modern methods!

Our gratitude is also due to Dr. Brown for the beauty of his illustrations, and to his publishers for their number. They add to the attractiveness of the book, and contain much valuable ethnographical information.

A. C. Haddon.

SHORT NOTICES.

Legends of the City of Mexico. Collected by THOMAS A. JANVIER. Harper & Bros., 1910. Post 8vo, pp. xix + 165. Ill.

In this volume Mr. Janvier has collected and annotated nineteen stories of a kind of which far too few have yet been printed,—town stories in which the results can be examined of the popular mind working upon historical and alien traditions and moulding them to its liking. The tales were gathered in Monterey and Mexico City mainly from the old women who are everywhere the chief depositories of traditionary wisdom, and the book is one to be added to every folk-tale library. It would have been well to state in the preface that the text of twelve stories (without the notes) has previously appeared,—viz. in *Harper's Magazine* for 1906.

The Niger and the West Sudan, or The West African's Note Book. By Capt. A. J. N. TREMEARNE. Hodder & Stoughton, 1910. 8vo, pp. vii + 151.

The usefulness of this book is not limited to the many who go nowadays as travellers or officials to West Africa, as, besides numerous notes about kits, passages, etc., it contains convenient summaries of past history and 49 pages concerning the races of British West Africa, (including a reprint of the account of the Hausas referred to on p. 199 *ante*). Capt. Tremearne, (as shown also by his Hausa tales in *Folk-Lore*), is one of the new school of administrators, whose efficiency is enormously increased by a sympathetic and scientific interest in the natives under their charge. As he himself observes (p. 78), "the more an official studies the natives the more he must sympathise with and be interested in them, and the greater must be his knowledge of their laws and ideas of justice."

Books for Review should be addressed to
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,
c/o DAVID NUTT,
57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

INDEX.

GLASGOW: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.

The Folk-Lore Society.

AMENDED RULES

Approved at a Special General Meeting held on the 18th January, 1911.

I. The Object of the Folk-Lore Society shall be to promote the study of the traditional Beliefs, Customs, Stories, Songs, and Sayings current among backward peoples, or retained by the uncultured classes of more advanced peoples.

II. The Society shall consist of (*a*) Members and (*b*) Libraries and other Institutions being Subscribers to its funds of One Guinea annually, payable in advance on the 1st of January in each year.

III. A Member of the Society may at any time compound for future Annual Subscriptions by payment of Ten Guineas over and above the Subscription for the current year.

IV. Every Member, whose Subscription shall not be in arrear, shall be entitled to a copy of each of the ordinary works published by the Society.

V. Any Member who shall be one year in arrear of his Subscription shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council shall otherwise determine.

THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

(1910.)

President.

MISS CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

Vice-Presidents.

THE HON. JOHN ABERCROMBY.
LORD AVEBURY, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.
SIR E. W. BRABROOK, C.B., F.S.A.
EDWARD CLODD.
J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., etc.
DR. M. GASTER.
G. LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.
A. C. HADDON, D.Sc., F.R.S., etc.
E. S. HARTLAND, F.S.A.
ANDREW LANG, M.A., LL.D., etc.
PROFESSOR SIR J. RHYS, M.A., LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A.
W. H. D. ROUSE, Litt.D.
THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, M.A., LL.D., D.D.
PROFESSOR E. B. TYLOR, LL.D., F.R.S.

Members of Council.

G. CALDERON.
W. CROOKE, B.A.
M. LONGWORTH DAMES.
A. A. GOMME.
W. L. HILDBURGH, M.A., Ph.D.
T. C. HODSON.
MISS ELEANOR HULL.
A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot.
W. F. KIRBY.
E. LOVETT.
A. F. MAJOR.
R. R. MARETT, M.A.
W. H. R. RIVERS, M.D.
C. G. SELIGMANN, M.D.
C. J. TABOR.
E. WESTERMARCK, Ph.D.
H. B. WHEATLEY.
A. R. WRIGHT.

Hon. Treasurer.

EDWARD CLODD.

Hon. Auditors.

F. G. GREEN. | A. W. JOHNSTON.

Secretary.

F. A. MILNE, M.A.

Committee.

DR. GASTER, A. A. GOMME, T. C. HODSON, C. J. TABOR,
H. B. WHEATLEY, A. R. WRIGHT.
The President and Treasurer *ex-officio*.

MEMBERS (*corrected to September*, 1910).

The letter c *placed before a member's name indicates that he or she has compounded.*

1884. Abercromby, The Hon. J., 62 Palmerston Place, Edinburgh (*Vice-President*).
1899. Amersbach, Professor K., 13 Erbjwinzenstrasse, Freiburg in Baden, Germany.
1905. Amherst, The Countess, Montreal, Sevenoaks, Kent.
1909. Anderson, R. H., Esq., 95 Alexandra Rd., N.W.
1894. Anichkov, Professor E., University of St. Vladimir, Kieve, Russia,
1889. Asher, S. G., Esq., 30 Berkeley Sq., W.
1906. Ashton-Rigby, Miss L. E., Beverley Lodge, Leamington.
1893. Aston, G. F., Esq., 2 Templeton Place, Earl's Court, S.W.
1880. Avebury, Rt. Hon. Lord, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.L.S., High Elms, Farnborough R.S.O. (*Vice-President*).

1878. Backhouse, Sir Jonathan E., Bank, Darlington.
1900. Baker, Judge Frank T., 3543 Lake Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1903. Banks, Mrs. Mary M., 30 Lambolle Rd., Swiss Cottage, N.W.
1905. Barry, Miss Fanny, 91 Chelsea Gardens, S.W.
1885. Basset, Mons. René, Villa Louise, Rue Deufert Rochereau, Algiers.
1910. Belcher, Miss M., Elsinore, East Twickenham.
1892. Billson, C. J., Esq., M.A., The Wayside, Oadby, Leicester.
1906. Binney, E. H., Esq., M.A., 21 Staverton Rd., Oxford.
1902. Bishop, Gerald M., Esq., 5 Robert St., Adelphi, W.C.
1902. Bladen, W. Wells, Esq., Fairlie, Stone, Staffordshire.
1890. Bolitho, T. R., Esq., per Llewellyn T. E. Llewellyn, Esq., Estate Office, Trengwainton, Hea Moor R.S.O., Cornwall.
1904. Bompas, C. H., Esq., c/o Grindlay & Co., Parliament St., S.W.: Magistrate's House, Alipore, Calcutta.
1888. Bonaparte, Prince Roland, 10 Avenue d'Iéna, Paris.
1882. Bowditch, C. P., Esq., 28 State Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1897. Bower, H. M., Esq., Trinity Hill, Ripon.
1880. Brabrook, Sir E. W., C.B., V.P.S.A., 178 Bedford Hill, Balham, S.W. (*Vice-President*).
1905. Bridge, G. F., Esq., 45 South Hill Park, London, N.W.
1878. Britten, James, Esq., 41 Boston Rd., Brentford.

1894. Brix, M. Camille de, 36 Rue des Chanoines, Caen, Calvados, France.
1902. Broadbent, N. M., Esq.
1892. Broadwood, Miss Lucy E., 84 Carlisle Mansions, S.W.
1909. Brown, A. R., Esq., Trinity College, Cambridge.
1909. Brown, Major H. R., 2 Nundidroog Rd., Benson Town, Bangalore, India.
1903. Brown, James, Esq., Netherby, Galashiels.
1889. Browne, John, Esq., Oakdene, Park Hill Rd., Croydon.
1893. Burgess, Mrs. L. J., 433 Adair Avenue, Zanesville, Ohio, U.S.A.
1883. Burne, Miss C. S., 5 Iverna Gardens, Kensington, W. (*President*).

1907. Cadbury, George, Esq., Jun., Bournville, Birmingham.
1880. Caddick, E., Esq., Willington Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
1907. Calderon, G., Esq., Heathland Lodge, Hampstead Heath, N.W.
1908. Cameron, Miss M. Lovett, Monastero del Giglio, Assisi, Perugia, Italy.
1894. Campbell, Lord Archibald, Coombe Hill Farm, Kingston-on-Thames.
1906. Campbell, Miss M. C.
1898. Campbell, W. J. Douglas, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Innis Chonain, Loch Awe, Argyll.
1910. Carey, Miss Edith F., The Elms, Cambridge Park, Guernsey.
1894. Carpenter, Professor J. Estlin, 11 Marston Ferry Road, Oxford.
1899. Chambers, E. K., Esq., Board of Education, Whitehall, S.W.
1901. Chase, Charles H., Esq., 11 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass, U.S.A.
1881. Chorlton, T., Esq., 32 Brazennose Street, Manchester.
1878. Clodd, Edward, Esq., 5 Princes Street, E.C., and Stafford House, Aldeburgh (*Vice-President*).
1901. Coleridge, Miss C. R., Cheyne, Torquay.
1895. Conybeare, F. C., Esq., M.A., 17 Broadmore Rd., Oxford.
1907. Cook, A. B., Esq., 19 Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
1886. Cosquin, M. Emmanuel, Vitry-le-François, Marne, France.
1888. Cox, Miss Marian Roalfe, 80 Carlisle Mansions, S.W. (*Hon. Member*).
1889. Crombie, James E., Esq., Park Hill House, Dyce, Aberdeen.
1881. Crooke, W., Esq., B.A., Langton House, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.
1909. Crookshank, Miss M., Saint Hill, East Grinstead.

1905. D'Aeth, F. G., Esq., 65 Hope Street, Liverpool.
1892. Dames, M. Longworth, Esq., 55 Cambridge Terrace, W.
1895. Dampier, G. R., Esq., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome & Co., Bombay, Partabgarh, Oudh, India.
1905. Davies, J. Ceredig, Esq., Dyffryn Villa, Llanilar, Aberystwyth.
1909. Davies, T. Hws., Esq., B.Sc., 59 Agate Road, Hammersmith, W.
c. 1908. Davies, Prof. T. Witton, B.A., Ph.D., Bryn Haul, Victoria Drive, Bangor, N. Wales.
1904. Dawson, Rev. A. C., Rathillet Manse, Cupar, Fife.

1895. Debenham, Miss Mary H., Cheshunt Park, Herts.
1894. Dennett, R. E., Esq., Royal Societies' Club, St. James's St., S.W.
1905. Dennis, Miss C. J., Laracor, Cheltenham.
1908. De Wolf, Prof. L., College N.D., Ostend, Belgium.
1905. Dickson, Miss Isabel A., 13 Selwood Terrace, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1903. Douttè, Prof. Edmund, villa Rupert, rue Marey, Algiers.
1904. Drake, Carey, Esq., The Grey House, Hartley Wintney, Hants.
1907. Draper, Mrs. H., 271 Madison Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
1905. Dunnill, Mrs. E. J., 5 Stow Park Avenue, Newport, Mon.
1907. Durrant, Wilfred S., Esq., 60 Croydon Road, Reigate.

1896. Eagleston, A. J., Esq., M.A., 14 Old Park Avenue, Nightingale Lane, S.W.
1895. Evans, Arthur J., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Ashmolean Library, Oxford.
1899. Evans, Sir E. Vincent, 64 Chancery Lane, W.C.
1895. Eyre, Miss, The Hudnalls, St. Briavel's, Coleford, Gloucestershire.

c. 1889. Fahie, J. J., Esq., The Rosary, 28 Cavendish Rd., Bournemouth.
1909. Fallows, J. A., Esq., M.A., 28 Redington Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.
1900. Faraday, Miss L. W., Carshalton House, Heaton Road, Withington, Manchester.
1895. Fawcett, F., Esq., Westbury, Tyler's Green, High Wycombe.
1890. Feilberg, Dr. H. F., Askov, Vejen, Denmark.
1906. Ferrington, G. W., Esq., Fairfield, Gobowen, Oswestry.
1889. Ffennell, Miss Margaret C., 5 Putney Heath Lane, Putney, S.W.
1885. Fitzgerald, D., Esq., c/o T. P. Fitzgerald, Esq., 2 Edge Hill, Wimbledon.
1892. Fraser, D. C., Esq., M.A., 25 Balls Road, Birkenhead.
1885. Frazer, J. G., Esq., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., St. Keyne's, Cambridge (*Vice-President*).
1889. Freer, W. J., Esq., V.D., F.S.A., Stonygate, Leicester.
1902. Furness, Dr. W. H., 1906 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

1902. Gaidoz, Mons. H., 22 Rue Cervandoni, Paris.
1906. Garnett, Miss A., Fairfield, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1900. Garrett, A. C., Esq., 525 Locust Avenue, Germantown, Pa., U.S.A.
1886. Gaster, Dr. M., Mizpah, 193 Maida Vale, W. (*Vice-President*).
1882. George, C. W., Esq., 51 Hampton Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1909. Gerould, Prof. G. H., Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
1907. Ghosal, B. B., Esq., M.A., C.M.S., High School, Jubbulpore, India.
1908. Gilbertson, C., Esq., 16 Gloucester Walk, Campden Hill, W.
1891. Gollancz, I., Esq., Litt.D., Tan-y-bryn, Shoot-up-Hill, N.W.
1907. Gomme, A. Allan, Esq., 12 Dryden Chambers, 119 Oxford Street, W.
1878. Gomme, G. Laurence, Esq., F.S.A., 20 Marlboro Place, N.W. (*Vice-President*).
1898. Gomme, Mrs. G. Laurence, 20 Marlboro Place, N.W. (*Hon. Member*).

1883. Gosselin-Grimshawe, Hillier, Esq., Bengeo Hall, Hertford.
1907. Gouldsbury, Henry C., Esq., Native Department, Abercorn, N.E. Rhodesia.
1890. Green, Frank G., Esq., Waverley, Carshalton (*Hon. Auditor*).
1910. Green, Miss F. Kirby, El Azib, Tangier, Morocco.
1891. Gregory, H. E., Esq., Quintain House, Offham, Malling, Kent.
1878. Gutch, Mrs., Holgate Lodge, York.

c. 1890. Haddon, A. C., Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S., Inisfail, Hills Road, Cambridge (*Vice-President*).
c. 1903. Hall, Mrs. H. F., Oaklands, Sheffield.
1910. Halliday, W. R., Esq., New College, Oxford.
1901. Hamilton, Miss Katherine, Fort Wayne, Indiana, U.S.A.
1901. Hampton, G. H., Esq., 22 Cleveland Terrace, Darlington.
1909. Hanna, Col. W., Beech House, Higham, Colchester.
1878. Hardy, G. F., Esq., 31 Broad Street House, Old Broad Street, E.C.
1878. Hartland, E. Sidney, Esq., F.S.A., Highgarth, Gloucester (*Vice-President*).
1900. Heather, P. J., Esq., 25 Lambton Road, Wimbledon, S.W.
1905. Henderson, C. A., Esq., I.C.S., B.A., Bunlipatam, Madras, per Bank of Madras, Bangalore.
1886. Hervey, The Hon. D. F. A., C.M.G., Westfields, Aldeburgh-on-Sea, Suffolk.
1891. Higgens, T. W. E., Esq., 25 Finborough Road, Fulham Road, S.W.
1906. Hildburgh, Walter L., Esq., M.A., Ph.D., St. Ermin's Hotel, St. James' Park, S.W.
1895. Hinuber, Miss, 34 Linden Road, Bedford.
1910. Hocart, A. M., Esq., Lakemba, Fiji.
c. 1883. Hodgkin, J. H., Esq., F.L.S., F.I.C., F.C.S., 97 Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W.
1904. Hodgson, Miss M. L., The Croft, Betley, viâ Crewe.
1910. Hodson, T. C., Esq., 10 Wood Lane, Highgate, N.
1901. Holmes, T. V., Esq., F.G.S., 28 Crooms Hill, Greenwich, S.E.
1878. Howard, David, Esq., Devon House, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
1900. Howell, G. O., Esq., 210 Eglinton Road, Plumstead, Kent.
1901. Howitt, Miss Mary E. B., Eastwood, Lucknow, Victoria, Australia.
1904. Hughes, G. H., Esq., Turf Club, Cairo.
1898. Hull, Miss Eleanor, 14 Stanley Gardens, Notting Hill, W.
1906. Hulst, Mrs. Henry, 88 Fountain Street, Grand Rapids, Michigan, U.S.A.
1898. Hutchinson, Rev. H. N., F.G.S., 17 St. John's Wood Park, Finchley Road, N.W.

1900. im. Thurn, Sir E. F., C.B., K.C.M.G., Governor of the Fiji Islands.

1899. James, C. H., Esq., 64 Park Place, Cardiff.

1899. Janvier, T. A., Esq., Century Club, 7 West 43rd Street, New York, U.S.A.
1891. Jevons, F. B., Esq., M.A., Litt.D., Hatfield Hall, Durham.
1903. Johnston, A. W., Esq., F.S.A. Scot., 29 Ashburnham Mansions, Chelsea, S.W. (*Hon. Auditor*).
1895. Jones, Captain Bryan J., Lisnawilly, Dundalk.

1907. Kabraji, Mrs. J. K., Alibag, viâ Bombay.
1902. Kalisch, A., Esq., 29 Tavistock Square, W.C.
c. 1908. Kelly, Paul, Esq., 20 Cheapside, E.C.
1894. Kennedy, Miss L., Fairacre, Concord, Mass., U.S.A.
1907. Kennett, The Rev. Professor R. H., The College, Ely.
1890. Ker, W., Esq., 1 Windsor Terrace, West, Glasgow.
1897. Ker, Professor W. P., M.A., 95 Gower Street, W.C.
1886. Kirby, W. F., Esq., F.L.S., F.E.S., Hilden, 46 Sutton Court Road, Chiswick, W.
1910. Knowles, G. G., Esq., 21 Dukesthorpe Rd., Sydenham, S.E.

1878. Lang, A., Esq., 1 Marloes Road, Kensington, W. (*Vice-President*).
1905. Leather, Mrs. F. H., Castle House, Weobley, R.S.O.
1889. Letts, C., Esq., 8 Bartletts Buildings, W.C.
1908. Lewis, The Rev. Thomas, The United Training Institution, Kimpese, c/o B. M. S. Matadi, Congo Belge, West Central Africa (viâ Antwerp).
1885. Lockhart, The Hon. J. S. Stewart, Government House, Wei-hai-wei.
1909. Lones, T. E., Esq., LL.D., Dudley House, Upper Highway, King's Langley, Herts.
1901. Lovett, E., Esq., 41 Outram Road, Croydon.
1901. Lucas, Harry, Esq., Hilver, St. Agnes Road, Moseley, Birmingham.

1897. Macbean, E., Esq., 23 Kensington Gate, Kelvinside, Glasgow, W.
1889. MacCormick, The Rev. F., F.S.A. Scot., M.R.A.S., Wrockwardine Wood Rectory, Wellington, Salop.
1909. Macdonald, The Hon. Mrs. G., Ostaig, Broadford, Isle of Skye.
1907. Macgregor, The Rev. J. K., B.D., Hope Waddell Institute, Calabar, West Africa.
1882. Maclagan, R. Craig, Esq., M.D., 5 Coates Crescent, Edinburgh.
1895. Major, A. F., Esq., Bifrost, 30 The Waldrons, Croydon.
1896. Manning, P., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 6 St. Aldate's, Oxford (Beechfield, Watford).
1898. March, H. Colley, Esq., M.D., Portesham, Dorchester.
1900. Marett, R. R., Esq., M.A., Exeter College, Oxford.
1904. Marsden, Miss, F.R.G.S., Chine Side, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.
1880. Marston, E., Esq., St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
1892. Masson, Sir D. P., Managing Director, The Punjab Bank, Lahore, per H. S. King & Co., Cornhill, E.C.

1905. Matthew, The Rev. H. C., St. Matthew's Manse, Stowell, Victoria, Australia.
1889. Matthews, Miss E., Raymead, Park Road, Watford.
1905. Maylam, P., Esq., 32 Watling Street, Canterbury.
1902. Maxwell, W. G., Esq., Attorney General, Kedeh, Malay Peninsula.
1892. Merrick, W. P., Esq., Elvetham, Shepperton.
1891. Milne, F. A., Esq., M.A., 11 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. (*Secretary*).
1902. Milroy, Mrs. M. E., The Oast House, Farnham, Surrey.
1909. Mitchell, W., Esq., 14 Forbesfield Road, Aberdeen.
1890. Mond, Mrs. Frida, 20 Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
1904. Montague, Mrs. Amy, Penton, Crediton, N. Devon.
1889. Morison, Theodore, Esq., Ashleigh, St. George's Road, Weybridge.
1910. Musson, Miss A. J., Fair View West, Rainhill, Lancs.
1899. Myers, C. S., Esq., M.A., M.D., Galewood Tower, Great Shelford, Cambridgeshire.
c. 1897. Myres, J. L., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 26 Abercromby Square, Liverpool.

c 1885. Nesfield, J. P., Esq., Stratton House, 2 Madley Road, Ealing.

1902. O'Brien, Major A. J., Deputy Commissioner Deri Ghazi Khan, c/o H. S. King & Co., 65 Cornhill, E.C.
1892. Oldfield, Lieut-Col. F. H., R.E., c/o Cox & Co., 16 Charing Cross, London, S.W.
1892. Olrik, Dr. Axel, 174 Gl. Kongevej, Copenhagen, Denmark.
1910. O'May, J., Esq., Kuala Kangsar, viâ Taiping, Perak, Fed. Malay States.
1886. Ordish, T. Fairman, Esq., F.S.A., 2 Melrose Villa, Ballards Lane, Finchley, N.
1890. Owen, Miss Mary A., 306 North Ninth Street, St. Joseph's, Missouri, U.S.A. (*Hon. Member*).

1909. Parrot, F. Hayward, Esq., Walton House, Aylesbury.
1892. Paton, W. R., Esq., Ph.D., Ker Anna, Pirros Guirce, Côtes-du-Nord, France (per Messrs. Burnett & Reid, 12 Golden Square, Aberdeen).
1878. Peacock, E., Esq., F.S.A., Wickentree House, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire.
1910. Pendlebury, C., Esq., Arlington House, Brandenburg Road, Gunnersbury, W.
1899. Percy, Lord Algernon, Guy's Cliff, Warwick.
1907. Peter, Thurstan, Esq., Redruth.
1910. Petty, S. L., Esq., Dykelands, Ulverston, Lancs.
1894. Phipson, Miss, 10K Hyde Park Mansions, N.W.
1889. Pineau, M. Léon, Rue Dolly, Chamalieres, Clermont Ferrand, Puy de Dôme, France.
1906. Pitman, Miss E. B., Humshaugh Vicarage, Northumberland.

1898. Pitts, J. Linwood, Esq., M.J.I., F.S.A., Curator, Guille-Allès Library, Guernsey.
1889. Pocklington-Coltman, Mrs., Hagnaby Priory, Spilsby, Lincolnshire.
c. 1879. Power, D'Arcy, Esq., M.A., M.B., F.S.A., 10A Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, W.
1905. Postel, Professor Paul, Lemberg, Austria.
1906. Pritchard, L. J., Esq., Menai Lodge, Chiswick, W.
1889. Pusey, S. E. Bouverie, Esq., F.R.G.S., 40 South Audley Street, W.

1906. Raleigh, Miss K. A., 8 Park Road, Uxbridge.
1909. Ramanathan, P., Esq., B.A., Manônmani Velas, Chintadinpeh, Madras, S.C.
1888. Reade, John, Esq., 340 Leval Avenue, Montreal, Canada.
1892. Reynolds, Llywarch, Esq., B.A., Old Church Place, Merthyr-Tydfil.
1888. Rhys, Professor Sir John, M.A., LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Jesus College, Oxford (*Vice-President*).
1906. Richards, F. J., Esq., I.C.S., United Service Club, Bangalore, c/o Messrs. Binney & Co., Madras.
1889. Risley, The Hon. H. H., M.A., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Thacker & Co., 2 Creed Lane, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
1900. Rivers, W. H. R., Esq., M.D., St. John's College, Cambridge.
1904. Rodon, Major G. S., F.Z.S., Dharwar, Bombay, India.
1903. Rorie, D., Esq., M.D., C.M., 1 St. Devenick Terrace, Cults, Aberdeenshire.
1909. Roscoe, Rev. John, Namirembe, Kampala, Uganda, St. Africa [80 Chesterton Rd., Cambridge].
1901. Rose, H. A., Esq., c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament Street, S.W.
1907. Rounthwaite, Mrs. M. L., Fermain, Holly Rd., Wanstead.
c. 1891. Rouse, W. H. D., Esq., Litt.D., Bateman House, Cambridge (*Vice-President*).
1907. Row, C. Seshagiri, Esq., Kotipalli, Madras Presidency, India.
1904. Rutherford, Miss Barbara, 196 Ashley Gardens, S.W.

1890. Savage, The Rev. Canon E. B., M.A., F.S.A., St. Thomas's Vicarage, Douglas, Isle of Man.
c. 1879. Sayce, The Rev. Professor A. H., M.A., LL.D., D.D., 8 Chalmers Crescent, Edinburgh (*Vice-President*).
1887. Scott, Sir J. G., K.C.I.E., 10A Clarendon Court, Maida Vale, W.
1888. Sébillot, M. Paul, 80 Boulevard St. Marcel, Paris (*Hon. Member*).
1897. Seebohm, F., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., The Hermitage, Hitchin.
1907. Seligman, Mrs. J., 17 Kensington Palace Gardens, W.
1895. Seligmann, C. G., Esq., M.D., 15 York Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
1909. Sell, Frank R., Esq., Central College, Bangalore, India.
1906. Seton, M. C., Esq., 13 Clarendon Road, Holland Park, W.
1903. Seyler, Clarence A., Esq., Hindfell, Coedsaeson, Sketty, Swansea.

1909. Shakespear, Col. J., The Residency, Imphal, Manipur State, Assam: Burton House, Staines Rd., Twickenham.
1909. Sharp, Cecil J., Esq., 183 Adelaide Road, N.W.
1900. Shewan, A., Esq., Seehof, St. Andrews, Fife.
1894. Sikes, E. E., Esq., St. John's College, Cambridge.
1896. Simpkins, J. E., Esq., Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.
1898. Sinclair, The Hon. Mrs., 12 Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, W.
1896. Singer, Professor, 15 Nydecklaube, Bern, Switzerland.
1907. Singh, H. H. The Raja Sir Bhuri, Chamba, viâ Dalhousie, Punjab, per King, King & Co., Bombay.
1900. Skeat, Walter W., Esq., M.A., Romeland Cottage, St. Albans.
1907. Sparling, Halliday, Esq., Vezelay, Arden Rd., Finchley, N.
1898. Speakman, Mrs. J. G., Villa Commendone, Siena, Italy.
1898. Speight, Prof. Ernest E., B.A., F.R.G.S., Daishi Koto Gakko, Kanazawa, Japan.
1893. Spoer, Mrs. H. Hamish, F.R.S.G.S., Box 104, Austrian P.O., Jerusalem, Syria.
1899. Starr, Professor Frederick, University of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A. (*Hon. Member*).
1909. Steinitzer, H., Esq., 8/1 Wilhelm Strasse, Munich, Germany.
1909. Stephens, The Rev. J. R. M., Baptist Mission House, 19 Furnival St., E.C.
1909. Stephenson, R. H., Esq., St. Saviour's Road, East Leicester.
1897. Stow, Mrs., c/o Bakewell, Stow & Piper, Cowra Chambers, Grenfell Street, Adelaide, S. Australia.
1909. Sullivan, W. G., Esq., B.A., 1525 N. Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Ind., U.S.A.
1878. Swainson, The Rev. C., Southdene, Babbacombe Rd., Torquay.

1889. Tabor, C. J., Esq., The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton, Essex.
1885. Temple, Lieut.-Col. Sir R. C., Bart., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., The Nash, Worcester.
1896. Thomas, N. W., Esq., M.A., 10 Helena Avenue, Margate.
1907. Thomas, P. G., Esq., Bedford College, Baker Street, W. [28 Dennington Park Road, West Hampstead, N.W.].
1909. Thompson, Maurice S., Esq., Garthlands, Reigate Heath, Reigate.
1892. Thompson, Miss Skeffington, Glenelly, Chiselhurst Common, Kent.
1910. Thurnwald, Dr. R., 25 Joachimsthaler Str., Berlin, W.15.
1910. Tolhurst, J. G., Esq., St. Albans, Beckenham.
1910. Torday, M. E., 56 Melbury Gardens, West Wimbledon.
1897. Townshend, Mrs. R. B., Derry Illawn, Banbury Road, Oxford.
1896. Traherne, L. E., Esq., Coedriglan Park, Cardiff.
1887. Travancore, H.H. The Maharajah of, Huzier, Cutcherry, Trevandrum, India.
1910. Tremearne, Mrs. A. J. N., Tudor House, Blackheath Park, S.E.

1888. Turnbull, A. H., Esq., Elibank, Wellington, New Zealand, per A. L. Elder & Co., 7 St. Helen's Place, E.C.
1878. Tylor, Professor E. B., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., The Museum House, Oxford (*Vice-President*).

1878. Udal, His Honour J. S., Chief Justice of the Leeward Islands, Antigua, West Indies.

1899. Van Gennep, Professor A., Rue Froidevaux, Paris, XIV.e

1889. Walhouse, M. J., Esq., 28 Hamilton Terrace, St. John's Wood, N.W.
1879. Walker, Dr. Robert, Budleigh-Salterton, Devon.
1897. Warner, S. G., Esq., Elmside, Bolingbroke Grove, S.W.
1910. Webster, Hutton, Esq., Station A, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A.
1910. Weeks, The Rev. J. H., 61 Lucien Rd., Tooting Common, S.W.
1906. Westermarck, E., Esq., Ph.D., 8 Rockley Road, West Kensington Park, W.
1897. Weston, Miss J. L., Lyceum Club, Piccadilly, W.; Cobdown, Ditton, Maidstone.
1909. Weston, William N., Esq., Estancia St. Kilda, Parade Quebracho, Paysandu, R.O.
1910. Westropp, T. J., Esq., 115 Strand Rd., Sandymount, Dublin.
1883. Wheatley, Henry B., Esq., F.S.A., 96 King Henry's Rd., South Hampstead, N.W.
1890. Williamson, Rev. C. A., Ashampstead Vicarage, Reading.
1908. Wilson, T. I. W., Esq., Repton, Burton-on-Trent.
1893. Windle, Professor B. C. A., M.D., F.R.S., President's House, Queen's College, Cork.
c. 1893. Wissendorff, H., Esq., 19 Nadeschkinskara, St. Petersburg, Russia.
1893. Wood, Alexander, Esq., Thornly, Saltcoats, Ayrshire.
1910. Wood Brown, The Rev. J., M.A., 16 Corso Regina Elena, Florence, Italy.
1909. Woolsey, J. M., Esq., Mount Vernon, Westchester Co., State of New York, U.S.A.
1890. Wright, A. R., Esq., H.M. Patent Office, 25 Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, W.C.
1884. Wright, W. Aldis, Esq., LL.D., Trinity College, Cambridge.
1897. Wyndham, The Rt. Hon. G., M.P., House of Commons, S.W.

1902. Zervos, Gerasimos, Esq., c/o Ralli Brothers Agency, Karachi, India.

SUBSCRIBERS (*corrected to* 1910).

1893. Aberdeen Public Library, per G. M. Fraser, Esq., M.A., Librarian.
1894. Aberdeen University Library, per P. J. Anderson, Esq., Librarian.
1902. Adelaide Public Library, South Australia, per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard St., W.C.

1899. American Geographical Society, New York, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, S.W.

1891. Amsterdam, The University Library of, per Kirberger & Kesper, Booksellers, Amsterdam.

1879. Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, W.

1905. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57 Park Street, Calcutta, per B. Quaritch, 11 Grafton St., W.

1881. Berlin Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 13 Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.

1880. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, per Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Orange St., W.C.

1884. Birmingham Free Library, Ratcliffe Place, Birmingham, per A. Capel Shaw, Esq.

1882. Birmingham Library, c/o The Treasurer, Margaret St., Birmingham.

1908. Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate St. Without, E.C., per C. W. F. Goss, Esq., Librarian.

1899. Bordeaux University Library, per A. Schulz, 3 Place de la Sorbonne, Paris.

1878. Boston Athenæum, Boston, U.S.A., per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard St., W.C.

1881. Boston Public Library, Mass., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

1906. Boysen, C., Hamburg, per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard St., W.C.

1902. Bradford Free Public Library, Darley St., Bradford, per Butler Wood, Esq.

1894. Brighton Free Library, per H. D. Roberts, Esq., Chief Librarian, Brighton.

1906. Bristol Central Library, per E. R. Norris Mathews, Esq., F.R. Hist. Soc.

1909. Brooklyn Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

1905. California State Library, Sacramento, California, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.

1908. California, University of, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

1903. Cambridge Free Library, per W. A. Fenton, Esq.

1898. Cardiff Free Libraries, per J. Ballinger, Esq.

1898. Carnegie Free Library, Alleghany, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

(2) 1904. Carnegie Library, Pittsburg, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

1898. Chelsea Public Library, Manresa Road, S.W., per J. H. Quinn, Esq.

1890. Chicago Public Library, Illinois, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.

1898. Chicago University Library, Illinois, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1890. Cincinnati Public Library, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1894. Columbia College, New York, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1879. Congress, The Library of, Washington, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1909. Conrad, H., 26 Paternoster Row, E.C.
1890. Cornell University Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.

1890. Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1906. Dundee Free Library, per A. W. Steven, Esq., 95 Commercial St., Dundee.

1894. Edinburgh Public Library, per Hew Morrison, Esq., City Chambers, Edinburgh.
1890. Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore City, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1893. Erlangen University Library, per W. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.

1897. Franklin and Marshall College, Lankaster, Penn., U.S.A., per Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th Street, New York (H. Grevel & Co., 33 King St., Covent Garden, W.C.).

1905. General Theological Seminary, New York City, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1901. Giessen University Library, per Hirschfeld Brothers, 13 Furnival St., W.C.
1883. Glasgow University Library, per J. MacLehose & Sons, 61 St. Vincent St., Glasgow.
1902. Gloucester Public Library, Gloucester, per Roland Austin, Esq.
1878. Göttingen University Library, per Asher & Co., 18 Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1905. Grand Rapids Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1892. Guildhall Library, E.C., per E. M. Barrajo, Esq., Librarian.

1878. Harvard College Library, per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard St., W.C.
1904. Helsingfors University Library, per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard St., W.C.
1904. Hiersemann, K., 3 Königstrasse, Leipzig.

1896. Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, U.S.A., per W. Beer, Esq.
1902. Hull Public Libraries, per W. F. Lawton, Esq.

1892. Imperial University Library, St. Petersburg, per Voss Sortiment (Herr G. W. Sergenfray), Leipzig.
1895. India Office Library, Whitehall, S.W., per F. W. Thomas, Esq.
1901. Institut de France, per Simpkin Marshall & Co., Orange St., W.C.
1899. Iowa State Library, Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.

1904. Jersey City Free Public Library, New Jersey, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1907. Johannesburg Public Library, per J. F. Cadenhead, Esq., Johannesburg, S. Africa.
1895. John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester, per S. J. Tennant, Esq., Treasurer.
1879. Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.

1905. Kensington Public Libraries, per Farmer & Sons, 179 Kensington High St., W.
1882. Kiev University Library, per F. A. Brockhaus, 48 Old Bailey, E.C.

1892. Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, per G. F. Stevenson, Esq., LL.B., 11 New St., Leicester.
1903. Leland Stanford Junior University Library, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1885. Library of the Supreme Council of the 33°, etc., 33 Golden Square, W., per J. C. F. Town, Esq., Secretary.
1899. Liverpool Free Public Library, per Peter Cowell, Esq., Chief Librarian, William Brown St., Liverpool.
1879. London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.
1904. Los Angeles Public Library, California, U.S.A.
1910. Lund University Library, per Karl af Petersens, Librarian.

1878. Manchester Free Library, King St., Manchester.
1897. Max, J., & Co., 21 Schweidnitzerstrasse, Breslau.
1902. Meadville Theological School Library, Meadville, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1908. Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, U.S.A., 10th St. Above Chestnut St., Philadelphia, U.S.A., per T. Wilson Hedley, Esq.
1904. Mercantile Library of St. Louis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1893. Meyrick Library, Jesus College, Oxford, per E. E. Genner, Esq., Librarian.

1902. Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1907. Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
1881. Middlesborough Free Library, per Baker Hudson, Esq.
1905. Minneapolis Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1894. Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1878. Mitchell Library, 21 Miller Street, Glasgow, c/o F. T. Barrett, Esq., Librarian.
1880. Munich Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 13 Bedford St., W.C.
1909. Museo di Etnographia Italiana, 2 Via Colletta, Florence, Italy, per Dr. Lamberto Loria, Secretary and Librarian.

1904. Nancy, Université de, Nancy, France, per M. Paul Perdrizet.
1894. National Library of Ireland, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.
1908. Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A., per Walter K. Jewett, Esq., Librarian.
1898. Newark Free Public Library, New Jersey, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1888. Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1879. Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-on-Tyne, per H. Richardson, Esq.
1898. New Jersey, The College of, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A., per H. A. Duffield, Esq., Treasurer.
1894. New York, College of the City of, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation), per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1894. New York State Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1908. North Western University Library, Evanston, Ill., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1883. Nottingham Free Public Library, per J. E. Bryan, Esq., St. Peter's Churchside, Nottingham.

1894. Oxford and Cambridge Club, per Harrison & Sons, 45 Pall Mall, S.W.

1881. Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1909. Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

1894. Peorio, Public Library of, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1899. Philadelphia, Free Library of, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1881. Philadelphia, The Library Company of, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1879. Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society, per C. S. Jago, Esq., 18 Seaton Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.
1903. Portsmouth Public Library, per A. E. Bone, Esq., Borough Treasurer.
1894. Providence Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

1900. Reading Free Public Library, per W. H. Greenhough, Esq.
1894. Röhrscheid, L., Buchhandlung, Am Hof, 28, Bonn, Germany.
1908. Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard St., W.
1908. Royal Dublin Society, per Arthur H. Foord, Esq., Leinster Ho., Dublin.
1894. Royal Irish Academy, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.

1888. St. Helens Corporation Free Library, per A. Lancaster, Esq., Librarian, Town Hall, St. Helens.
1898. Salford Public Library, Manchester.
1908. San Francisco Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1907. Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, S.W.
1899. Sheffield Free Public Library, Surrey Street, Sheffield, per S. Smith, Esq.
1908. Sigma Fraternity, The, per Miss Christine Meyrick, 25 Wood Cottage, Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A.
1898. Signet Library, Edinburgh, per John Minto, Esq., Librarian.
1905. Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, E.C., per C. H. Limbrick, Esq., Sub-Librarian.
1879. Stockholm, Royal Library of, per W. H. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
1903. Sunderland Public Library, Borough Road, Sunderland, per B. R. Hill, Esq.
1894. Surgeon General Office Library, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard Street, W.
1891. Swansea Public Library, per S. E. Thompson, Esq., Librarian.
1908. Swarthmore College Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., W.C.

1881. Sydney Free Public Library, per Truslove & Hanson, 153 Oxford St., W.

1895. Tate Library, University College, Liverpool, care of J. Sampson, Esq.
1906. Texas, University of, Austin, Texas, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1883. Taylor Institution, Oxford, per Parker & Co., Broad Street, Oxford.
1898. Toronto Public Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1899. Toronto University Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1879. Torquay Natural History Society, per S. Boase, Esq.

1899. Upsala University Library, per C. J. Lundström, Upsala, Sweden.

1896. Van Stockum, W. P., & Son, 36 Buitenhof, The Hague, Holland.
1899. Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A., per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.
1907. Victoria Public Library, Melbourne, per Agent-General for Victoria, Melbourne Place, Strand, W.C.
1909. Vienna Imperial Court Library, per Asher & Co., 13 Bedford St., W.C.
1901. Vienna Imperial University Library, per Asher & Co., 13 Bedford St., W.C.

1910. Washington Public Library, D.C., Washington, U.S.A., per G. F. Bowerman, Esq., Secretary.
1910. Washington University Library, St. Louis, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1890. Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1898. Weimar Grand Ducal Library, per Dr. P. von Bojanowsky.
1907. Wesleyan University, Library of, Middletown, Connecticut, U.S.A.
1898. Wisconsin State Historical Society, per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.
1908. Woolwich Free Library, William St., Woolwich, per E. B. Baker, Esq., Librarian.
1885. Worcester Free Public Library, Mass., U.S.A., per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard St., W.

1905. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.